

This book with its innumerable quotations
floating in the text of the writer, reminds me
of the sea encountered by Columbus on
his voyage, when the sea-weeds were
so thick and numerous, and so rich
and novel to him, that the navigator
could with difficulty make his way
through them.

THE
ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY,
WHAT IT IS,

WITH

ALL THE KINDS, CAUSES, SYMPTOMS, PROGNOS-
TICS, AND SEVERAL CURES OF IT.

IN THREE PARTITIONS.

WITH THEIR SEVERAL

SECTIONS, MEMBERS, AND SUBSECTIONS, PHILOSOPHICALLY,
MEDICALLY, HISTORICALLY OPENED AND CUT UP.

BY DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR.

WITH

A SATIRICAL PREFACE, CONDUCTING TO THE FOLLOWING DISCOURSE.

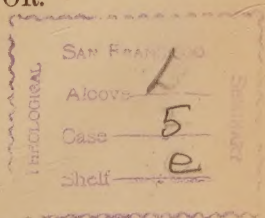
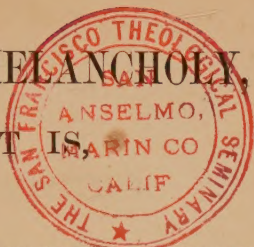
A NEW EDITION.

CORRECTED AND ENRICHED BY TRANSLATIONS OF THE NUMEROUS CLASSICAL
EXTRACTS.

BY DEMOCRITUS MINOR.

VOL. III.

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THE THIRD PARTITION.

[CONTINUED.]

THE SECOND SECTION, FIRST MEMBER, FIRST SUB-SECTION.

Heroical Love causeth Melancholy. His Pedigree, Power, and Extent.

IN the preceding section mention was made, amongst other pleasant objects, of this comeliness and beauty which proceeds from women, that causeth heroical, or love-melancholy, is more eminent above the rest, and properly called love. The part affected in men is the liver, and therefore called heroical, because commonly gallants. Noblemen, and the most generous spirits are possessed with it. His power and extent is very large, ¹and in that twofold division of love *φιλεῖν* and *ἐρᾶν* ²those two veneries which Plato and some other make mention of, it is most eminent, and *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* called Venus, as I have said, or love itself. Which although it be denominated from men, and most evident in them, yet it extends and shows itself in vegetal and sensible creatures, those incorporeal substances (as shall be specified), and hath a large dominion of sovereignty over them. His pedigree is very ancient, derived from the beginning of the world, as ³Phædrus contends, and his ⁴parentage of such antiquity, that no poet could ever find it out. Hesiod makes ⁵Terra and Chaos to be Love's parents, before the gods were born:

¹ Memb. 1, Subs. 2. ² Amor et amicitia. ³ Phædrus, orat. in laudem amoris, Platonis Convivio. ⁴ Vide Boccas. de Genial. deorum. ⁵ See the moral in Plut. of that fiction.

Ante deos omnes primum generavit amorem. Some think it is the selfsame fire Prometheus fetched from heaven. Plutarch, *amator. libello*, will have Love to be the son of Iris and Favonius; but Socrates in that pleasant dialogue of Plato, when it came to his turn to speak of love (of which subject Agatho the rhetorician, *magniloquus* Agatho, that chanter Agatho, had newly given occasion), in a poetical strain, telleth this tale: when Venus was born, all the gods were invited to a banquet, and amongst the rest, ¹ Porus the god of bounty and wealth; Penia or Poverty came a begging to the door; Porus well whittled with nectar (for there was no wine in those days) walking in Jupiter's garden, in a bower met with Penia, and in his drink got her with child, of whom was born Love; and because he was begotten on Venus's birthday, Venus still attends upon him. The moral of this is in ² Ficinus. Another tale is there borrowed out of Aristophanes: ³ in the beginning of the world, men had four arms and four feet, but for their pride, because they compared themselves with the gods, were parted into halves, and now peradventure by love they hope to be united again and made one. Otherwise thus, ⁴ Vulcan met two lovers, and bid them ask what they would and they should have it; but they made answer, *O Vulcane faber Deorum*, &c. "O Vulcan the gods' great smith, we beseech thee to work us anew in thy furnace, and of two make us one; which he presently did, and ever since true lovers are either all one, or else desire to be united." Many such tales you shall find in Leon Hebræus, *dial.* 3, and their moral to them. The reason why Love was still painted young (as Phornutus ⁵ and others will), ⁶ "is because young men are most apt to love; soft, fair, and fat, because such folks are soonest taken; naked, because all true

¹ Affluentia Deus. ² Cap. 7, Comment. in Plat. Convivium. ³ See more in Valesius, lib. 3, cont. med. et cont. 13.

⁴ Vives, 3, de animâ; oramus te ut tuis artibus et caminis nos refingas, et ex duobus unum facias; quod et fecit, et exinde amatores unum sunt et unum esse petunt. ⁵ See more in Natalis

Comes, Imag. Deorum. Philostratus, de Imaginibus. Lilius Giralduus, Syntag. de diis. Phornutus, &c. ⁶ Juvenis pingitur quod amore plerumque juvenes capiuntur; sic et mollis, formosus, nudus, quod simplex et apertus hic affectus; ridet quod oblectamentum præ se ferat, cum pharetrâ, &c.

affection is simple and open; he smiles, because merry and given to delights; hath a quiver, to show his power, none can escape; is blind, because he sees not where he strikes, whom he hits," &c. His power and sovereignty is expressed by the ¹poets, in that he is held to be a god, and a great commanding god, above Jupiter himself; Magnus Dæmon, as Plato calls him, the strongest and merriest of all the gods according to Alcinous and ²Athenæus. *Amor virorum rex, amor rex et deûm*, as Euripides, the god of gods and governor of men; for we must all do homage to him, keep a holiday for his deity, adore in his temples, worship his image (*numen enim hoc non est nudum nomen*), and sacrifice to his altar, that conquers all, ³and rules all:

⁴ "Mallem cum leone, cervo et apro Æolico,
Cum Anteo et Stymphalicis avibus luctari
Quam cum amore "

"I had rather contend with bulls, lions, bears, and giants than with Love;" he is so powerful, enforceth all to pay tribute to him, domineers over all, and can make mad and sober whom he list; insomuch that Cæcilius in Tully's *Tusculans*, holds him to be no better than a fool or an idiot, that doth not acknowledge Love to be a great god.

⁵ "Cui in manu sit quem esse dementem velit,
Quem sapere, quem in morbum injici," &c.

That can make sick, and cure whom he list. Homer and Stesichorus were both made blind, if you will believe ⁶Leon Hebræus, for speaking against his godhead; and though Aristophanes degrade him, and say that he was ⁷scornfully rejected from the council of the gods, had his wings clipped besides, that he might come no more amongst them, and to his farther disgrace banished heaven forever, and confined to dwell on earth, yet he is of that ⁸power, majesty,

¹ A petty Pope *claves habet superorum et inferorum*, as Orpheus, &c. ² Lib. 13, cap. 5, *Dipnoso*. ³ *Regnat et in superos jus habet ille deos*. Ovid

⁴ Plautus. de diis Syris.

⁵ Selden, *proleg.* 3 cap. Dial. 3. ⁶ A concilio Deorum rejectus et ad majorem ejus ignominiam, &c. ⁷ Fulmine concitator.

omnipotency, and dominion, that no creature can withstand him.

¹ "Imperat Cupido etiam diis pro arbitrio,
Et ipsum arcere ne armipotens potest Jupiter."

He is more than quartermaster with the gods.

"Tenet

Thetide æquor, umbras Æaco, cælum Jove:"²

and hath not so much possession as dominion. Jupiter himself was turned into a satyr, shepherd, a bull, a swan, a golden shower, and what not for love; that as ³ Lucian's Juno right well objected to him, *ludus amoris tu es*, thou art Cupid's whirligig; how did he insult over all the other gods, Mars, Neptune, Pan, Mercury, Bacchus, and the rest? ⁴ Lucian brings in Jupiter complaining of Cupid that he could not be quiet for him; and the moon lamenting that she was so impotently besotted on Endymion, even Venus herself confessing as much, how rudely and in what sort her own son Cupid had used her being his ⁵ mother, "now drawing her to Mount Ida, for the love of that Trojan Anchises, now to Libanus for that Assyrian youth's sake. And although she threatened to break his bow and arrows, to clip his wings, ⁶ and whipped him besides on the bare buttocks with her pantofle, yet all would not serve, he was too headstrong and unruly." That monster-conquering Hercules was tamed by him:

"Quem non mille feræ, quem non Sthenelejus hostis,
Nec potuit Juno vincere, vicit amor."

Whom neither beasts nor enemies could tame,
Nor Juno's might subdue, Love quell'd the same.

Your bravest soldiers and most generous spirits are enervated with it, ⁷ *ubi mulieribus blanditiis permittunt se, et inquinantur amplexibus*. Apollo, that took upon him to cure all dis-

¹ Sophocles. ² "He divides the empire of the sea with Thetis,—of the Shades, with Æacus,—of the Heaven, with Jove."

³ Tom. 4. ⁴ Dial. deorum, tom. 3. ⁵ Quippe matrem ipsius quibus modis me

afficit, nunc in Idam adigens Anchisæ causâ, &c. ⁶ Jampridem et plagas ipsi in nates incussi sandalio. ⁷ Altopilus, fol. 79.

eases, ¹ could not help himself of this ; and therefore ² Socrates calls Love a tyrant, and brings him triumphing in a chariot, whom Petrarch imitates in his triumph of Love, and Fracastorius, in an elegant poem expresseth at large, Cupid riding, Mars and Apollo following his chariot, Psyche weeping, &c.

In vegetal creatures what sovereignty love hath, by many pregnant proofs and familiar examples may be proved, especially of palm-trees, which are both he and she, and express not a sympathy but a love-passion, and by many observations have been confirmed.

³ " Vivunt in venerem frondes, omnisque vicissim
Felix arbor amat, nutant et mutua palmæ
Fœdera, populeo suspirat populus ictu,
Et platano platanus, alnoque assibilat alnus."

Constantine, *de Agric. lib. 10, cap. 4*, gives an instance out of Florentius his Georgics, of a palm-tree that loved most fervently, ⁴ "and would not be comforted until such time her love applied herself unto her ; you might see the two trees bend, and of their own accords stretch out their boughs to embrace and kiss each other ; they will give manifest signs of mutual love." Ammianus Marcellinus, *lib. 24*, reports that they marry one another, and fall in love if they grow in sight ; and when the wind brings the smell to them they are marvellously affected. Philostratus, *in Imaginibus*, observes as much, and Galen, *lib. 6, de locis affectis, cap. 5*, they will be sick for love ; ready to die and pine away, which the husbandmen perceiving, saith ⁵ Constantine, "stroke many palms that grow together, and so stroking again the palm that is enamoured, they carry kisses from one to the other ;"

¹ Nullis amor est medicabilis herbis.

² Plutarch, in Amatorio. Dictator quo creato cessant reliqui magistratus.

³ Claudian. descript. vener. aulæ. "Trees are influenced by love, and every flourishing tree in turn feels the passion: palms nod mutual vows, poplar sighs to poplar, plane to plane, and alder breathes to alder." ⁴ Neque prius in his desiderium cessat dum dejectus con-

soletur ; videre enim est ipsam arborem incurvatam, ultro ramis ab utrisque vicissim ad osculum exporrectis. Manifesta dant mutui desiderii signa. ⁵ Multas palmas contingens quæ simul crescunt, rursusque ad amantem regrediens, eamque manu attingens, quasi osculum mutuo ministrare videtur, expediti concubitus gratiam facit.

or tying the leaves and branches of the one to the stem of the other, will make them both flourish and prosper a great deal better; ¹“which are enamoured, they can perceive by the bending of boughs, and inclination of their bodies.” If any man think this which I say to be a tale, let him read that story of two palm-trees in Italy, the male growing at Brundusium, the female at Otranto (related by Jovianus Pontanus in an excellent poem, sometimes tutor to Alphonsus junior, King of Naples, his secretary of state, and a great philosopher) “which were barren, and so continued a long time,” till they came to see one another growing up higher, though many stadiums asunder. Pierius in his Hieroglyphics, and Melchior Guilandinus, *Mem. 3, tract. de papyro*, cites this story of Pontanus for a truth. See more in Salmuth, *Comment. in Pancirol. de Novâ repert. Tit. 1, de novo orbe*, Mizaldus, *Arcanorum, lib. 2*, Sand’s *Voyages, lib. 2, fol. 103, &c.*

If such fury be in vegetals, what shall we think of sensible creatures, how much more violent and apparent shall it be in them!

2“Omne aded genus in terris hominumque ferarum,
Et genus æquoreum, pecudes, pictæque volucres
In furias ignemque ruunt; amor omnibus idem.”

“All kind of creatures in the earth,
And fishes of the sea,
And painted birds do rage alike;
This love bears equal sway.”

3“Hic deus et terras et maria alta domat.”

Common experience and our sense will inform us how violently brute beasts are carried away with this passion, horses above the rest—*furor est insignis equarum*. ⁴“Cupid in Lucian bids Venus his mother be of good cheer, for he was now familiar with lions, and oftentimes did get on their backs,

¹ Quam vero ipsa desideret affectu ramorum significat, et ad illam respicit; amantur, &c. ² Virg. 3 Georg. 3 Propertius. ⁴ Dial. deorum. Confide, mater, leonibus ipsis familiaris jam

factus sum, et sæpe conscendi eorum terga et apprehendi júbæ; equorum more insidens eos agito, et illi mihi caudis adblandiuntur.

hold them by the mane, and ride them about like horses, and they would fawn upon him with their tails." Bulls, bears, and boars are so furious in this kind they kill one another; but especially cocks, ¹ lions, and harts, which are so fierce that you may hear them fight half a mile off, saith ² Turbervile, and many times kill each other, or compel them to abandon the rut, that they may remain masters in their places; "and when one hath driven his corral away, he raiseth his nose up into the air, and looks aloft, as though he gave thanks to nature," which affords him such great delight. How birds are effected in this kind, appears out of Aristotle, he will have them to sing *ob futuram venerem*, for joy or in hope of their venery which is to come.

³ "Æeris primum volucres te Diva, tuumque
Significant initum, percussæ corda tua vi."

"Fishes pine away for love and wax lean," if ⁴ Gomesius's authority may be taken, and are rampant too, some of them; Peter Gillius, *lib.* 10, *de hist. animal.* tells wonders of a triton in Epirus: there was a well not far from the shore, where the country wenches fetched water, they, ⁵ tritons, *stupri causâ*, would set upon them and carry them to the sea, and there drown them, if they would not yield; so love tyrannizeth in dumb creatures. Yet this is natural for one beast to dote upon another of the same kind; but what strange fury is that, when a beast shall dote upon a man? Saxo Grammaticus, *lib.* 10, *Dan. hist.* hath a story of a bear that loved a woman, kept her in his den a long time and begot a son of her, out of whose loins proceeded many northern kings; this is the original belike of that common tale of Valentine and Orson; Ælian, Pliny, Peter Gillius, are full of such relations. A peacock in Lucadia loved a maid, and when she died, the peacock pined. ⁶ "A dolphin loved a boy called Hernias, and when he died the fish came on land, and

¹ Leones præ amore furunt. Plin. l. 8, c. 16. Arist. l. 6, hist. animal. ² Cap. 17, of his book of hunting. ³ Lucretius. ⁴ De sale, lib. 1, c. 21. Pisces ob amorem marcescunt, pallescunt, &c. ⁵ Hauriendæ aquæ causâ venientes ex insidiis a Tritone comprehensæ, &c. ⁶ Plin. l. 10, c. 5, quumque abortâ tempestate periisset Hernias in sicco piscis expiravit.

so perished." The like, adds Gillius, *lib.* 10, *cap.* 22, out of Appion, *Ægypt. lib.* 15, a dolphin at Puteoli loved a child, would come often to him, let him get on his back, and carry him about, ¹"and when by sickness the child was taken away, the dolphin died."—²"Every book is full (saith Bus-bequius, the emperor's orator with the grand seignior, not long since, *ep.* 3, *legat. Turc.*) and yields such instances, to believe which I was always afraid lest I should be thought to give credit to fables, until I saw a lynx which I had from Assyria, so affected towards one of my men, that it cannot be denied but that he was in love with him. When my man was present, the beast would use many notable enticements and pleasant motions, and when he was going, hold him back, and look after him when he was gone, very sad in his absence, but most jocund when he returned; and when my man went from me, the beast expressed his love with continual sickness, and after he had pined away some few days, died." Such another story he hath of a crane of Majorca, that loved a Spaniard, that would walk any way with him, and in his absence seek about for him, make a noise that he might hear her, and knock at his door, ³"and when he took his last farewell, famished herself." Such pretty pranks can love play with birds, fishes, beasts :

⁴"(Cœlestis ætheris, ponti, terræ claves habet Venus,
Solaque istorum omnium imperium obtinet.)"

and if all be certain that is credibly reported, with the spirits of the air, and devils of hell themselves who are as much enamoured and dote (if I may use that word) as any other creatures whatsoever. For if those stories be true that are written of incubus and succubus, of nymphs, lascivious fauns, satyrs, and those heathen gods which were devils, those lascivious Telchines, of whom the Platonists tell so many fables ;

¹ Postquam puer morbo abiit, et ipse delphinus perit.

² Pleni sunt libri quibus ferè in homines inflammatae fuerunt, in quibus ego quidem semper assensum sustinui, veritus ne fabulosa crederem; donec vidi lyncem quem habui ab Assyria, sic affectum erga unum de meis

hominibus, &c. ³ Desiderium suum testatus post inedia aliquot dierum interlit.

⁴ Orpheus hymno Ven. "Venus keeps the keys of the air, earth, sea, and she alone retains the command of all."

or those familiar meetings in our days, and company of witches and devils, there is some probability for it. I know that Biarmannus, Wierus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 19 *et* 24, and some others stoutly deny it, that the devil hath any carnal copulation with women, that the devil takes no pleasure in such facts, they be mere fantasies, all such relations of incubi, succubi, lies and tales; but Austin. *lib.* 15, *de civit. Dei*, doth acknowledge it; Erastus, *de Lamiis*, Jacobus Sprenger and his colleagues, &c. ¹Zanchius, *cap.* 16, *lib.* 4, *de oper. Dei*. Dandinus, *in Arist. de Animâ*, *lib.* 2, *text.* 29, *com.* 30. Bodin, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 7, and Paracelsus, a great champion of this tenet amongst the rest, which give sundry peculiar instances, by many testimonies, proofs, and confessions evince it. Hector Boethius, in his Scottish history, hath three or four such examples, which Cardan confirms out of him, *lib.* 16, *cap.* 43, of such as have had familiar company many years with them, and that in the habit of men and women. Philostratus in his fourth book *de vitâ Apollonii*, hath a memorable instance in this kind, which I may not omit, of one Menippus Lycius, a young man twenty-five years of age, that going between Cenchreas and Corinth, met such a phantasm in the habit of a fair gentlewoman, which taking him by the hand carried him home to her house in the suburbs of Corinth, and told him she was a Phœnician by birth, and if he would tarry with her, ²“he would hear her sing and play, and drink such wine as never any drank, and no man should molest him; but she being fair and lovely would live and die with him that was fair and lovely to behold.” The young man, a philosopher, otherwise staid and discreet, able to moderate his passions, though not this of love, tarried with her awhile to his great content, and at last married her, to whose wedding amongst other guests, came Apollonius, who, by some probable conjectures, found her out to be a serpent, a lamia, and that all her furniture was like Tantalus’s gold described

¹ Qui hæc in atræ bilis aut imaginationis vim referre conati sunt, nihil faciunt. ² Cantantem audies et vinum

bibes, quale antea nunquam bibisti; te rivalis turbabit nullus; pulchra autem pulchro contentè vivam, et moriar.

by Homer, no substance, but mere illusions. When she saw herself descried, she wept, and desired Apollonius to be silent, but he would not be moved, and thereupon she, plate, house, and all that was in it, vanished in an instant: ¹“many thousands took notice of this fact, for it was done in the midst of Greece.” Sabine in his Comment on the tenth of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, at the tale of Orpheus, telleth us of a gentleman of Bavaria, that for many months together bewailed the loss of his dear wife; at length the devil in her habit came and comforted him, and told him, because he was so importunate for her, that she would come and live with him again, on that condition he would be new married, never swear and blaspheme as he used formerly to do; for if he did, she should be gone: ²“he vowed it, married, and lived with her, she brought him children, and governed his house, but was still pale and sad, and so continued, till one day falling out with him, he fell a swearing; she vanished thereupon, and was never after seen. ³This I have heard,” saith Sabine, “from persons of good credit, which told me that the Duke of Bavaria did tell it for a certainty to the Duke of Saxony.” One more I will relate out of Florilegus, *ad annum* 1058, an honest historian of our nation, because he telleth it so confidently, as a thing in those days talked of all over Europe: a young gentleman of Rome, the same day that he was married, after dinner with the bride and his friends went a walking into the fields, and towards evening to the tennis-court, to recreate himself; whilst he played, he put his ring upon the finger of *Venus statua*, which was thereby made in brass; after he had sufficiently played, and now made an end of his sport, he came to fetch his ring, but Venus had bowed her finger in, and he could not get it off. Whereupon loath to make his company tarry at present, there left it, intending to fetch it the next day, or at some more convenient

¹ Multi factum hoc cognovêre, quod in mediâ Græciâ gestum sit. ² Rem curans domesticam, ut ante, peperit aliquot liberos, semper tamen tristis et pal-

lida. ³ Hæc audivi a multis fide dignis qui asseverabant Ducem Bavarie eadem retulisse Duci Saxonie pro veris.

time, went thence to supper, and so to bed. In the night, when he should come to perform those nuptial rites, Venus steps between him and his wife (unseen or felt of her), and told him that she was his wife, that he had betrothed himself unto her by that ring, which he put upon her finger; she troubled him for some following nights. He not knowing how to help himself, made his moan to one Palumbus, a learned magician in those days, who gave him a letter, and bid him at such a time of the night, in such a cross-way, at the town's end, where old Saturn would pass by with his associates in procession, as commonly he did, deliver that script with his own hands to Saturn himself; the young man of a bold spirit, accordingly did it; and when the old fiend had read it, he called Venus to him, who rode before him, and commanded her to deliver his ring, which forthwith she did, and so the gentleman was freed. Many such stories I find in several ¹ authors to confirm this which I have said; as that more notable amongst the rest, of Philinium and Machates in ² Phlegon's Tract, *de rebus mirabilibus*, and though many be against it, yet I, for my part, will subscribe to Lactantius, *lib. 14, cap. 15.* ³ "God sent angels to the tuition of men; but whilst they lived amongst us, that mischievous all-commander of the earth, and hot in lust, enticed them by little and little to this vice, and defiled them with the company of women; and Anaxagoras, *de resurrect.* ⁴ Many of those spiritual bodies, overcome by the love of maids, and lust, failed, of whom those were born we call giants." Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Sulpicius Severus, Eusebius, &c., to this sense make a twofold fall of angels, one from the beginning of the world, another a little before the deluge, as Moses teacheth us, ⁵ openly professing that these genii can beget, and have carnal copulation with women. At Japan

¹ Fabula Damarati et Aristonis in Herodoto, lib. 6, Erato.

² Interpret. Mersio.

³ Deus Angelos misit ad tutelam cultumque generis humani; sed illos cum hominibus commorantes, dominator ille terræ salacissimus paulatim ad

vitia pellexit, et mulierum congressibus inquinavit.

⁴ Quidam ex illis capti sunt amore virginum, et libidine victi defecerunt, ex quibus gigantes qui vocantur, nati sunt.

⁵ Pererius, in Gen. lib. 8, c. 6, ver. 1, Zanc. &c.

in the East Indies, at this present (if we may believe the relation of ¹travellers), there is an idol called Teuchedy, to whom one of the fairest virgins in the country is monthly brought, and left in a private room, in the fotoqui, or church, where she sits alone to be deflowered. At certain times ²the Teuchedy (which is thought to be the devil) appears to her, and knoweth her carnally. Every month a fair virgin is taken in; but what becomes of the old, no man can tell. In that goodly temple of Jupiter Belus in Babylon, there was a fair chapel, ³saith Herodotus, an eye-witness of it, in which was *splendide stratus lectus et apposita mensa aurea*, a brave bed, a table of gold, &c., into which no creature came but one only woman, which their god made choice of, as the Chaldean priests told him, and that their god lay with her himself, as at Thebes in Egypt was the like done of old. So that you see this is no news, the devils themselves, or their juggling priests, have played such pranks in all ages. Many divines stiffly contradict this; but I will conclude with ⁴Lipsius, that since “examples, testimonies, and confessions, of those unhappy women are so manifest on the other side, and many even in this our town of Louvain, that it is likely to be so. ⁵One thing I will add, that I suppose that in no age past, I know not by what destiny of this unhappy time, have there ever appeared or showed themselves so many lecherous devils, satyrs, and genii, as in this of ours, as appears by the daily narrations, and judicial sentences upon record.” Read more of this question in Plutarch, *vit. Numæ*, Austin. *de civ. Dei*, lib. 15, Wierus, lib. 3, *de præstig. Dæm.* Giraldus Cambrensis, *itinerar. Camb.* lib. 1. Malleus, *malefic. quæst.* 5, part. 1. Jacobus Reussus, lib. 5, cap. 6, fol. 54. Godelman, lib. 2, cap. 4. Erastus, *Valesius de sacrâ philo.* cap. 40. John Nider, *Fornicar.* lib. 5, cap. 9. Stroz. Cicogna,

¹ Purchas, Hack. posth. par. 1, lib. 4, cap. 1, S. 7. ² In Clio. ³ Deus ipse

hoc cubili requiescens. ⁴ Physiologiæ Stoicorum, l. 1, cap. 20. Si spiritus unde semen iis, &c., at exempla turbant nos; mulierum quotidianæ confessiones de mistione omnes asserunt, et sunt in

hac urbe Lovanio exempla. ⁵ Unum dixero, non opinari me ullo retro ævo tantam copiam Satyrorum, et salacium istorum Geniorum se ostendisse, quantum nunc quotidianæ narrationes, et judiciales sententiæ proferunt.

lib. 3, cap. 3. Delrio, Lipsius, Bodine, *dæmonol. lib. 2, cap. 7.*
Pererius, in Gen. lib. 8, in 6 cap. ver. 2. King James, &c.

SUBJECT. II.—*How Love tyrannizeth over Men. Love, or Heroical Melancholy, his Definition, Part affected.*

YOU have heard how this tyrant Love rageth with brute beasts and spirits; now let us consider what passions it causeth amongst men.

¹*Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* How it tickles the hearts of mortal men, *Horresco referens*,——— I am almost afraid to relate, amazed, ²and ashamed, it hath wrought such stupendous and prodigious effects, such foul offences. Love indeed (I may not deny) first united provinces, built cities, and by a perpetual generation makes and preserves mankind, propagates the church; but if it rage it is no more love, but burning lust, a disease, frenzy, madness, hell. ³*Est orcus ille, vis est immedicabilis, est rabies insana;* 'tis no virtuous habit this, but a vehement perturbation of the mind, a monster of nature, wit, and art, as Alexis in ⁴*Athenæus* sets it out, *viriliter audax, muliebriter timidum, furore præceps, labore infractum, mel felleum, blanda percussio*, &c. It subverts kingdoms, overthrows cities, towns, families, mars, corrupts, and makes a massacre of men; thunder and lightning, wars, fires, plagues, have not done that mischief to mankind, as this burning lust, this brutish passion. Let Sodom and Gomorrah, Troy (which Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis will make good), and I know not how many cities bear record,——*et fuit ante Helenam*, &c., all succeeding ages will subscribe; Joanna of Naples in Italy, Frederunde and Brunhalt in France, all histories are full of these basilisks. Besides those daily monomachies, murders, effusion of blood, rapes, riot, and immoderate expense, to satisfy their lusts, beggary, shame, loss, torture, punishment, disgrace, loathsome diseases that proceed from thence, worse than

¹ Virg. ² "For it is a shame to speak in secret," Eph. v. 12. ³ Plutarch, of those things which are done of them amator. lib. ⁴ Lib. 13.

calentures and pestilent fevers, those often gout, pox, *arthritidis*, palsies, cramps, *sciatica*, convulsions, aches, combustions, &c., which torment the body, that feral melancholy which crucifies the soul in this life, and everlasting torments in the world to come.

Notwithstanding they know these and many such miseries, threats, tortures, will surely come upon them, rewards, exhortations, *e contra* ; yet either out of their own weakness, a depraved nature, or love's tyranny, which so furiously rageth, they suffer themselves to be led like an ox to the slaughter ; (*Facilis descensus Averni*) they go down headlong to their own perdition, they will commit folly with beasts, men "leaving the natural use of women," as ¹Paul saith, "burned in lust one towards another, and man with man wrought filthiness."

Semiramis equo, Pasiphaë tauro, Aristo Ephesius asinæ se commiscuit, Fulvius equæ, alii canibus, capris, &c., unde monstrâ nascuntur aliquando, Centauri, Sylvani, et ad terrorem hominum prodigiosa spectra : Nec cum brutis, sed ipsis hominibus rem habent, quod peccatum Sodomix vulgo dicitur ; et frequens olim vitium apud Orientales illos fuit, Græcos nimirum, Italos, Afros, Asianos : ²Hercules Hylam habuit, Polycletum, Dionem, Perithoonta, Abderum et Phryga ; alii et Euristium ab Hercule amatum tradunt. Socrates pulchrorum Adolescentium causâ frequens Gymnasium adibat, flagitiosoque spectaculo pascebat oculos, quod et Philebus et Phædon Rivales, Charmides et ³reliqui Platonis Dialogi, satis superque testatum faciunt : quod vero Alcibiades de eodem Socrate loquatur, lubens conticesco, sed et abhorreo ; tantum incitamentum præbet libidini. At hunc perstrinxit Theodoretus, lib. de curat. græc. affect. cap. ultimo. Quin et ipse Plato suum demiratur Agathonem, Xenophon Cliniam, Virgilius Alexin, Anacreon Bathyllum : Quod autem de Nerone, Claudio, cæterorumque portentosa libidine memoriæ proditum, mallet a Petronio, Suetonio, cæterisque petatis, quando omnem fidem

¹ Rom. 1, 27.

² Lilius Giralduſ, vita ejus.

³ Pueros amare ſolis Philoſophis relinquendum vult Lucianus, dial. Amorum.

excedat, quam a me expectetis; sed vetera querimur. ¹*Apud Asianos, Turcas, Italos, nunquam frequentius hoc quam hodierno die vitium; Diana Romanorum Sodomia; officinæ horum alicubi apud Turcas,——“qui saxis semina mandant”——arenas arantes; et frequentes querelæ, etiam inter ipsos conjuges hæc de re, quæ virorum concubitum illicitum calceo in oppositam partem verso magistratui indicant; nullum apud Italos familiare magis peccatum, qui et post* ²*Lucianum et* ³*Tatium, scriptis voluminibus defendunt.* Johannes de la Casa, Beventius, *Episcopus, divinum opus vocat, suave scelus, adeoque jactat se non aliâ usum Venere. Nihil usitatius apud monachos, Cardinales, sacrificulos, etiam* ⁴*furor hic ad mortem, ad insaniam.* ⁵*Angelus Politianus, ob pueri amorem, violentas sibi manus injectit. Et horrendum sane dictu, quantum apud nos patrum memoriâ, scelus detestandum hoc sævierit! Quum enim Anno 1538, prudentissimus Rex Henricus Octavus cucullatorum cœnobîa, et sacrificorum collegia, votariorum, per venerabiles legum Doctores Thomam Leum, Richardum Laytonum visitari fecerat, &c., tanto numero reperti sunt apud eos scortatores, cinædi, ganeones, pædicones, puerarii, pæderastæ, Sodomitæ (⁶*Balei verbi utor*), Ganimedes, &c., ut in unoquoque eorum novam credideris Gomorrhæam. Sed vide si lubet eorundem Catalogum apud eundem Baleum; Puellæ (inquit) in lectis dormire non poterant ob fratres necromanticos. Hæc si apud votarios, monachos, sanctos scilicet homunciones, quid in foro, quid in anlâ factum suspiceris? quid apud nobiles, quid inter fornice, quam non fæditatem, quam non spurcitiem? Sileo interim turpes illas, et ne nominandas quidem monachorum* ⁷*mastrupationes, masturbatores.* ⁸*Rodericus a Castro vocat, tum et eos qui se invicem ad Venerem excitandam flagris cædunt, Spintrias, Succubas, Ambubeias, et lasciviente lumbo Tribades illas mulierculas, quæ se invicem fricant, et præter*

¹ Busbequius. ² Achilles Tatius, lib. 2. ³ Lucianus Charidemo. ⁴ Non est hæc mentula demens, Mart. ⁵ Jo-
vius Musc. ⁶ Præfat. lectori lib. de

vitæ pontif. ⁷ Mercurialis, cap. de Pri-
apismo. Coelius, l. 11, antiq. lect. cap. 14.
Galenus, 6, de locis aff. ⁸ De morb.
mulier. lib. 1, cap. 15.

Eunuchos etiam ad Venerem explendam, artificiosa illa veretra habent. Immo quod magis mirere, fœmina fœminam Constantinopoli non ita pridem deperit, ausa rem plane incredibilem, mutato cultu mentita virum de nuptiis sermonem init, et brevi nupta est: sed authorem ipsum consule Busbequium. Omitto ¹*Salinarios illos Egyptiacos, qui cum formosarum cadaveribus concumbunt; et eorum vesanam libidinem, qui etiam idola et imagines depereunt. Nota est fabula Pygmalionis apud* ²*Ovidium; Mundi et Paulini apud Ægesippum, belli Jud. lib. 2, cap. 4. Pontius C. Cæsaris legatus, referente Plinio, lib. 35, cap. 3, quem suspicor eum esse qui Christum crucifixit, picturis Atalantæ et Helenæ adeo libidine incensus, ut tollere eas vellet si natura tectorii permisisset; alius statuam bonæ Fortunæ deperit; (Ælianus, lib. 9, cap. 37,) alius Bonæ deæ, et ne qua pars probo vacet,* ³*Raptus ad stupra (quod ait ille) et ne* * *os quidem a libidine exceptum. Heliogabalus, per omnia cava corporis libidinem recepit, Lamprid. vita ejus. Hostius quidam specula fecit, et ita disposuit, ut quum virum ipse pateretur, aversus omnes admissarii motus in speculo videret, ac deinde falsâ magnitudine ipsius membri tanquam verâ gauderet, simul virum et fœminam passus, quod dictu fœdum et abominandum. Ut verum plane sit, quod apud* ⁵*Plutarchum Gryllus Ulyssi objecit. Ad hunc usque diem apud nos neque mas marem, neque fœmina fœminam amavit, qualia multa apud vos memorabiles et præclari viri fecerunt: ut viles missos faciam, Hercules imberbem sectans socium, amicos deseruit, &c. Vestræ libidines intra suos naturæ fines coerceri non possunt, quin instar fluvii exundantis atrocem fœditatem, tumultum, confusionemque naturæ gignant in re venereâ: nam et capras, porcos, equos inierunt viri et fœminæ, insano bestiarum amore exarserunt, unde Minotauri, Centauri, Sylvani,*

¹ Herodotus, l. 2, Euterpæ: uxores insignium virorum non statim vitâ functas tradunt condendas, ac ne eas quidem fœminas quæ formosæ sunt, sed quatuor ante defunctas, ne cum iis salinarii concubant, &c.

² Metam. 13.

³ Seneca, de ira, l. 11, c. 18. * Nullus est meatus ad quem non pateat aditus impuditiæ. Clem. Alex. pædag. lib. 3, c. 3.

⁴ Seneca, l. nat. quæst. ⁵ Tom. P. Gryllo.

Sphinges, &c. *Sed ne confutando doceam, aut ea foras efferam quæ non omnes scire convenit* (*hæc enim doctis solummodo, quod causa non absimili* ¹ *Rodericus, scripta velim*), *ne levissimis ingeniis et depravatis mentibus fœdissimi sceleris notitiam, &c., nolo quem diutius hisce sordibus inquinare.*

I come at last to that heroical love which is proper to men and women, is a frequent cause of melancholy, and deserves much rather to be called burning lust, than by such an honourable title. There is an honest love, I confess, which is natural, *laqueus occultus captivans corda hominum, ut a mulieribus non possint separari*, “a secret snare to captivate the hearts of men,” as ²Christopher Fonseca proves, a strong allurements, of a most attractive, occult, adamant property, and powerful virtue, and no man living can avoid it. ³*Et qui vim non sensit amoris, aut lapis est, aut bellua.* He is not a man but a block, a very stone, *aut* ⁴*Numen, aut Nebuchadnezzar*, he hath a gourd for his head, a *pepon* for his heart, that hath not felt the power of it, and a rare creature to be found, one in an age, *Qui nunquam visæ flagravît amore puellæ*; ⁵for *semel insanivimus omnes*, dote we either young or old, as ⁶he said, and none are excepted but Minerva and the Muses; so Cupid in ⁷Lucian complains to his mother Venus, that amongst all the rest his arrows could not pierce them. But this nuptial love is a common passion, an honest, for men to love in the way of marriage; *ut materia appetit formam, sic mulier virum*.⁸ You know marriage is honourable, a blessed calling, appointed by God himself in Paradise; it breeds true peace, tranquillity, content, and happiness, *quâ nulla est aut fuit unquam sanctior conjunctio*, as Daphnæus in ⁹Plutarch could well prove, *et quæ generi humano immortalitatem parat*, when they live without jarring, scolding, lovingly as they should do.

¹ De morbis mulierum, l. 1, c. 15.

² Amphitheat. amor. c. 4, interpret. Curtio. ³ Æneas Sylvius Juvenal.

⁴ And he who has not felt the influence of love is either a stone or a beast.⁷

⁴ Tertul. prover. lib. 4, adversus Manc.

cap. 40.

⁵ “One whom no maiden’s beauty had ever affected.”

⁶ Chaucer.

⁷ Tom. 1, dial. deorum, Lucianus. Amore non ardent Musæ.

⁸ “As matter seeks form, so woman turns towards man.”

⁹ In amator. dialog.

1 " Felices ter et amplius
 Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec ullis
 Divulsus querimoniis
 Suprema citius solvit amor die."

" Thrice happy they, and more than that,
 Whom bond of love so firmly ties,
 That without brawls till death them part,
 'Tis undissolved and never dies."

As Seneca lived with his Paulina, Abraham and Sarah, Orpheus and Eurydice, Arria and Pœtus, Artemisia and Mausolus, Rubenius Celer, that would needs have it engraven on his tomb, he had led his life with Ennea, his dear wife, forty-three years eight months, and never fell out. There is no pleasure in this world comparable to it, 'tis *summum mortalitatis bonum*——² *hominum divûmque voluptas*, *Alma Venus*——*latet enim in muliere aliquid majus potentiusque omnibus aliis humanis voluptatibus*, as ³ one holds, there's something in a woman beyond all human delight; a magnetic virtue, a charming quality, an occult and powerful motive. The husband rules her as head, but she again commands his heart, he is her servant, she his only joy and content; no happiness is like unto it, no love so great as this of man and wife, no such comfort as ⁴ *placens uxor*, a sweet wife: ⁵ *Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major*. When they love at last as fresh as they did at first, ⁶ *Charaque charo consenescit conjugi*, as Homer brings Paris kissing Helen, after they had been married ten years, protesting withal that he loved her as dear as he did the first hour that he was betrothed. And in their old age, when they make much of one another, saying, as he did to his wife in the poet,

7 " Uxor vivamus quod viximus, et moriamur,
 Servantes nomen sumpsimus in thalamo:
 Nec ferat ulla dies ut commutemur in ævo,
 Quin tibi sim juvenis, tuque puella mihi."

" Dear wife, let's live in love and die together,
 As hitherto we have in all good will:

1 Hor.
 4 Hor.

2 Lucretius.
 5 Propert.

3 Fonseca. Græc. "She grows old in love and in
 6 Simonides, years together." 7 Ausonius.

Let no day change or alter our affections,
But let's be young to one another still."

Such should conjugal love be, still the same, and as they are one flesh, so should they be of one mind, as in an aristocratical government, one consent, ¹ Geryon-like, *coalescere in unum*, have one heart in two bodies, will and nill the same. A good wife, according to Plutarch, should be as a looking-glass to represent her husband's face and passion; if he be pleasant, she should be merry; if he laugh, she should smile; if he look sad, she should participate of his sorrow, and bear a part with him, and so they should continue in mutual love one towards another.

² "Et me ab amore tuo deducet nulla senectus,
Sive ego Tythonus, sive ego Nestor ero."

"No age shall part my love from thee, sweet wife,
Though I live Nestor or Tithonus's life."

And she again to him, as the ³ Bride saluted the Bridegroom of old in Rome, *ubi tu Caius, ego semper Caia*, be thou still Caius, I'll be Caia.

'Tis a happy state this indeed, when the fountain is blessed (saith Solomon, Prov. v. 17,) "and he rejoiceth with the wife of his youth, and she is to him as the loving hind and pleasant roe, and he delights in her continually." But this love of ours is immoderate, inordinate, and not to be comprehended in any bounds. It will not contain itself within the union of marriage, or apply to one object, but is a wandering, extravagant, a domineering, a boundless, an irrefragable, a destructive passion; sometimes this burning lust rageth after marriage, and then it is properly called jealousy; sometimes before, and then it is called heroical melancholy; it extends sometimes to corrivals, &c., begets rapes, incests, murders: *Marcus Antonius compressit Faustinae sororem, Caracalla Juliam novercam, Nero matrem, Caligula sorores, Cynerus Myrrham filiam*, &c. But it is confined within no terms of blood, years, sex, or whatsoever else. Some furiously rage

¹ Geryon amicitiae symbolum.

² Propert. l. 2.

³ Plutarch. c. 30, Rom. hist.

before they come to discretion or age. ¹Quartilla in Petronius never remembered she was a maid; and the wife of Bath, in Chaucer, cracks,

*Since I was twelve years old, believe,
Husbands at Kirk-door had I five.*

²Aratine Lucretia sold her maidenhead a thousand times before she was twenty-four years old, *plus millies vendiderat virginitatem, &c., neque te celabo, non deerant qui ut integram ambirent*. Rahab, that harlot, began to be a professed quean at ten years of age, and was but fifteen when she hid the spies, as ³Hugh Broughton proves, to whom Serrarius the Jesuit, *quæst.* 6, *in cap.* 2, *Josue*, subscribes. Generally women begin *pubescere*, as they call it, or *catulire*, as Julius Pollux cites, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 3, *onomast.* out of Aristophanes, ⁴at fourteen years old, then they do offer themselves, and some plainly rage. ⁵Leo Afer saith, that in Africa a man shall scarce find a maid at fourteen years of age, they are so forward, and many amongst us after they come into the teens do not live without husbands, but linger. What pranks in this kind the middle ages have played is not to be recorded. *Si mihi sint centum linguæ, sint oraque centum*, no tongue can sufficiently declare, every story is full of men and women's insatiable lust, Neros, Heliogabali, Bonosi, &c. ⁶*Cælius Amphilenus, sed Quintius Amphelinam depereunt, &c.* They neigh after other men's wives (as Jeremiah, *cap.* v. 8, complaineth) like fed horses, or range like town bulls, *raptores virginum et viduarum*, as many of our great ones do. Solomon's wisdom was extinguished in this fire of lust, Samson's strength enervated, piety in Lot's daughters quite forgot, gravity of priesthood in Eli's sons, reverend old age in the Elders that would violate Susanna, filial duty in Absalom to

¹ *Juonem habeam iratam, si unquam meminerim me virginem fuisse. Infans enim paribus inquinata sum et subinde majoribus me applicui, donec ad ætatem perveni; ut Milo vitulum, &c.* ² *Por-nodidasc. dial. lat. interp. Casp. Barthio*

ex Ital. ³ *Angelico scriptur. concentu.*

⁴ *Epictetus, c. 42, mulieres statim ab anno 14, movere incipiunt, &c., attractari se sinunt et exponunt, Levinus Lemnius.*

⁵ *Lib. 3, fol. 126.* ⁶ *Catullus.*

his step-mother, brotherly love in Amnon towards his sister. Human, divine laws, precepts, exhortations, fear of God and men, fair, foul means, fame, fortune, shame, disgrace, honour cannot oppose, stave off, or withstand the fury of it, *omnia vincit amor*, &c. No cord nor cable can so forcibly draw, or hold so fast, as love can do with a twined thread. The scorching beams under the equinoctial, or extremity of cold within the circle arctic, where the very seas are frozen, cold or torrid zone, cannot avoid or expel this heat, fury, and rage of mortal men.

¹ "Quo fugis ah demens, nulla est fuga, tu licet usque
Ad Tanaim fugias, usque sequetur amor."

Of women's unnatural, ² insatiable lust, what country, what village doth not complain? Mother and daughter sometimes dote on the same man, father and son, master and servant, on one woman.

"Sed amor, sed ineffrenata libido,
Quid castum in terris intentatumque reliquit?" ³

What breach of vows and oaths, fury, dotage, madness, might I reckon up? Yet this is more tolerable in youth, and such as are still in their hot blood? but for an old fool to dote, to see an old lecher, what more odious, what can be more absurd? And yet what so common? Who so furious? ⁴ *Amare eâ ætate si occeperint, multo insaniunt acrius.* Some dote then more than ever they did in their youth. How many decrepit, hoary, harsh, writhen, bursten-bellied, crooked, toothless, bald, blear-eyed, impotent, rotten old men shall you see flickering still in every place? One gets him a young wife, another a courtesan, and when he can scarce lift his leg over a sill, and hath one foot already in Charon's boat, when he hath the trembling in his joints, the gout in his feet, a perpetual rheum in his head, "a continue cough," ⁵ his

¹ Euripides. "Whithersoever enraged you fly there is no escape. Although you reach the Tanais, love will still pursue you." ² De mulierum inexhaustâ libidine luxuque insatiabili omnes æque

regiones conqueri posse existimo. Steph. ³ "What have lust and unrestrained desire left chaste or inviolate upon earth?" ⁴ Plautus. ⁵ Oculi caligant, aures graviter audiunt, capilli flu-

sight fails him, thick of hearing, his breath stinks, all his moisture is dried up and gone, may not spit from him, a very child again, that cannot dress himself, or cut his own meat, yet he will be dreaming of, and honing after wenches, what can be more unseemly? Worse it is in women than in men, when she is *ætate declivis, diu vidua, mater olim, parum decore matrimonium sequi videtur*, an old widow, a mother so long since (¹ in Pliny's opinion), she doth very unseemly seek to marry, yet whilst she is so ² old a crone, a beldam, she can neither see, nor hear, go, nor stand, a mere ³ carcass, a witch, and scarce feel; she caterwauls, and must have a stallion, a champion, she must and will marry again, and betroth herself to some young man, ⁴ that hates to look on, but for her goods; abhors the sight of her, to the prejudice of her good name, her own undoing, grief of friends, and ruin of her children.

But to enlarge or illustrate this power and effects of love, is to set a candle in the sun. ⁵ It rageth with all sorts and conditions of men, yet is most evident among such as are young and lusty, in the flower of their years, nobly descended, high fed, such as live idly, and at ease; and for that cause (which our divines call burning lust) this ⁶ *ferinus insanus amor*, this mad and beastly passion, as I have said, is named by our physicians heroical love, and a more honourable title put upon it, *Amor nobilis*, as ⁷ Savanarola styles it, because noble men and women make a common practice of it, and are so ordinarily affected with it. Avicenna, *lib. 3, Fen. 1, tract. 4, cap. 33*, calleth this passion *Ilishi*, and defines it ⁸ "to be a disease or melancholy vexation, or anguish of mind, in which a man continually meditates of the beauty, gesture, manners of his mistress, and troubles himself about it; desiring," (as

unt, cutis arescit, flatus olet, tussis, &c. Cyprian.

¹ Lib. 8, Epist. Ruffinus.

² Hiatus turpis inter aridas nates podex.

³ Cadaverosa adeo ut ab inferis reversa videri possit, vult adhuc catullire.

⁴ Nam et matrimoniis est despectum senium. Æneas Sylvius.

⁵ Quid toto terrarum orbe communius? quæ civitas, quod oppidum, quæ familia vacat amatorum exemplis? Æneas Sylvius. Quis trigesimum annum natus nullum amoris

causâ peregit insigne facinus? ego de me facio conjecturam, quem amor in mille periculâ misit.

⁶ Forestus, Plato.

⁷ Pract. major. Tract. 6, cap. 1, Rub. 11, de ægrit. cap. quod his multum contingat.

⁸ Hæc ægritudo est sollicitudo melancholica in quâ homo applicat sibi continuam cogitationem super pulchritudine ipsius quam amat, gestuum, morum.

Savanarola adds) with all intentions and eagerness of mind, "to compass or enjoy her, ¹as commonly hunters trouble themselves about their sports, the covetous about their gold and goods, so is he tormented still about his mistress." Arnoldus Villanovanus, in his book of heroical love, defines it, ²"a continual cogitation of that which he desires, with a confidence or hope of compassing it;" which definition his commentator cavils at. For continual cogitation is not the *genus* but a symptom of love; we continually think of that which we hate and abhor, as well as that which we love; and many things we covet and desire, without all hope of attaining. Carolus à Lorme, in his Questions, makes a doubt, *An amor sit morbus*, whether this heroical love be a disease; Julius Pollux, *Onomast. lib. 6, cap. 44*, determines it. They that are in love are likewise ³sick; *lascivus, salax, lasciviens, et qui in venerem furit, vere est ægrotus*. Arnoldus will have it improperly so called, and a malady rather of the body than mind. Tully, in his *Tusculans*, defines it a furious disease of the mind; Plato, madness itself. Ficinus, his Commentator, *cap. 12*, a species of madness, "for many have run mad for women," Esdr. iv. 26. But ⁴Rhasis "a melancholy passion;" and most physicians make it a species or kind of melancholy (as will appear by the symptoms), and treat of it apart; whom I mean to imitate, and to discuss it in all his kinds, to examine his several causes, to show his symptoms, indications, prognostics, effect, that so it may be with more facility cured.

The part affected in the mean time, as ⁵Arnoldus supposeth, "is the former part of the head for want of moisture," which his commentator rejects. Langius, *med. epist. lib. 1, cap. 24*, will have this passion seated in the liver, and to keep residence in the heart, ⁶"to proceed first from the eyes so carried by our spirits, and kindled with imagination in the

¹ Animi forte accidens quo quis rem habere nimiam aviditate concupiscit, ut ludos venatores, aurum et opes avari.

² Assidua cogitatio super rem desideratam, cum confidentia obtinendi, aut spe apprehensum delectabile, &c. ³ Morbus corporis potius quam animi. ⁴ Amor

est passio melancholica.

⁵ Ob calefactionem spirituum pars anterior capitis laborat ob consumptionem humiditatis.

⁶ Affectus animi concupiscibilis e desiderio rei amate per oculos in mente concepto, spiritus in corde et jecore incendens.

liver and heart ;" *coget amare jecur*, as the saying is. *Medium feret per epar*, as Cupid in Anacreon. For some such cause belike ¹ Homer feigns Titius's liver (who was enamoured of Latona) to be still gnawed by two vultures day and night in hell, ² "for that young men's bowels thus enamoured, are so continually tormented by love." Gordonius, *cap. 2, part. 2*, ³ "will have the testicles an immediate subject or cause, the liver an antecedent." Fracastorius agrees in this with Gordonius, *inde primitus imaginatio venerea, erectio, &c., titillatissimam partem vocat, ita ut nisi extruso semine gestiens voluptas non cessat, nec assidua veneris recordatio, addit* Gnastivinius, *Comment. 4 Sect. prob. 27, Arist.* But ⁴ properly it is a passion of the brain, as all other melancholy, by reason of corrupt imagination, and so doth Jason Pratensis, *c. 19, de morb. cerebri* (who writes copiously of this erotical love), place and reckon it amongst the affections of the brain. ⁵ Melancthon, *de animâ*, confutes those that make the liver a part affected, and Guianerius, *Tract. 15, cap. 13 et 17*, though many put all the affections in the heart, refers it to the brain. Ficinus, *cap. 7, in Convivium Platonis*, "will have the blood to be the part affected." Jo. Frietagus, *cap. 14, noct. med.* supposeth all four affected, heart, liver, brain, blood ; but the major part concur upon the brain, ⁶ 'tis *imaginatio læsa* ; and both imagination and reason are misaffected ; because of his corrupt judgment, and continual meditation of that which he desires, he may truly be said to be melancholy. If it be violent, or his disease inveterate, as I have determined in the precedent partitions, both imagination and reason are misaffected, first one then the other.

¹ Odyss. et Metamor. 4, Ovid. ² Quod talem carnificinam in adolescentum visceribus amor faciat inexplēbilis. ³ Testiculi quoad causam conjunctam, epar antecedentem, possunt esse subjectum. ⁴ Proprie passio cerebri est ob corruptam imaginationem. ⁵ Cap. de affectibus.

⁶ Est corruptio imaginativæ et æstimatoris facultatis, ob formam fortiter affixam, corruptumque judicium, ut semper de eo cogitet, ideoque recte melancholicus appellatur. Concupiscentia vehemens ex corrupto judicio æstimatoris virtutis.

MEMB. II.

SUBJECT. I.—*Causes of Heroical Love, Temperature, full Diet, Idleness, Place, Climate, &c.*

OF all causes the remotest are stars. ¹ Ficinus, *cap.* 19, saith they are most prone to this burning lust, that have Venus in Leo in their horoscope, when the Moon and Venus be mutually aspected, or such as be of Venus's complexion. ² Plutarch interprets astrologically that tale of Mars and Venus, "in whose genitures ♂ and ♀ are in conjunction," they are commonly lascivious, and if women, queans; "as the good wife of Bath confessed in Chaucer;"

*I followed aye mine inclination,
By virtue of my constellation.*

But of all those astrological aphorisms which I have ever read, that of Cardan is most memorable, for which howsoever he is bitterly censured by ³ Marinus Marcennus, a malapert friar, and some others (which ⁴ he himself suspected) yet methinks it is free, downright, plain and ingenuous. In his ⁵ eighth *Geniture*, or example, he hath these words of himself. ♂ ♀ and ☿ in ☿ *dignitatibus assiduam mihi Venereorum cogitationem præstabunt, ita ut nunquam quiescam.* Et paulo post, *Cogitatio Venereorum me torquet perpetuo, et quam facto implere non licuit, aut fecisse potentem puduit, cogitatione assiduâ mentitus sum voluptatem.* Et alibi, ob ☾ et ☿ *dominium et radiorum mixtionem, profundum fuit ingenium, sed lascivum, egoque turpi libidini deditus et obscænus.* So far Cardan of himself, *quod de se fatetur ideo* ⁶ *ut utilitatem adferat studiosis hujusce disciplinæ,* and for this he is traduced by Marcennus, when as in effect he saith

¹ Comment. in Convivium Platonis. Irretriuntur cito quibus nascentibus Venus fuerit in Leone, vel Luna venerem vehementer aspexerit, et qui eadem complexionem sunt præditi. ² Plerumque amatores sunt, et si feminae, meretrices, 7, de audiend. ³ Comment. in Genes.

cap. 3. ⁴ Et si in hoc parum a præclara infamiâ stultitiâque abero, vincit tamen amor veritatis. ⁵ Edit. Basil. 1553. Cum Commentar. in Ptolomæi quadripartitum. ⁶ Fol. 445. Basil. Edit.

no more than what Gregory Nazianzen of old, to Chilo his scholar, *offerebant se mihi visendæ mulieres, quarum præcellenti elegantia et decore spectabili teatatur meæ integritas pudicitia. Et quidem flagitium vitavi fornicationis, at munditiæ virginalis florem arcanâ cordis cogitatione fœdavi. Sed ad rem.* Aptiores ad masculinam venerem sunt quorum genesi Venus est in signo masculino, et in Saturni finibus aut oppositione, &c. Ptolomeus in quadripart. plura de his et specialia habet aphorismata, longo proculdubio usu confirmata, et ab experientiâ multâ perfecta, inquit commentator ejus Cardanus. Tho. Campanella, *Astrologiæ, lib. 4, cap. 8, articulis 4 and 5*, insaniam amatoriam remonstrantia, multa præ cæteris accumulât aphorismata, quæ qui volet, consulat. Chiromantici ex cingulo Veneris plerumque conjecturam faciunt, et monte Veneris, de quorum decretis, Taisnerum, Johan. de Indagine, Goclenium, ceterosque si lubet, inspicias. Physicians divine wholly from the temperature and complexion; phlegmatic persons are seldom taken, according to Ficinus, *Comment. cap. 9*; naturally melancholy less than they, but once taken they are never freed; though many are of opinion flatuous or hypochondriacal melancholy are most subject of all others to this infirmity. Valescus assigns their strong imagination for a cause, Bodine abundance of wind, Gordonius of seed, and spirits, or atomi in the seed, which cause their violent and furious passions. Sanguine thence are soon caught, young folks most apt to love, and by their good-wills, saith ¹Lucian, “would have a bout with every one they see;” the colt’s evil is common to all complexions. Theomestus, a young and lusty gallant, acknowledgeth (in the said author) all this to be verified in him, “I am so amorously given ²you may sooner number the sea-sands, and snow falling from the skies, than my several loves. Cupid had shot all his arrows at me, I am deluded with various de-

¹ Dial. amorum. ² Citius maris fluctus et nives cœlo delabentes numerâris quam amores meos; alii amores aliis succedunt, ac priusquam desinant priores,

incipiunt sequentes. Adeo humidis oculis meus inhabitat Asylum omnem formam ad se rapiens, ut nullâ satietate expleatur. Quænam hæc ira Veneris, &c.

sires, one love succeeds another, and that so soon, that before one is ended I begin with a second; she that is last is still fairest, and she that is present pleaseth me most; as an hydra's head my loves increase, no Iolaus can help me. Mine eyes are so moist a refuge and sanctuary of love, that they draw all beauties to them, and are never satisfied. I am in a doubt what fury of Venus this should be; alas, how have I offended her so to vex me, what Hippolytus am I! What Telchin is my genius? or is it a natural imperfection, an hereditary passion?" Another in ¹Anacreon confesseth that he had twenty sweethearts in Athens at once, fifteen at Corinth, as many at Thebes, at Lesbos, and at Rhodes, twice as many in Ionia, thrice in Caria, twenty thousand in all; or in a word, *ἐι φίλλα πάντα*, &c.

"Folia arborum omnium si
Nōsti referre cuncta,
Aut computare arenas
In æquore universas,
Solum meorum amorum
Te fecero logistam?"

"Canst count the leaves in May,
Or sands i' th' ocean sea?
Then count my loves I pray."

His eyes are like a balance, apt to propend each way, and to be weighed down with every wench's looks, his heart a weathercock, his affection tinder, or naphtha itself, which every fair object, sweet smile, or mistress's favour sets on fire. Guianerius, *tract.* 15, *cap.* 14, refers all this ² to "the hot temperature of the testicles," Ferandus a Frenchman in his *Erotique Mel.* (which ³ book came first to my hands after the third edition) to certain atomi in the seed, "such as are very spermatic and full of seed." I find the same in Aristot. *sect.* 4, *prob.* 17, *si non secernatur semen, cessare tentigines non possunt*, as Guastivinius his commentator translates it; for which cause those young men that be strong set, of able bodies, are

¹ Num. xxxii. ² Qui calidum testiculorum crisin habent, &c. ³ Printed at Paris 1624, seven years after my first edition.

so subject to it. Hercules de Saxoniâ hath the same words in effect. But most part I say, such as are aptest to love that are young and lusty, live at ease, stall-fed, free from cares, like cattle in a rank pasture, idle and solitary persons, they must needs *hirquitullire*, as Guastivinius recites out of Censorinus :

¹ "Mens erit apta capi tum quum lætissima rerum,
Ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo."

"The mind is apt to lust, and hot or cold,
As corn luxuriates in a better mould."

The place itself makes much wherein we live, the clime, air, and discipline if they concur. In our Misnia, saith Galen, near to Pergamus, thou shalt scarce find an adulterer, but many at Rome, by reason of the delights of the seat. It was that plenty of all things, which made ² Corinth so infamous of old, and the opportunity of the place to entertain those foreign comers ; every day strangers came in, at each gate, from all quarters. In that one temple of Venus a thousand whores did prostitute themselves, as Strabo writes, besides Lais and the rest of better note ; all nations resorted thither, as to a school of Venus. Your hot and southern countries are prone to lust, and far more incontinent than those that live in the north, as Bodine discourseth at large, *Method. hist. cap. 5, Molles Asiatici*, so are Turks, Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, even all that latitude ; and in those tracts, such as are more fruitful, plentiful, and delicious, as Valence in Spain, Capua in Italy, *domicilium luxus* Tully terms it, and (which Hannibal's soldiers can witness) Canopus in Egypt, Sybaris, Phœacia, Baiæ, ³ Cyprus, Lampsacus. In ⁴ Naples the fruit of the soil and pleasant air enervate their bodies, and alter constitutions ; insomuch that Florus calls it, *Certamen Bacchi et Veneris*, but ⁵ Foliot admires it. In

¹ Ovid de art. ² Gerbelius, descript. Græciæ. Rerum omnium affluentia et loci mira opportunitas, nullo non die hospites in portas advertebant. Templo Veneris mille meretrices se prostitutebant. ³ Tota Cypri insula deliciis incumbit, et ob id tantum luxuriæ dedita ut sit olim

Veneri sacrata. Ortelius. Lampsacus, olim Priapo sacer ob vinum generosum, et loci delicias, Idem. ⁴ Agri Neapolitani delectatio, elegantia, amenitas, vix intra modum humanum consistere videtur ; unde, &c., Leand. Alber. in Campaniâ. ⁵ Lib. de laud. urb. Neap. Dis-

Italy and Spain they have their stews in every great city, as in Rome, Venice, Florence, wherein, some say, dwell ninety thousand inhabitants, of which ten thousand are courtesans; and yet for all this, every gentleman almost hath a peculiar mistress; fornications, adulteries, are nowhere so common; *urbs est jam tota lupanar*; how should a man live honest amongst so many provocations? now if vigour of youth, greatness, liberty I mean, and that impunity of sin which grandees take unto themselves in this kind shall meet, what a gap must it needs open to all manner of vice, with what fury will it rage? For, as Maximus Tyrius the Platonist observes, *libido consequuta quum fuerit materiam improbam, et præruptam licentiam, et effrenatam audaciam, &c.*, what will not lust effect in such persons? For commonly princes and great men make no scruple at all of such matters, but with that whore in Spartian, *quicquid libet licet*, they think they may do what they list, profess it publicly, and rather brag with Proculus (that writ to a friend of his in Rome, ¹ what famous exploits he had done in that kind) than any way be abashed at it. ² Nicholas Sanders relates of Henry VIII. (I know not how truly) *Quod paucas vidit pulchriores quas non concupierit, et paucissimas concupierit quas non violarit*, "He saw very few maids that he did not desire, and desired fewer whom he did not enjoy;" nothing so familiar amongst them, 'tis most of their business; Sardanapalus, Messalina, and Joan of Naples, are not comparable to ³ meaner men and women; Solomon of old had a thousand concubines; Ahasuerus his eunuchs and keepers; Nero his Tigellinus, panders, and bawds; the Turks, ⁴ Muscovites, Mogors, Xeriffs of Barbary, and Persian Sophies, are no whit inferior to them in our times. *Delectus fit omnium puellarum toto regno formâ præstantiorum* (saith Jovius) *pro imperatore; et quas ille linquit, nobiles habent*; they press and

putat. de morbis animi. Reinoldo Interpret. ¹ Lampridius. Quod decem noctibus centum virgines fecisset mulieres.

² Vita ejus. ³ If they contain them-

selves, many times it is not virtutis amore; non deest voluntas sed facultas. ⁴ In Muscov.

muster up wenches as we do soldiers, and have their choice of the rarest beauties their countries can afford, and yet all this cannot keep them from adultery, incest, sodomy, buggery, and such prodigious lusts. We may conclude, that if they be young, fortunate, rich, high-fed, and idle withal, it is almost impossible that they should live honest, not rage, and precipitate themselves into these inconveniences of burning lust.

¹ "Otium et reges prius et beatas
Perdidit urbes."

Idleness overthrows all, *Vacuo pectore regnat amor*, love tyrannizeth in an idle person. *Amore abundas Antipho*. If thou hast nothing to do, ² "*Invidiâ vel amore miser torquerere* — Thou shalt be haled in pieces with envy, lust, some passion or other. *Homines nihil agendo male agere discunt*; 'tis Aristotle's simile, ³ "as match or touchwood takes fire, so doth an idle person love." *Quæritur Ægistus quare sit factus adulter*, &c., why was Ægistus a whoremaster? You need not ask a reason of it. Ismenedora stole Baccho, a woman forced a man, as ⁴ Aurora did Cephalus; no marvel, said ⁵ Plutarch, *Luxurians opibus more hominum mulier agit*: she was rich, fortunate and jolly, and doth but as men do in that case, as Jupiter did by Europa, Neptune by Amymone. The poets therefore did well to feign all shepherds lovers, to give themselves to songs and dalliances, because they lived such idle lives. For love, as ⁶ Theophrastus defines it, is *otiosi animi affectus*, an affection of an idle mind, or as ⁷ Seneca describes it, *Juventâ gignitur, luxu nutritur, feriis alitur, otioque inter læta fortunæ bonæ*; youth begets it, riot maintains it, idleness nourisheth it, &c., which makes ⁸ Gordenius, the physician, *cap. 20, part. 2*, call this disease the proper passion of nobility. Now if a weak judgment and a

¹ Catullus ad Lesbiam.

² Hor.

⁶ E Stobæo, ser. 62.

⁷ Amor otiosæ

³ Polit. 8, num. 28, ut naphtha ad ignem, sic amor ad illos qui torpescunt otio.

cura est sollicitudinis.

⁸ Principes ple-

⁴ Pausanias, Attic. lib. 1. Cephalus egregiæ formæ juvenis ab aurorâ raptus quod ejus amore capta esset.

rumque ob licentiam et affluentiam divitiarum istam passionem solent incur-

rere.

⁵ In amatorio.

strong apprehension do concur, how, saith Hercules de Saxoniâ, shall they resist? Savanarola appropriates it almost to ¹“monks, friars, and religious persons, because they live solitary, fare daintily, and do nothing;” and well he may, for how should they otherwise choose?

Diet alone is able to cause it; a rare thing to see a young man or a woman that lives idly, and fares well, of what condition soever, not to be in love. ² Alcibiades was still dallying with wanton young women, immoderate in his expenses, effeminate in his apparel, ever in love, but why? he was over-delicate in his diet, too frequent and excessive in banquets, *Ubicunque securitas, ibi libido dominatur*; lust and security domineer together, as St. Hierome averreth. All which the wife of Bath in Chaucer freely justifies,

*For all to sicker, as cold engendreth hail,
A liquorish tongue must have a liquorish tail.*

Especially if they shall further it by choice diet, as many times those Sybarites and Phæaces do, feed liberally, and by their good-will eat nothing else but lascivious meats. ³ *Vinum imprimis generosum, legumen, fabas, radices omnium generum bene conditas, et largo pipere aspersas, carduos hortulanos, lactucas, ⁴erucas, rapas, porros, cæpas, nucem piceam, amygdalas dulces, electuaria, syrupos, succos, cochleas, conchas, pisces optime præparatos, aviculas, testiculos animalium, ova, condimenta diversorum generum, molles lectos, pulvinaria, &c. Et quicquid fere medici impotentiâ rei venereæ laboranti præscribunt, hoc quasi diasatyrion habent in deliciis, et his dapes multo delicatiores; mulsum, exquisitas et exoticas fruges, aromata, placentas, expressos succos multis ferculis variatos, ipsumque vinum suavitate vincentes, et quicquid culina, pharmacopœia, aut quæque fere officina subministrare possit. Et hoc plerumque victu quum se ganeones infarciant, ⁵ut ille ob Chreseida suam, se bulbis et cochleis curavit; etiam ad*

¹ Ardenter appetit qui otiosam vitam agit, et communiter incurrit hæc passio solitarios deliciose viventes. incontinentes, religiosos, &c. ² Plutarch. vit. ejus. ³ Vina parant animos veneri. ⁴ Sed

nihil erucæ faciunt bulbique salaces; Improba nec prosunt jam satureia tibi. Ovid. ⁵ Petronius. Curavi me mox cibus validioribus, &c.

Venerem se parent, et ad hanc palestram se exerçant, qui fieri possit ut non misere depereant, ¹ut non penitus insaniant? Æstuans venter cito despuat in libidinem, Hieronymus ait. ²Post prandia, Callyroenda. Quis enim continere se potest? ³Luxuriosa res vinum, fomentum libidinis vocat Augustinus; blandum dæmonem, Bernardus; lac veneris, Aristophanes. Non Ætna, non Vesuvius tantis ardoribus æstuant ac juveniles medullæ vino plenæ, addit ⁴Hieronymus: unde ob optimum vinum Lampsacus olim Priapo sacer: et venerandi Bacchi socia, apud ⁵Orpheum Venus audit. Hæc si vinum simplex, et per se sumptum præstare possit, nam ———⁶quo me Bacche rapis tui plenum? quam non insaniam, quem non furorem a cæteris expectemus? ⁷Gome-sius salem enumerat inter ea quæ intempestivam libidinem provocare solent, et salaciores fieri feminas ob esum salis contendit: Venerem ideo dicunt ab Oceano ortam.

⁸“Unde tot in Venetâ scortorum millia cursant?

In promptu causa est, est Venus orta mari.”

Et hinc fœta mater Salacea Oceani conjux, verbumque fortasse salax a sale effluxit. Mala Bacchica tantum olim in amoribus prævaluerunt, ut coronæ ex illis statuæ Bacchi ponerentur. ⁹Cubebis in vino maceratis utuntur Indi Orientales ad Venerem excitandam, et ¹⁰Surax radice Africani. Chinæ radix eosdem effectus habet, talisque herbæ meminit mag. nat. lib. 2, cap. 16. ¹¹Baptista Porta ex Indiâ allatæ, cujus mentionem facit et Theophrastus. Sed infinita his similia apud Rhasin, Matthiolum, Mizaldum, cæterosque medicos occurrunt, quorum ideo mentionem feci, ne quis imperitior in hos scopulos impingat, sed pro virili tanquam syrtis et cautes consulto effugiat.

¹ Uti ille apud Skenkium, qui post potionem, uxorem et quatuor ancillas proximo cubiculo cubantes, compressit.

² Pers. Sat. 3. ³ Siracides. Nox, et amor vinumque nihil moderabile suadent.

⁴ Lip. ad Olympiam. ⁵ Hymno.

⁶ Hor. l. 3, Od. 25. ⁷ De sale lib. cap. 21.

⁸ Kornmannus, lib. de virginitate.

⁹ Garcias ab horto aromatum, lib. 1, cap.

28. ¹⁰ Surax radix ad coitum summe facit si quis comedat, aut infusionem bibat, membrum subito erigitur. Leo Afer, lib. 9, cap. ult. ¹¹ Quæ non solum edentibus sed et genitale tangentibus tantum valet, ut coire summe desiderent; quoties fere velint, possint; alios duodecies profecisse, alios ad 60 vices pervenisse refert.

SUBJECT. II.—*Other Causes of Love-Melancholy, Sight, Beauty from the Face, Eyes, other Parts, and how it pierceth.*

MANY such causes may be reckoned up, but they cannot avail, except opportunity be offered of time, place, and those other beautiful objects, or artificial enticements, as kissing, conference, discourse, gestures concur, with such like lascivious provocations. Kornmannus, in his book *de lineâ amoris*, makes five degrees of lust, out of ¹ Lucian belike, which he handles in five chapters, *Visus, Colloquium, Convictus, Oscula, Tactus*.² Sight, of all other, is the first step of this unruly love, though sometime it be prevented by relation or hearing, or rather incensed. For there be those so apt, credulous, and facile to love, that if they hear of a proper man, or woman, they are in love before they see them, and that merely by relation, as Achilles Tatius observes. ³“Such is their intemperance and lust, that they are as much maimed by report, as if they saw them. Callisthenes, a rich young gentleman of Byzance in Thrace, hearing of ⁴ Leucippe, Sostratus’s fair daughter, was far in love with her, and out of fame and common rumour, so much incensed, that he would needs have her to be his wife.” And sometimes by reading they are so affected, as he in ⁵ Lucian confesseth of himself, “I never read that place of Panthea in Xenophon, but I am as much affected as if I were present with her.” Such persons commonly ⁶ feign a kind of beauty to themselves; and so did those three gentlewomen in ⁷ Balthasar Castilio fall in love with a young man whom they never knew, but only heard him commended; or by reading of a letter; for there is a grace cometh from hearing, ⁸ as a moral philosopher in-

¹ Lucian. Tom. 4, Dial. amorum.

² “Sight, conference, association, kisses, touch.” ³ Ea enim hominum intemperantium libido est ut etiam fama ad amandum impellantur, et audientes æque afficiuntur ac videntes.

⁴ Formosam Sostrato filiam audiens, uxorem cupit, et solâ illius audicione ardet. ⁵ Quoties

de Pantheâ Xenophontis locum perlego, ita animo affectus ac si coram intuerer.

⁶ Pulchritudinem sibi ipsis confingunt, Imagines. ⁷ De aulico, lib. 2, fol. 116,

⁸ tis a pleasant story, and related at large by him. ⁸ Gratia venit ab auditu æque ac visu, et species amoris in phantasiam recipiunt solâ relatione. Piccolomineus,

formeth us, "as well as from sight; and the species of love are received into the fantasy by relation alone:" ¹ *ut cupere ab aspectu, sic velle ab auditu*, both senses affect. *Interdum et absentes amamus*, sometimes we love those that are absent, saith Philostratus, and gives instance in his friend Athenodorus, that loved a maid at Corinth whom he never saw; *non oculi sed mens videt*, we see with the eyes of our understanding.

But the most familiar and usual cause of love is that which comes by sight, which conveys those admirable rays of beauty and pleasing graces to the heart. Plotinus derives love from sight, *ἔρωρ quasi ὁρασις*. ² *Si nescis, oculi sunt in amore duces*, "the eyes are the harbingers of love," and the first step of love is sight, as ³ Lilius Giraldus proves at large, *hist. deor. syntag.* 13, they as two sluices let in the influences of that divine, powerful, soul-ravishing, and captivating beauty, which, as ⁴ one saith, "is sharper than any dart or needle, wounds deeper into the heart; and opens a gap through our eyes to that lovely wound, which pierceeth the soul itself." (Ecclus. 18.) Through it love is kindled like a fire. This amazing, confounding, admirable, amiable beauty, ⁵ "than which in all nature's treasure (saith Isocrates) there is nothing so majestical and sacred, nothing so divine, lovely, precious," 'tis nature's crown, gold and glory; *bonum si non summum, de summis tamen non infrequenter triumphans*, whose power hence may be discerned; we condemn and abhor generally such things as are foul and ugly to behold, account them filthy, but love and covet that which is fair. 'Tis ⁶ beauty in all things which pleaseth and allureth us, a fair hawk, a fine garment, a goodly building, a fair house, &c. That Persian Xerxes, when he destroyed all those temples of the gods in Greece, caused that of Diana, *in integrum*

grad. 8, c. 38. ¹ Lips. cent. 2, epist.

22, Beautie's Encomions. ² Propert.

³ Amoris primum gradum visus habet, ut

aspiciat rem amatam. ⁴ Achilles Tatius,

lib. 1. Forma telo quovis acutior ad inferendum vulnus, perque oculos amato-

rio vulnere aditum patefaciens in animum penetrat. ⁵ In totâ rerum naturâ

nihil formâ divinius, nihil augustius,

nihil pretiosius, cujus vires hinc facile

intelliguntur, &c. ⁶ Christ. Fonseca.

servari, to be spared alone for that excellent beauty and magnificence of it. Inanimate beauty can so command. 'Tis that which painters, artificers, orators, all aim at, as Eriximachus the physician, in Plato, contends, ¹“It was beauty first that ministered occasion to art, to find out the knowledge of carving, painting, building, to find out models, perspectives, rich furnitures, and so many rare inventions.” Whiteness in the lily, red in the rose, purple in the violet, a lustre in all things without life, the clear light of the moon, the bright beams of the sun, splendour of gold, purple, sparkling diamond, the excellent feature of the horse, the majesty of the lion, the colour of birds, peacocks' tails, the silver scales of fish, we behold with singular delight and admiration. ²“And which is rich in plants, delightful in flowers, wonderful in beasts, but most glorious in men,” doth make us affect and earnestly desire it, as when we hear any sweet harmony, an eloquent tongue, see any excellent quality, curious work of man, elaborate art, or aught that is exquisite, there ariseth instantly in us a longing for the same. We love such men, but most part for comeliness of person; we call them gods and goddesses divine, serene, happy, &c. And of all mortal men they alone (³ Calcagninus holds) are free from calunny; *qui divitiis, magistratu et gloriâ florent, injuriâ lacessimus*, we backbite, wrong, hate renowned, rich and happy men, we repine at their felicity, they are undeserving we think, fortune is a step-mother to us, a parent to them. “We envy (saith ⁴ Isocrates) wise, just, honest men, except with mutual offices and kindnesses, some good turn or other, they extort this love from us; only fair persons we love at first sight, desire their acquaintance, and adore them as so many gods; we had rather serve them than command others, and account ourselves the more beholding to them,

¹ S. L. ² Bruys, prob. 11, de formâ e Luciano. ³ Lib. de calumniâ. Formosi Calumniâ vacant; dolemus alios meliore loco positos, fortunam nobis novercam illis, &c. ⁴ Invidemus sapientibus, justis, nisi beneficiis assidue amo-

rem extorquent; solos formosos amamus et primo velut aspectu benevolentia conjungimur, et eos tanquam Deos colimus, libentius iis servimus quam aliis imperamus, majoremque, &c.

the more service they enjoin us; though they be otherwise vicious, dishonest, we love them, favour them, and are ready to do them any good office for their ¹ beauty's sake, though they have no other good quality beside. *Dic igitur ó formose adolescens* (as that eloquent Phavorinus breaks out in ² Stobæus), *dic Antiloque, suavius nectare loqueris; dic ó Telemache, vehementius Ulysse dicis; dic Alcibiades utcumque ebrius, libentius tibi licet ebrio auscultabimus.* "Speak, fair youth, speak Antiloqueus, thy words are sweeter than nectar, speak O Telemachus, thou art more powerful than Ulysses, speak Alcibiades though drunk, we will willingly hear thee as thou art." Faults in such are no faults; for when the said Alcibiades had stolen Anytus his gold and silver plate, he was so far from prosecuting so foul a fact (though every man else condemned his impudence and insolency) that he wished it had been more, and much better (he loved him dearly) for his sweet sake. "No worth is eminent in such lovely persons, all imperfections hid;" *non enim facile de his quos plurimum diligimus, turpitudinem suspicamus*, for hearing, sight, touch, &c., our mind and all our senses are captivated, *omnes sensus formosus delectat.* Many men have been preferred for their person alone, chosen kings, as amongst the Indians, Persians, Æthiopians of old; the properest man of person the country could afford, was elected their sovereign lord; *Gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus*,³ and so have many other nations thought and done, as ⁴ Curtius observes: *Ingens enim in corporis majestate veneratio est*, "for there is a majestical presence in such men;" and so far was beauty adored amongst them, that no man was thought fit to reign, that was not in all parts complete and supereminent. Agis, king of Lacedæmon, had like to have been deposed, because he married a little wife, they would not have their royal issue degenerate. Who would

¹ Formæ majestatem Barbari verentur, nec alii majores quam quibus eximiâ formâ natura donata est, Herod. lib. 5, Curtius 6, Arist. Polit. ² Serm. 63, Plutarch. vit. ejus. Brisonius, Strabo.

³ "Virtue appears more gracefully in a lovely personage."

⁴ Lib. 5, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant quam quos eximiâ specie natura donavit.

ever have thought that Adrian the Fourth, an English monk's bastard (as ¹ Papirius Massovius writes in his life), *inops a suis relictus, squalidus et miser*, a poor forsaken child, should ever come to be pope of Rome? But why was it? *Erat acri ingenio, facundiâ expeditâ, eleganti corpore, facieque lætâ ac hilari* (as he follows it out of ² Nubrigensis, for he ploughs with his heifer), "he was wise, learned, eloquent, of a pleasant, a promising countenance, a goodly, proper man; he had, in a word, a winning look of his own," and that carried it, for that he was especially advanced. So "Saul was a goodly person and a fair." Maximinus elected emperor, &c. Branchus the son of Apollo, whom he begot of Jance, Succron's daughter (saith Lactantius), when he kept King Admetus's herds in Thessaly, now grown a man, was an earnest suitor to his mother to know his father; the nymph denied him, because Apollo had conjured her to the contrary; yet overcome by his importunity at last she sent him to his father; when he came into Apollo's presence, *malas Dei reverenter osculatus*, he carried himself so well, and was so fair a young man, that Apollo was infinitely taken with the beauty of his person, he could scarce look off him, and said he was worthy of such parents, gave him a crown of gold, the spirit of divination, and in conclusion made him a demi-god. *O vis superba formæ*, a goddess beauty is, whom the very gods adore, *nam pulchros dii amant*; she is *Amoris domina*, love's harbinger, love's loadstone, a witch, a charm, &c. Beauty is a dower of itself, a sufficient patrimony, an ample commendation, an accurate epistle, as ³ Lucian, Apuleius, Tiraquellus, and some others conclude. *Imperio digna forma*, beauty deserves a kingdom, saith Abulensis, *paradox.* 2, *cap.* 110, immortality; and ⁴ "more have got this honour and eternity for their beauty, than for all other virtues besides;" and such as are fair,

¹ Lib. de vitis pontificum Rom. de est dotata. ⁴ Isocrates, plures ob
² Lib. 2, cap. 6. ³ Dial. amorum, c. 2, formam immortalitatem adepti sunt
 de magia. Lib. 2, connub. cap. 27. quam ob reliquas omnes virtutes.
 Virgo formosa et si oppido pauper, abun-

¹ “are worthy to be honoured of God and men.” That Idalian Ganymede was therefore fetched by Jupiter into heaven, Hephæstion dear to Alexander, Antinous to Adrian. Plato calls beauty for that cause a privilege of nature, *Naturæ gaudentis opus*, nature’s masterpiece, a dumb comment; Theophrastus, a silent fraud; still rhetoric, Carneades, that persuades without a speech, a kingdom without a guard, because beautiful persons command as so many captains; Socrates, a tyranny, “which tyrannizeth over tyrants themselves;” which made Diogenes belike call proper women queens, *quod facerent homines quæ præciperent*, because men were so obedient to their commands. They will adore, cringe, compliment, and bow to a common wench (if she be fair) as if she were a noble woman, a countess, a queen, or a goddess. Those intemperate young men of Greece erected at Delphos a golden image with infinite cost, to the eternal memory of Phryne the courtesan, as Ælian relates, for she was a most beautiful woman, insomuch, saith ² Athenæus, that Apelles and Praxiteles drew Venus’s picture from her. Thus young men will adore and honour beauty; nay kings themselves I say will do it, and voluntarily submit their sovereignty to a lovely woman. “Wine is strong, kings are strong, but a women strongest,” 1 Esd. iv. 10, as Zerubbabel proved at large to King Darius, his princes and noblemen. “Kings sit still and command sea and land, &c., all pay tribute to the king; but women make kings pay tribute, and have dominion over them.” When they have got gold and silver, they submit all to a beautiful woman, give themselves wholly to her, gape and gaze on her, and all men desire her more than gold or silver, or any precious thing; they will leave father and mother and venture their lives for her, labour and travel to get and bring all their gains to women, steal, fight, and spoil for their mistress’s sake. And no king so strong, but a fair woman is stronger than he is. “All

¹ Lucian, Tom. 4, Charidæmon. Qui pulchri, merito apud Deos et apud homines honore affecti. Muta commentatio,

quavis epistolâ ad commendandum efficacior. ² Lib. 9, Var. hist. tanta formæ elegantia ut ab eâ nudâ, &c.

things" (as ¹ he proceeds) "fear to touch the king; yet I saw him and Apame his concubine, the daughter of the famous Bartacus, sitting on the right hand of the king, and she took the crown off his head, and put it on her own, and stroke him with her left hand; yet the king gaped and gazed on her, and when she laughed, he laughed, and when she was angry he flattered to be reconciled to her." So beauty commands even kings themselves; nay whole armies and kingdoms are captivated together with their kings: ² *Forma vincit armatos, ferrum pulcritudo captivat; vincentur specie, qui non vincentur prælio.* And 'tis a great matter saith ³ Xenophon, "and of which all fair persons may worthily brag, that a strong man must labour for his living if he will have aught, a valiant man must fight and endanger himself for it, a wise man speak, show himself, and toil; but a fair and beautiful person doth all with ease, he compasseth his desire without any painstaking;" God and men, heaven and earth conspire to honour him; every one pities him above other, if he be in need, ⁴ and all the world is willing to do him good. ⁵ Chariclea fell into the hands of pirates, but when all the rest were put to the edge of the sword, she alone was preserved for her person. ⁶ When Constantinople was sacked by the Turk, Irene escaped, and was so far from being made a captive, that she even captivated the Grand Seignior himself. So did Rosamond insult over King Henry the Second.

⁷ "I was so fair an object;
Whom fortune made my king, my love made subject;
He found by proof the privilege of beauty,
That it had power to countermand all duty."

It captivates the very gods themselves, *Morosiora numina,*

⁸ "Deus ipse deorum
Factus ob hanc formam bos, equus, imber, olor."

¹ Esdras iv. 29. ² Origen, hom. 23, in Numb. In ipsos tyrannos tyrannidem exercet. ³ Illud certe magnum ob quod gloriari possunt formosi, quod robustos necessarium sit laborare, fortem periculis se obicere, sapientem, &c. ⁴ Majorem vim habet ad commendandum forma, quam accurate scripta epistolâ. Arist. ⁵ Heliodor. lib. 1. ⁶ Knolles, hist. Turcica. ⁷ Daniel, in complaint of Rosamond. ⁸ Stroza filius Epig. "The king of the gods on account of this

And those *mali genii* are taken with it, as ¹I have already proved. *Formosam Barbari verentur, et ad aspectum pulchrum immanis animus mansuescit.* (Heliodor. lib. 5.) The barbarians stand in awe of a fair woman, and at a beautiful aspect a fierce spirit is pacified. For when as Troy was taken, and the wars ended (as Clemens ²Alexandrinus quotes out of Euripides), angry Menelaus, with rage and fury armed, came with his sword drawn, to have killed Helen, with his own hands, as being the sole cause of all those wars and miseries; but when he saw her fair face, as one amazed at her divine beauty, he let his weapon fall, and embraced her besides, he had no power to strike so sweet a creature. *Ergo hebetantur enses pulchritudine*, the edge of a sharp sword (as the saying is) is dulled with a beautiful aspect, and severity itself is overcome. Hiperides the orator, when Phryne his client was accused at Athens for her lewdness, used no other defence in her cause, but tearing her upper garment, disclosed her naked breast to the judges, with which comeliness of her body and amiable gesture they were so moved and astonished, that they did acquit her forthwith, and let her go. O noble piece of justice! mine author exclaims; and who is he that would not rather lose his seat and robes, forfeit his office, than give sentence against the majesty of beauty? Such prerogatives have fair persons, and they alone are free from danger. Parthenopæus was so lovely and fair, that when he fought in the Theban wars, if his face had been by chance bare, no enemy would offer to strike at or hurt him, such immunities hath beauty. Beasts themselves are moved with it. Sinalda was a woman of such excellent feature, ³and a queen, that when she was to be trodden on by wild horses for a punishment, “the wild beasts stood in admiration of her person, (Saxo Grammaticus, lib. 8, Dan. hist.) and would not hurt her.” Wherefore did that royal virgin

beauty became a bull, a shower, a swan.”

¹ Sect. 2, Mem. 1, Sub. 1. ² Stromatum 1. post captam Trojam cum impetu ferretur ad occidendam Helenam, stupore adeo pulchritudinis correptus ut

ferrum excideret, &c.

³ Tantæ formæ fuit ut cum vincta loris feris exposita foret, equorum calcibus obterenda, ipsis jumentis admirationi fuit; lædere noluerunt.

in ¹ Apuleius, when she fled from the thieves' den, in a desert, make such an apostrophe to her ass on whom she rode; (for what knew she to the contrary, but that he was an ass?) *Si me parentibus et proco formoso reddideris, quas tibi gratias, quos honores habebō, quos cibos exhibebo?* ² She would comb him, dress him, feed him, and trick him every day herself, and he should work no more, toil no more, but rest and play, &c. And besides she would have a dainty picture drawn, in perpetual remembrance, a virgin riding upon an ass's back with this motto, *Asino vectore regia virgo fugiens captivitatem*; why said she all this? why did she make such promises to a dumb beast? but that she perceived the poor ass to be taken with her beauty; for he did often *obliquo collo pedes puellæ decoros basiare*, kiss her feet as she rode, *et ad delicatulas vocolas tentabat adhinnire*, offer to give consent, as much as in him was, to her delicate speeches, and besides he had some feeling, as she conceived, of her misery. And why did Theogine's horse in Heliodorus ³ curvet, prance, and go so proudly, *exultans alacriter et superbiens*, &c., but that such as mine author supposeth, he was in love with his master? *dixisses ipsum equum pulchrum intelligere pulchram domini formam?* A fly lighted on ⁴ Malthius's cheek as he lay asleep; but why? Not to hurt him, as a parasite of his, standing by, well perceived, *non ut pungeret, sed ut oscularetur*, but certainly to kiss him, as ravished with his divine looks. Inanimate creatures, I suppose, have a touch of this. When a drop of ⁵ Psyche's candle fell on Cupid's shoulder, I think sure it was to kiss it. When Venus ran to meet her rose-cheeked Adonis, as an elegant ⁶ poet of ours sets her out,

“ the bushes in the way
Some catch her neck, some kiss her face,
Some twine about her legs to make her stay,
And all did covet her for to embrace.”

¹ Lib. 8, miles. ² “If you will restore me to my parents, and my beautiful lover, what thanks, what honour shall I owe you, what provender shall I

not supply you?”

⁴ Athenæus, lib. 8.

asino. ⁶ Shakspeare.

³ Æthiop. l. 8.

⁵ Apuleius, Aur.

Aër ipse amore inficitur, as Heliodorus holds, the air itself is in love ; for when Hero played upon her lute,

¹ “ The wanton air in twenty sweet forms danc’^t
After her fingers,”

and those lascivious winds stayed Daphne when she fled from Apollo ;

² “ nudabant corpora venti,
Obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes.”

Boreas Ventus loved Hyacinthus, and Orithya Ericthon’s daughter of Athens ; *vi rapuit*, &c., he took her away by force, as she was playing with other wenches at Ilissus, and begat Zetes and Galias his two sons of her. That seas and waters are enamoured with this our beauty, is all out as likely as that of the air and winds ; for when Leander swam in the Hellespont, Neptune with his trident did beat down the waves, but

“ They still mounted up intending to have kiss’d him,
And fell in drops like tears because they missed him.”

The ³ river Alpheus was in love with Arethusa, as she tells the tale herself,

“ viridesque manu siccata capillos,
Fluminis Alphei veteres recitavit amores ;
Pars ego Nympharum,” ⁴ &c.

When our Thame and Isis meet

⁵ “ Oscula mille sonant, connexu brachia pallent,
Mutuaque explicitis connectunt colla lacertis.”

Inachus and Pineus, and how many loving rivers can I reckon up, whom beauty hath enthralled ! I say nothing all this while of idols themselves that have committed idolatry in this kind, of looking-glasses, that have been rapt in love

¹ Marlowe. ² Ov. Met. 1. ³ Ov. Met. lib. 5. ⁴ “ And with her hand wiping off the drops from her green tresses thus began to relate the loves of Alpheus. I was formerly an Achaian

nymph,” &c. ⁵ Leland. “ Their lips resound with thousand kisses, their arms are pallid with the close embrace, and their necks are mutually entwined by their fond caresses.”

(if you will believe ¹ poets), when their ladies and mistresses looked on to dress them.

“ Et si non habeo sensum, tua gratia sensum
Exhibet, et calidi sentio amoris onus.
Dirigis huc quoties spectantia lumina, flamma
Succendunt inopi saucia membra mihi.”

“ Though I no sense at all of feeling have,
Yet your sweet looks do animate and save;
And when your speaking eyes do this way turn,
Methinks my wounded members live and burn.”

I could tell you such another story of a spindle that was fired by a fair lady's ² looks, or fingers, some say, I know not well whether, but fired it was by report, and of a cold bath that suddenly smoked, and was very hot when naked Cœlia came into it, “*Miramur quis sit tantus et unde vapor,*” ³ &c. But of all the tales in this kind, that is the most memorable of ⁴ Death himself, when he should have stricken a sweet young virgin with his dart, he fell in love with the object. Many more such could I relate which are to be believed with a poetical faith. So dumb and dead creatures dote, but men are mad, stupefied many times at the first sight of beauty, amazed, ⁶ as that fisherman in Aristænetus, that spied a maid bathing herself by the seaside.

⁶ “ Soluta mihi sunt omnia membra——

A capite ad calcem, sensusque omnis periit

De pectore, tam immensus stupor animam invasit mihi.”

And as ⁷ Lucian, in his images, confesses of himself, that he was at his mistress's presence void of all sense, immovable, as if he had seen a Gorgon's head; which was no such cruel monster (as ⁸ Cœlius interprets it, *lib. 3, cap. 9*), “but the

¹ Angerianus. ² Si longe aspiciens hæc urit lumine divos atque homines prope, cur urere lina nequit? Angerianus. ³ “We wonder how great the honour and whence it comes.” ⁴ Idem Anger. ⁵ Obstupuit mirabundus membrorum elegantiam. &c. Ep. 7. ⁶ Stobæus e Græco. “My limbs became relaxed, I

was overcome from head to foot, all self-possession fled, so great a stupor overburdened my mind.” ⁷ Parum abfuit quo minus saxum ex homine factus sum, ipsis statuis immobilior me fecit. ⁸ Veteres Gorgonis fabulam confinxerunt, eximium formæ decus stupidos reddens.

very quintessence of beauty," some fair creature, as without doubt the poet understood in the first fiction of it, at which the spectators were amazed. ¹ *Miseri quibus intentata nites*, poor wretches are compelled at the very sight of her ravishing looks to run mad, or make away with themselves.

² "They wait the sentence of her scornful eyes:
And whom she favors lives, the other dies."

³ Heliodorus, *lib.* 1, brings in Thyamis almost besides himself, when he saw Chariclea first, and not daring to look upon her a second time, "for he thought it impossible for any man living to see her and contain himself." The very fame of beauty will fetch them to it many miles off (such an attractive power this loadstone hath), and they will seem but short, they will undertake any toil or trouble, ⁴ long journeys. Penia or Atalanta shall not overgo them, through seas, deserts, mountains, and dangerous places, as they did to gaze on Psyche: "many mortal men came far and near to see that glorious object of her age," Paris for Helena, Corebus to Troja.

"*Illis Trojam qui forte diebus
Venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore,*"

"who inflamed with a violent passion for Cassandra, happened then to be in Troy." King John of France, once prisoner in England, came to visit his old friends again, crossing the seas; but the truth is, his coming was to see the Countess of Salisbury, the nonpareil of those times, and his dear mistress. That infernal god Pluto came from hell itself to steal Proserpine; Achilles left all his friends for Polixena's sake, his enemy's daughter; and all the ⁵ Grecian gods forsook their heavenly mansions for that fair lady, Philo Dioneus daughter's sake, the paragon of Greece in those days; *eâ enim venustate fuit, ut eam certatim omnes dii conjugem*

¹ Hor. Ode 5.

² Marlowe's Hero.

rantiæ metas se continere.

⁴ Apuleius,

³ Aspectum virginis sponte fugit insanus fere, et impossibile existimans ut simul eam aspicere quis possit, et intra tempe-

1. 4, Multi mortales longis itineribus, &c.

⁵ Nic. Gerbel. 1. 5, Achaja.

expeterent: “for she was of such surpassing beauty that all the gods contended for her love.” ¹ *Formosa divis imperat puella*: “the beautiful maid commands the gods.” They will not only come to see, but as a falcon makes a hungry hawk hover about, follow, give attendance and service, spend goods, lives, and all their fortunes to attain;

“Were beauty under twenty locks kept fast,
Yet love breaks through, and picks them all at last.”

When fair ² Hero came abroad, the eyes, hearts, and affections of her spectators were still attendant on her.

³ “Et medios inter vultus supereminet omnes,
Perque urbem aspiciunt venientem numinis instar.”

⁴ “So far above the rest fair Hero shined,
And stole away the enchanted gazer's mind.”

⁵ When Peter Aretine's Lucretia came first to Rome, and that the fame of her beauty, *ad urbanarum deliciarum sectatores venerat, nemo non ad videndam eam, &c.*, were spread abroad, they came in (as they say) thick and threefold to see her, and hovered about her gates, as they did of old to Lais of Corinth, and Phryne of Thebes. ⁶ *Ad cujus jacuit Græcia tota fores*, “at whose gates lay all Greece.” ⁷ “Every man sought to get her love, some with gallant and costly apparel, some with an affected pace, some with music, others with rich gifts, pleasant discourse, multitude of followers; others with letters, vows, and promises, to commend themselves, and to be gracious in her eyes.” Happy was he that could see her, thrice happy that enjoyed her company. Charmides ⁸ in Plato was a proper young man, in comeliness of person, “and all good qualities, far exceeding others; whensoever fair Charmides came abroad, they seemed all to be in love

¹ I. Secundus, basiorum lib. ² Musæus, illa autem bene morata, per ædem quocunque vagabatur, sequentem mentem habebat, et oculos, et corda virorum. ³ Homer. ⁴ Marlowe. ⁵ Pornodidas-calo dial. Ital. Latin. a Gasp. Barthio Germano. ⁶ Propertius.

⁷ Vestium splendore et elegantia, ambitione incessus, donis, cantilenis, &c., gratiam adipisci. ⁸ Præ cæteris corporis proceritate et egregia indole mirandus apparebat, cæteri autem capti ejus amore videbantur, &c.

with him (as Critias describes their carriage), and were troubled at the very sight of him; many came near him, many followed him wheresoever he went," as those ¹*formarum spectatores* did Acontius, if at any time he walked abroad; the Athenian lasses stared on Alcibiades; Sappho and the Mitilenean women on Phaon the fair. Such lovely sights do not only please, entice, but ravish and amaze. Cleonimus, a delicate and tender youth, present at a feast which Androcles his uncle made in Piræo at Athens, when he sacrificed to Mercury, so stupefied the guests, Dineas, Aristippus, Agasthenes, and the rest (as Charidemus in ²Lucian relates it), that they could not eat their meat, they sat all supper-time gazing, glancing at him, stealing looks, and admiring of his beauty. Many will condemn these men that are so enamoured, for fools; but some again commend them for it; many reject Paris's judgment, and yet Lucian approves of it, admiring Paris for his choice; he would have done as much himself, and by good desert in his mind; beauty is to be preferred ³"before wealth or wisdom." ⁴Athenæus, *Deipnosophist. lib. 13, cap. 7*, holds it not such indignity for the Trojans or Greeks to contend ten years, to spend so much labour, lose so many men's lives for Helen's sake, ⁵for so fair a lady's sake,

"Ob talem uxorem cui præstantissima forma,
Nil mortale refert."

That one woman was worth a kingdom, a hundred thousand other women, a world itself. Well might ⁶Sterpsichores be blind for carping at so fair a creature, and a just punishment it was. The same testimony gives Homer of the old men of Troy, that were spectators of that single combat between Paris and Menelaus at the Seian gate, when Helen stood in

¹ Aristænetus, ep. 10. ² Tom. 4, Dial. meretr. respicientes et ad formam ejus obstupescetes. ³ In Charidemo; sapientiæ merito pulchritudo præfertur et opibus. ⁴ Indignum nihil est Troas fortes et Achivos tempore tam longo per-

pessos esse labore. ⁵ Digna quidem facies pro quâ vel obiret Achilles, vel Priamus, belli causa probanda fuit. Proper. lib. 2. ⁶ Cœcus qui Helenæ formam carpserat.

presence; they said all, the war was worthily prolonged and undertaken ¹for her sake. The very gods themselves (as Homer and ²Isocrates record) fought more for Helen than they did against the giants. When ³Venus lost her son Cupid she made proclamation by Mercury, that he that could bring tidings of him should have seven kisses; a noble reward some say, and much better than so many golden talents, seven such kisses to many men were more precious than seven cities, or so many provinces. One such a kiss alone would recover a man if he were a dying, ⁴*Suaviolum Stygia sic te de valle reducet*, &c. Great Alexander married Roxane, a poor man's child, only for her person. ⁵'Twas well done of Alexander, and heroically done; I admire him for it. Orlando was mad for Angelica, and who doth not condole his mishap? Thisbe died for Pyramus, Dido for Æneas; who doth not weep, as (before his conversion) ⁶Austin did in commiseration of her estate! she died for him; "methinks (as he said) I could die for her."

But this is not the matter in hand; what prerogative this beauty hath, of what power and sovereignty it is, and how far such persons that so much admire, and dote upon it, are to be justified; no man doubts of these matters; the question is, how and by what means beauty produceth this effect? By sight; the eye betrays the soul, and is both active and passive in this business; it wounds and is wounded, is an especial cause and instrument, both in the subject and in the object. ⁷"As tears, it begins in the eyes, descends to the breast;" it conveys these beauteous rays, as I have said, unto the heart. *Ut vidi ut perii.* ⁸*Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit.* Shechem saw Dinah the daughter of Leah, and defiled her, Gen. xxxiv. 3; Jacob, Rachel, xxix. 17, "for she was beautiful and fair." David spied Bathsheba afar off, 2 Sam. xi. 2. The elders, Susanna, ⁹as that Orthomenian

¹ Those mutinous Turks that murmured at Mahomet, when they saw Irene, excused his absence. Knolles. ² In laudem Helenæ orat. ³ Apul. miles. ⁴ lib. 4. ⁵ Secun. bas. 18. ⁶ Curtius, 1. 1. ⁷ Confessi. ⁸ Seneca, amor in oculis oritur. ⁹ Ovid. Fast. ¹⁰ Plutarch.

Strato saw fair Aristoclea the daughter of Theophanes, bathing herself at that Hercyne well in Lebadea, and were captivated in an instant. *Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammæ*; Amnon fell sick for Tamar's sake, 2 Sam. xiii. 2. The beauty of Esther was such, that she found favour not only in the sight of Ahasuerus, "but of all those that looked upon her." Gerson, Origen, and some others, contended that Christ himself was the fairest of the sons of men, and Joseph next unto him, *speciosus præ filiis hominum*, and they will have it literally taken; his very person was such, that he found grace and favour of all those that looked upon him. Joseph was so fair, that, as the ordinary gloss hath it, *filiæ decurrerent per murum, et ad fenestras*, they ran to the top of the walls and to the windows to gaze on him, as we do commonly to see some great personage go by; and so Matthew Paris describes Matilda the Empress going through Cullen. ¹ P. Morales the Jesuit saith as much of the Virgin Mary. Antony no sooner saw Cleopatra, but, saith Appian, *lib. 1*, he was enamoured of her. ² Theseus at the first sight of Helen was so besotted, that he esteemed himself the happiest man in the world if he might enjoy her, and to that purpose kneeled down, and made his pathological prayers unto the gods. ³ Charicles, by chance, espying that curious picture of smiling Venus naked in her temple, stood a great while gazing, as one amazed; at length he brake into that mad passionate speech, "O fortunate god Mars, that wast bound in chains, and made ridiculous for her sake!" He could not contain himself, but kissed her picture, I know not how oft, and heartily desired to be so disgraced as Mars was. And what did he that his betters had not done before him?

⁴ "atque aliquis de diis non tristibus optat
Sic fieri turpis"

When Venus came first to heaven, her comeliness was such,

¹ Lib. de pulchrit. Jesu et Mariæ.

² Lucian, Charidæmon supra omnes mortales felicissimum si hac frui posset.

³ Lucian, amor. Insanum quiddam ac

furibundum exclamans. O fortunatissime deorum Mars qui propter hanc vinc-tus fuisti. ⁴ Ov. Met. l. 3.

that (as mine author saith) ¹“all the gods came flocking about, and saluted her, each of them went to Jupiter, and desired he might have her to be his wife.” When fair ²Antilochus came in presence, as a candle in the dark his beauty shined, all men’s eyes (as Xenophon describes the manner of it) “were instantly fixed on him, and moved at the sight, insomuch that they could not conceal themselves, but in gesture or looks it was discerned and expressed.” Those other senses, hearing, touching, may much penetrate and affect, but none so much, none so forcible as sight. *Forma Briseis mediis in armis movit Achillem*, Achilles was moved in the midst of a battle by fair Briseis, Ajax by Tecmessa; Judith captivated that great Captain Holofernes; Delilah, Samson; Rosamund, ³Henry the Second; Roxalana, Solyman the Magnificent, &c.

⁴ “Νικᾷ δὲ καὶ σίδηρον
Καὶ πῦρ κάλῃ τις οὔσα.”

“A fair woman overcomes fire and sword.”

⁵ “Nought under heaven so strongly doth allure
The sense of man and all his mind possess,
As beauty’s loveliest bait, that doth procure
Great warriors erst their rigour to suppress,
And mighty hands forget their manliness,
Driven with the power of an heart-burning eye,
And lapt in flowers of a golden tress,
That can with melting pleasure mollify
Their harden’d hearts inur’d to cruelty.”

⁶ Clitophon ingenuously confesseth, that he no sooner came in Leucippe’s presence, but that he did *corde tremere, et oculis lascivius intueri*; ⁷ he was wounded at the first sight, his heart panted, and he could not possibly turn his eyes from her. So doth Calysiris in Heliodorus, *lib.* 2, Isis Priest, a

¹ Omnes dii complexi sunt, et in uxorem sibi petierunt, Nat. Comes, de Venere.

² Ut cum lux noctis affulget, omnium oculos incurrit; sic Antiloquus, &c. ³ Delevit omnes ex animo mulieres.

⁴ Nam vincit et vel ignem, fer-

rumque si qua pulchra est. Anacreon, 2.

⁵ Spenser in his Faerie Queene. ⁶ Achilles

Tatius, lib. 1. ⁷ Statim ac eam contemplatus sum, occidi; oculos a virgine avertere conatus sum, sed illi repugnabatur.

reverend old man, complain, who by chance at Memphis seeing that Thracian Rodophe, might not hold his eyes off her: ¹“I will not conceal it, she overcame me with her presence, and quite assaulted my continency which I had kept unto mine old age; I resisted a long time my bodily eyes with the eyes of my understanding; at last I was conquered, and as in a tempest carried headlong.” ²Xenophiles, a philosopher, railed at women downright for many years together, scorned, hated, scoffed at them; coming at last into Daphnis a fair maid’s company (as he condoles his mishap to his friend Demaritis), though free before, *Intactus nullis ante cupidinibus*, was far in love, and quite overcome upon a sudden *Victus sum fateor a Daphnide*, &c. I confess I am taken,

³“Sola hæc inflexit sensus, animumque labentem
Impulit”

I could hold out no longer. Such another mishap, but worse, had Stratocles, the physician, that blear-eyed old man, *muco plenus* (so ⁴Prodromus describes him); he was a severe woman’s-hater all his life, *fæda et contumeliosa semper in fæminas profatus*, a bitter persecutor of the whole sex, *humanas aspides et viperas appellabat*, he forswore them all still, and mocked them wheresoever he came, in such vile terms, *ut matrem et sorores odisses*, that if thou hadst heard him, thou wouldst have loathed thine own mother and sisters for his word’s sake. Yet this old doting fool was taken at last with that celestial and divine look of Myrilla, the daughter of Anticles the gardener, that smirking wench, that he shaved off his bushy beard, painted his face, ⁵curled his hair, wore a laurel crown to cover his bald pate, and for her love besides was ready to run mad. For the very day that he married he was so furious, *ut solis occasum minus expectare posset* (a terrible, a monstrous long day), he could not stay till it was night, *sed omnibus insalutatis in thalamum festinans irrupit*,

¹ Pudet dicere, non celabo tamen. mi hæreo. Aristænetus, ep. 17. ³ Virg. Memphim veniens me vicit, et continentiam expugnavit, quam ad senectutem usque servaram; oculis corporis, &c. ⁴ Amaranto dial. ⁵ Comasque ad speculum disposuit.

the meat scarce out of his mouth, without any leave-taking, he would needs go presently to bed. What young man, therefore, if old men be so intemperate, can secure himself? Who can say I will not be taken with a beautiful object? I can, I will contain. No, saith ¹ Lucian of his mistress, she is so fair, that if thou dost but see her, she will stupefy thee, kill thee straight, and, Medusa like, turn thee to a stone; thou canst not pull thine eyes from her, but as an adamant doth iron, she will carry thee bound headlong whither she will herself, infect thee like a basilisk. It holds both in men and women. Dido was amazed at Æneas's presence; *Obstupuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido*; and as he feelingly verified out of his experience;

2 "Quam ego postquam vidi, non ita amavi ut sani solent
Homines, sed eodem pacto ut insani solent."

"I lov'd her not as others soberly,
But as a madman rageth, so did I."

So Musæus of Leander, *nusquam lumen detorquet ab illâ*; and ³ Chaucer of Palamon,

*He cast his eye upon Emilia,
And therewith he blent and cried ha, ha,
As though he had been stroke unto the hearta.*

If you desire to know more particularly what this beauty is, how it doth *Influere*, how it doth fascinate (for, as all hold, love is a fascination), thus in brief. ⁴ "This comeliness or beauty ariseth from the due proportion of the whole, or from each several part." For an exact delineation of which, I refer you to poets, historiographers, and those amorous writers, to Lucian's Images, and Charidæmus, Xenophon's description of Panthea, Petronius Catalectes, Helio-

¹ Imag. Polistrato. Si illam saltem intuearis, statuis immobiliorum te faciet: si conspexeris eam, non relinquetur facultas oculos ab eâ amovendi; abducat te alligatum quocunque voluerit, ut fer-

rum ad se trahere ferunt adamantem.

² Plaut. Merc.

³ In the Knight's Tale.

⁴ Ex debita totius proportionem aptaque partium compositione. Piccolomineus.

dorus Chariclea, Tatius Leucippe, Longus Sophista's Daphnis and Chloe, Theodorus Prodromus his Rhodanthes, Aristænetus and Philostratus Epistles, Balthasar Castilio, *lib. 4, de aulico*. Laurentius, *cap. 10, de melan.* Æneas Sylvius his Lucretia, and every poet almost, which have most accurately described a perfect beauty, an absolute feature, and that through every member, both in men and women. Each part must concur to the perfection of it; for as Seneca saith, *Ep. 33, lib. 4. Non est formosa mulier cujus crus laudatur et brachium, sed illa cujus simul universa facies admirationem singulis partibus dedit*; "She is no fair woman, whose arm, thigh, &c., are commended, except the face and all the other parts be correspondent." And the face especially gives a lustre to the rest; the face is it that commonly denominates a fair or foul; *arx formæ facies*, the face is beauty's tower; and though the other parts be deformed, yet a good face carries it (*facies non uxor amatur*), that alone is most part respected, principally valued, *deliciis suis ferox*, and of itself able to captivate.

¹ "Urit te Glyceræ nitor,
Urit grata protervitas,
Et vultus nimium lubricus aspici."

"Glycera's too fair a face was it that set him on fire, too fine to be beheld." When ² Chærea saw the singing wench's sweet looks, he was so taken, that he cried out, *O faciem pulchram, deleo omnes dehinc ex animo mulieres, tædet quotidianarum harum formarum!* "O fair face, I'll never love any but her, look on any other hereafter but her; I am weary of these ordinary beauties, away with them." The more he sees her, the worse he is,—*uritque videndo* as in a burning-glass, the sunbeams are re-collected to a centre, the rays of love are projected from her eyes. It was Æneas's countenance ravished Queen Dido, *Os humerosque Deo similis*, he had an angelical face.

¹ Hor. Od. 19, lib. 1. ² Ter. Eunuch. Act. 2, scen. 3.

¹ "O sacros vultus Baccho vel Apolline dignos,
Quos vir, quos tuto fœmina nulla videt!"

"O sacred looks, befitting majesty,
Which never mortal wight could safely see."

Although for the greater part this beauty be most eminent in the face, yet many times those other members yield a most pleasing grace, and are alone sufficient to enamour. A high brow like unto the bright heavens, *cœli pulcherrima plaga*, *Frons ubi vivit honor, frons ubi ludit amor*, white and smooth like the polished alabaster, a pair of cheeks of vermilion colour, in which love lodgeth; ²*Amor qui mollibus genis puellæ pernoctas*; a coral lip, *suaviorum delubrum*, in which *Basia mille patent, basia mille latent*, "A thousand appear, as many are concealed;" *gratiarum sedes gratissima*; a sweet-smelling flower, from which bees may gather honey, ³*Mellilegæ volucres quid adhuc cava thyma rosasque, &c.*

"Omnes ad dominæ labra venite meæ,
Illa rosas spirat," &c.

A white and round neck, that *via lactea*, dimple in the chin, black eyebrows, *Cupidinis arcus*, sweet breath, white and even teeth, which some call the sale-piece, a fine, soft, round pap, gives an excellent grace, ⁴*Quale decus tumidis Pario de marmore mammis!* ⁵and make a pleasant valley *lactæum sinum*, between two chalky hills, *Sororiantes papillulas, et ad pruritum frigidos amatores solo aspectu excitantes. Unde is,* ⁶*Forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!*—Again *Urebant oculos duræ stantesque mamillæ*. A flaxen hair; golden hair was even in great account, for which Virgil commends Dido, *Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpina crinem, Et crines nodantur in aurum*. Apollonius (*Argonaut. lib. 4, Jasonis flava coma incendit cor Medæ*) will have Jason's golden hair to be the main cause of Medea's dotage on him. Castor and Pollux were both yellow-haired. Paris, Menelaus, and most

¹ Petronius, Catal. ² Sophocles, nissima e duobus montibus composita
Antigone. ³ Jo. Secundus, bas. 19. niveis. ⁴ Ovid.
Loechæus. ⁵ Arandus. Vallis amœ-

amorous young men, have been such in all ages, *molles ac suaves*, as Baptista Porta infers, ¹ *Physiog. lib. 2*, lovely to behold. Homer so commends Helen, makes Patroclus and Achilles both yellow-haired; Pulchricoma Venus, and Cupid himself was yellow-haired, *in aurum coruscante et crispante capillo*, like that neat picture of Narcissus in Callistratus; for so ² Psyche spied him asleep, *Briseis, Polixena, &c., flavicomæ omnes*,

“and Hero the fair,
Whom young Apollo courted for her hair.”

Leland commends Guithera, King Arthur's wife, for a fair flaxen hair; so Paulus Æmilius sets out Clodeveus, that lovely king of France. ³ Synesius holds every effeminate fellow or adulterer is fair-haired; and Apuleius adds that Venus herself, goddess of love, cannot delight, ⁴ “though she come accompanied with the graces, and all Cupid's train to attend upon her, girt with her own girdle, and smell of cinnamon and balm, yet if she be bald or bad-haired, she cannot please her Vulcan.” Which belike makes our Venetian ladies at this day to counterfeit yellow hair so much, great women to calamistrate and curl it up, *vibrantes ad gratiam crines, et tot orbibus in captivitatē flexos*, to adorn their heads with spangles, pearls and made-flowers; and all courtiers to affect a pleasing grace in this kind. In a word, ⁵ “the hairs are Cupid's nets, to catch all comers, a brushy wood, in which Cupid builds his nest, and under whose shadow all loves a thousand several ways sport themselves.”

A little soft hand, pretty little mouth, small, fine, long fingers, *Gratiæ quæ digitis*——'tis that which Apollo did admire in Daphne,——*laudat digitosque manusque*; a straight and slender body, a small foot, and well-proportioned leg, hath

¹ Fol. 77. Dapsiles hilares amatores, &c. ² When Cupid slept. Cæsariem auream habentem, ubi Psyche vidit, mollemque ex ambrosiâ cervicem inspexit, crines crispas, purpureas genas candidasque, &c., Apuleius. ³ In laudem calvi; splendida coma quisque adulter est; allicit aurea coma. ⁴ Venus ipsa non placeret comis nudata, capite spoli-

ata, si qualis ipsa Venus cum fuit virgo omni gratiarum choro stipata, et toto cupidinum populo concinnata, baltheo suo cineta, cinnamo fragrans, et balsamâ, si calva processerit, placere non potest Vulcano suo. ⁵ Arandus. Capilli retia Cupidinis, sylva cædua, in quâ nidificat Cupido, sub ejus umbrâ amores mille modis se exercent.

an excellent lustre, ¹ *Cui totum incumbit corpus uti fundamento ædes*. Clearchus vowed to his friend Amyander in ² Aristænetus, that the most attractive part in his mistress, to make him love and like her first, was her pretty leg and foot; a soft and white skin, &c., have their peculiar graces, ³ *Nebula haud est mollior ac hujus cutis est, ædipol papillam bellulam*. Though in men these parts are not so much respected; a grim Saracen sometimes,—*nudus membra Pyracmon*, a martial hirsute face pleaseth best; a black man is a pearl in a fair woman's eye, and is as acceptable as ⁴ lame Vulcan was to Venus; for he being a sweaty, fuliginous blacksmith, was dearly beloved of her, when fair Apollo, nimble Mercury were rejected, and the rest of the sweet-faced gods forsaken. Many women (as Petronius ⁵ observes) *sordibus calent* (as many men are more moved with kitchen wenches, and a poor market maid, than all these illustrious court and city dames) will sooner dote upon a slave, a servant, a dirt dauber, a brontes, a cook, a player, if they see his naked legs or arms, *thorosaque brachia*, ⁶ &c., like that huntsman Meleager in Philostratus, though he be all in rags, obscene and dirty, besmeared like a ruddle-man, a gypsy, or a chimney-sweeper, than upon a noble gallant, Nireus, Hephæstion, Alcibiades, or those embroidered courtiers full of silk and gold. ⁷ Justine's wife, a citizen of Rome, fell in love with Pylades a player, and was ready to run mad for him, had not Galen himself helped her by chance. Faustina the empress doted on a fencer.

Not one of a thousand falls in love, but there is some peculiar part or other which pleaseth most, and inflames him above the rest. ⁸ A company of young philosophers on a time fell at variance, which part of a woman was most desirable and pleased best? some said the forehead, some the teeth,

¹ Theod. Prodromus, Amor. lib. 1.

² Epist. 72. Ubi pulchram tibiam, bene compactum tenuemque pedem vidi.

³ Plant. Cas. ⁴ Claudus optime rem agit.

⁵ Fol. 5. Si servum viderint, aut flatorem altius cinctum, aut pulvere perfusum, aut histrionem in scenam tra-

ductum, &c. ⁶ Me pulchra fateor carere forma, verum luculenta—nostra est. Petronius, Catal. de Priapo. ⁷ Galen. ⁸ Calcagninus, Apologis. Quæ pars maxime desiderabilis? Alius frontem, alius genas, &c.

some the eyes, cheeks, lips, neck, chin, &c., the controversy was referred to Lais of Corinth to decide; but she, smiling, said, they were a company of fools; for suppose they had her where they wished, what would they ¹first seek? Yet this notwithstanding I do easily grant, *neque quis vestrum negaverit opinor*, all parts are attractive, but especially ²the eyes,³

“videt igne micantes,
Sideribus similes oculos”

which are love's fowlers; ⁴*aucupium amoris*, the shoeing-horns, “the hooks of love (as Arandus will), the guides, touchstone, judges, that in a moment cure mad men, and make sound folks mad, the watchmen of the body; what do they not?” How vex they not? All this is true, and (which Athenæus, *lib.* 13, *dip. cap.* 5, and Tatius hold) they are the chief seats of love, and James Lernutius ⁵hath facetely expressed in an elegant ode of his,

“Amorem ocellis flammeolis heræ
Vidi insidentem, credite posteri,
Fratresque circum ludibundos
Cum pharetrâ volitare et arcu,”

“I saw Love sitting in my mistress's eyes
Sparkling, believe it all posterity,
And his attendants playing round about,
With bow and arrows ready for to fly.”

Scaliger calls the eyes, ⁶“Cupid's arrows; the tongue, the lightning of love; the paps, the tents;” Balthasar Castilio, the causes, the chariots, the lamps of love,

“æmula lumina stellis,
Lumina quæ possent sollicitare deos.”

“Eyes emulating stars in light,
Enticing gods at the first sight;”

¹ Inter femineum. ² Hensius. non agunt? Quid non cogunt? ⁵ Ocel-
³ Sunt enim oculi, præcipuæ pulchritu- li carm. 17, cujus et Lipsius, epist. quæst.
dinis sedes, lib. 6. lib. 3, cap. 11, meminit ob elegantiam.
⁴ Amor is hami, ⁶ Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit
duces, judices et indices qui momento ocellis, contactum nullis ante cupidini-
insanos sanant, sanos insanire cogunt. bus. Propert. l. 1.

Love's orators, ¹ Petronius.

" O blandos oculos, et ô facetos,
Et quâdam propriâ notâ loquaces,
Illic est Venus, et leves amores,
Atque ipsa in medio sedet voluptas."

" O sweet and pretty speaking eyes,
Where Venus, love, and pleasure lies."

Love's torches, touch-box, naphtha and matches, ² Tibullus.

" Illius ex oculis quum vult exurere divos,
Accendit geminas lampades acer amor."

" Tart Love when he will set the gods on fire,
Lightens the eyes as torches to desire."

Leander, at the first sight of Hero's eyes, was incensed, saith Musæus.

" Simul in ³ oculorum radiis crescebat fax amorum,
Et cor fervebat invecti ignis impetu;
Pulchritudo enim celebris immaculatæ fœminæ
Acutior hominibus est veloci sagittâ.
Oculus vero via est, ab oculi ictibus
Vulnus dilabitur, et in præcordiâ viri manat."

" Love's torches 'gan to burn first in her eyes,
And set his heart on fire which never dies:
For the fair beauty of a virgin pure
Is sharper than a dart, and doth inure
A deeper wound, which pierceth to the heart
By the eyes, and causeth such a cruel smart."

* A modern poet brings in Amnon complaining of Tamar,

" et me fascino
Occidit ille risus et formæ lepos,
Ille nitor, illa gratia, et verus decor,
Illæ æmulantes purpuram, et ⁴ rosas genæ,
Oculique vinctæque aureo nodo comæ."

" It was thy beauty, 'twas thy pleasing smile,
Thy grace and comeliness did me beguile;

¹ In Catalect. ² De Sulpicio, lib. 4.
³ Pulchritudo ipsa per occultos radios in
pectus amantis dimanans amatæ rei for-
mam inculpsit, Tattius, l. 5. * Jacob

Cornelius, Amnon. Traged. Act. 1, sc. 1.
⁴ Rosæ formosarum oculis nascuntur. et
hilaritas vultus elegantiae corona. Phi-
lostratus, deliciis.

Thy rose-like cheeks, and unto purple fair
Thy lovely eyes, and golden knotted hair."

¹ Philostratus Lemnius cries out on his mistress's basilisk eyes, *ardentes faces*, those two burning-glasses, they had so inflamed his soul, that no water could quench it. "What a tyranny (saith he), what a penetration of bodies is this! thou drawest with violence, and swallowest me up, as Charybdis doth sailors with thy rocky eyes; he that falls into this gulf of love, can never get out." Let this be the corollary then, the strongest beams of beauty are still darted from the eyes.

² "Nam quis lumina tanta, tanta
Posset luminibus suis tueri,
Non statim trepidansque, palpitansque,
Præ desiderii æstuantis aurâ?" &c.

"For who such eyes with his can see,
And not forthwith enamour'd be!"

And as men catch dotterels by putting out a leg or an arm, with those mutual glances of the eyes they first inveigle one another. ³ *Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis*. Of all eyes (by the way) black are most amiable, enticing and fairer, which the poet observes in commending of his mistress. ⁴ "*Spectandum nigris oculis, nigroque capillo*," which Hesiod admires in his Alcmena,

⁵ "Cujus a vertice ac nigricantibus oculis
Tale quiddam spirat ac ab aureâ Venere."

"From her black eyes, and from her golden face,
As if from Venus came a lovely grace."

and ⁶ Triton in his Milæne———*nigra oculos formosa mihi*.
⁷ Homer useth that epithet of ox-eyed, in describing Juno, because a round black eye is the best, the son of beauty, and farthest from black the worse; which ⁸ Polydore Virgil taxeth

¹ Epist. et in deliciis, abi et oppugnationem relinque, quam flamma non extinguit; nam ab amore ipsa flamma sentit incendium: quæ corporum penetratio, quæ tyrannis hæc? &c. ² Lœchæus, Panthea. ³ Propertius. "The wretched Cynthia first captivates with her sparkling eyes." ⁴ Ovid. amorum, lib. 2, eleg. 4. ⁵ Scut. Hercul. ⁶ Cal-cagninus, dial. ⁷ Iliad, 1. ⁸ Hist. lib 1.

in our nation: *Angli ut plurimum cæsiis oculis*, we have gray eyes for the most part. Baptista Porta, *Physiognom. lib. 3*, puts gray colour upon children, they be childish eyes, dull and heavy. Many commend on the other side Spanish ladies, and those ¹Greek dames at this day, for the blackness of their eyes, as Porta doth his Neapolitan young wives. Suetonius describes Julius Cæsar to have been *nigris vegetisque oculis micantibus*, of a black quick sparkling eye; and although Averroes in his *Colliget* will have such persons timorous, yet without question they are most amorous.

Now last of all, I will show you by what means beauty doth fascinate, bewitch, as some hold, and work upon the soul of a man by the eye. For certainly I am of the poet's mind, love doth bewitch and strangely change us.

² "Ludit amor sensus, oculos perstringit, et aufert
Libertatem animi, mirâ nos fascinat arte.
Credo aliquis dæmon subiens præcordia flammam
Concitât, et raptam tollit de cardine mentem."

"Love mocks our senses, curbs our liberties,
And doth bewitch us with his art and rings,
I think some devil gets into our entrails,
And kindles coals, and heaves our souls from th' hinges."

Heliodorus, *lib 3*, proves at large, ³ that love is witchcraft, "it gets in at our eyes, pores, nostrils, engenders the same qualities and affections in us, as were in the party whence it came," the manner of the fascination, as Ficinus, 10, *cap. com. in Plat.* declares it, is thus: "Mortal men are then especially bewitched, when as by often gazing one on the other, they direct sight to sight, join eye to eye, and so drink and suck in love between them; for the beginning of this disease is the eye. And therefore he that hath a clear eye, though he be otherwise deformed, by often looking upon him, will make one mad, and tie him fast to him by the eye."

¹ Sands's relation, fol. 67. ² Mantuan. tur quando frequentissimo intuitu aciem
³ Amor per oculos, nares, poros influens, dirigentes, &c. Ideo si quis nitore pol-
&c. Mortales tum summopere fascinan- leat oculorum, &c.

Leonard. Varius, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 2, *de fascinat.* telleth us, that by this interview, ¹“the purer spirits are infected,” the one eye pierceth through the other with his rays, which he sends forth, and many men have those excellent piercing eyes, that, which Suetonius relates of Augustus, their brightness is such, they compel their spectators to look off, and can no more endure them than the sunbeams. ²Barradius, *lib.* 6, *cap.* 10, *de Harmoniâ Evangel.* reports as much of our Saviour Christ, and ³Peter Morales of the Virgin Mary, whom Nicephorus describes likewise to have been yellow-haired, of a wheat colour, but of a most amiable and piercing eye. The rays, as some think, sent from the eyes, carry certain spiritual vapours with them, and so infect the other party, and that in a moment. I know, they that hold *viso fit intra mitendo*, will make a doubt of this; but Ficinus proves it from blear eyes. ⁴“That by sight alone, make others blear-eyed; and it is more than manifest, that the vapour of the corrupt blood doth get in together with the rays, and so by the contagion the spectators’ eyes are infected.” Other arguments there are of a basilisk, that kills afar off by sight, as that Ephesian did of whom ⁵Philostratus speaks, of so pernicious an eye, he poisoned all he looked steadily on; and that other argument, *menstruæ fæminæ*, out of Aristotle’s problems, *morbosæ* Capivaccius adds, and ⁶Septalius the commentator, that contaminate a looking-glass with beholding it. ⁷“So the beams that come from the agent’s heart, by the eyes, infect the spirits about the patients, inwardly wound, and thence the spirits infect the blood.” To this effect she complained in ⁸Apuleius, “Thou art the cause of my grief, thy eyes piercing through mine eyes to mine inner parts, have set my

¹ Spiritus puriores fascinantur, oculus a se radios emittit, &c. ² Lib. de pulch. Jes. et Mar. ³ Lib. 2, c. 23, colore triticum referente, crine flavâ, acribus oculis.

⁴ Lippi solo intuitu alios lippos faciunt, et patet unâ cum radio vaporem corrupti sanguinis emanare, cujus contagione oculus spectantis inficitur. ⁵ Vita Apollon. ⁶ Comment. in Aristot. Probl.

⁷ Sic radius a corde percutientis mis-

sus, regimen proprium repetit, cor vulnerat, per oculos et sanguinem inficit et spiritus, subtili quâdam vi. Castil. lib. 3, de aulico. ⁸ Lib. 10. Causa omnis et origo omnis præsentis doloris tute es; isti enim tui oculi, per meos oculos ad intima delapsi præcordia, acerrimum meis medullis commovent incendium; ergo miserere tui causâ pereuntis.

bowels on fire, and therefore pity me that am now ready to die for thy sake." Ficinus illustrates this with a familiar example of that Marrhusian Phædrus and Theban Lycias, ¹ "Lycias he stares on Phædrus's face, and Phædrus fastens the balls of his eyes upon Lycias, and with those sparkling rays sends out his spirits. The beams of Phædrus's eyes are easily mingled with the beams of Lycias's, and spirits are joined to spirits. This vapour begot in Phædrus's heart, enters into Lycias's bowels; and that which is a greater wonder, Phædrus's blood is in Lycias's heart, and thence come those ordinary love-speeches, my sweetheart Phædrus, and mine own self, my dear bowels. And Phædrus again to Lycias, O my light, my joy, my soul, my life. Phædrus follows Lycias, because his heart would have his spirits, and Lycias follows Phædrus, because he loves the seat of his spirits; both follow; but Lycias the earnestest of the two; the river hath more need of the fountain, than the fountain of the river; as iron is drawn to that which is touched with a loadstone, but draws not it again; so Lycias draws Phædrus." But how comes it to pass then, that the blind man loves that never saw? We read in the Lives of the Fathers, a story of a child that was brought up in the wilderness, from his infancy, by an old hermit; now come to man's estate, he saw by chance two comely women wandering in the woods; he asked the old man what creatures they were, he told him fairies; after a while talking *obiter*, the hermit demanded of him, which was the pleasantest sight that ever he saw in his life? He readily replied, the two ² fairies he spied in the wilderness. So that, without doubt, there is some secret loadstone in a beautiful woman, a magnetic power, a natural inbred affection, which moves our concupiscence, and as he sings,

"Methinks I have a mistress yet to come,
And still I seek, I love, I know not whom."

¹ Lycias in Phædri vultum inhiat, Phædrus in oculos Lyciæ scintillas suorum defigit oculorum; cumque scintillis, &c. Sequitur Phædrus Lyciam. quia cor suum petit spiritum; Phædrum

Lycias, quia spiritus propriam sedem postulat. Verum Lycias, &c. ² Dæmonia inquit quæ in hoc Eremita nuper occurrebant.

'Tis true indeed of natural and chaste love, but not of this heroical passion, or rather brutish, burning lust of which we treat; we speak of wandering, wanton, adulterous eyes, which, as ¹ he saith, "lie still in wait as so many soldiers, and when they spy an innocent spectator fixed on them, shoot him through, and presently bewitch him; especially when they shall gaze and gloat, as wanton lovers do one upon another, and with a pleasant eye-conflict participate each other's souls." Hence you may perceive how easily and how quickly we may be taken in love; since at the twinkling of an eye, Phædrus's spirits may so perniciously infect Lycias's blood. ² "Neither is it any wonder, if we but consider how many other diseases closely, and as suddenly are caught by infection, plague, itch, scabs, flux," &c. The spirits taken in, will not let him rest that hath received them, but egg him on. ³ *Idque petit corpus mens unde est saucia amore*; and we may manifestly perceive a strange eduction of spirits, by such as bleed at nose after they be dead, at the presence of the murderer; but read more of this in Lemnius, *lib. 2, de occult. nat. mir. cap. 7*, Valleriola, *lib. 2, observ. cap. 7*, Valesius, *controv. Ficinus, Cardan, Labavius, de cruentis cadaveribus*, &c.

SUBJECT. III.—*Artificial Allurements of Love, Causes and Provocations to Lust; Gestures, Clothes, Dower, &c.*

NATURAL beauty is a stronger loadstone of itself, as you have heard, a great temptation, and pierceth to the very heart; ⁴ *forma verecundæ nocuit mihi visa puellæ*; but much more when those artificial enticements and provocations of gestures, clothes, jewels, pigments, exornations, shall be annexed unto it; those other circumstances, opportunity of time and place shall concur, which of themselves alone were all

¹ Castilio, de aulico, l. 3, fol. 228. Oculi ut milites in insidiis semper recubant, et subito ad visum sagittas emittunt, &c. ² Nec mirum si reliquos morbos qui ex contagione nascuntur consideremus, pestem, prurimum, scabiem, &c. ³ Lu-

cretius. "And the body naturally seeks whence it is that the mind is so wounded by love." ⁴ In beauty, that of favour is preferred before that of colours, and decent motion is more than that of favour. Bacon's Essays.

sufficient, each one in particular to produce this effect. It is a question much controverted by some wise men, *forma debeat plus arti an naturæ?* Whether natural or artificial objects be more powerful? but not decided; for my part I am of opinion, that though beauty itself be a great motive, and give an excellent lustre *in sordibus*, in beggary, as a jewel on a dung-hill will shine and cast his rays, it cannot be suppressed, which Heliodorus feigns of Chariclea, though she were in beggar's weeds; yet as it is used, artificial is of more force, and much to be preferred.

¹ "Sic dentata sibi videtur Ægle,
Emptis ossibus Indicoque cornu;
Sic quæ nigrior est cadente moro,
Cerussata sibi placet Lychoris."

"So toothless Ægle seems a pretty one,
Set out with new-bought teeth of Indy bone;
So foul Lychoris blacker than berry
Herself admires, now finer than cherry."

John Lerijs the Burgundian, *cap. 8, hist. navigat. in Brazil*. is altogether on my side. For whereas (saith he) at our coming to Brazil, we found both men and women naked as they were born, without any covering, so much as of their privities, and could not be persuaded, by our Frenchmen that lived a year with them, to wear any, ²"Many will think that our so long commerce with naked women, must needs be a great provocation to lust;" but he concludes otherwise, that their nakedness did much less entice them to lasciviousness, than our women's clothes. "And I dare boldly affirm (saith he) that those glittering attires, counterfeit colours, headgears, curled hairs, plaited coats, cloaks, gowns, costly stomachers, guarded and loose garments, and all those other accoutrements, wherewith our countrywomen counterfeit a beauty, and so curiously set out themselves, cause more inconvenience

¹ Martialis. ² Multi tacite opinantur multo noxia illorum nuditas quam commercium illud adeo frequens cum nostrarum feminarum cultus. Ausim barbaris nudis, ac presertim cum feminis, ad libidinem provocare, at minus asseverare splendidum illum cultum, fucos, &c.

in this kind, than that barbarian homeliness, although they be no whit inferior unto them in beauty. I could evince the truth of this by many other arguments, but I appeal (saith he) to my companions at that present, which were all of the same mind." His countryman, Montaigne, in his essays, is of the same opinion, and so are many others; out of whose assertions thus much in brief we may conclude, that beauty is more beholden to art than nature, and stronger provocations proceed from outward ornaments, than such as nature hath provided. It is true that those fair sparkling eyes, white neck, coral lips, turgent paps, rose-coloured cheeks, &c., of themselves are potent enticers; but when a comely, artificial, well-composed look, pleasing gesture, an affected carriage shall be added, it must needs be far more forcible than it was, when those curious needleworks, variety of colours, purest dyes, jewels, spangles, pendants, lawn, lace, tiffanies, fair and fine linen, embroideries, calamistrations, ointments, &c., shall be added, they will make the veriest dowdy otherwise, a goddess, when nature shall be furthered by art. For it is not the eye of itself that enticeth to lust, but an "adulterous eye," as Peter terms it, 2, ii. 14, a wanton, a rolling, lascivious eye; a wandering eye, which Isaiah taxeth, iii. 16. Christ himself, and the Virgin Mary, had most beautiful eyes, as amiable eyes as any persons, saith ¹ Barradius, that ever lived, but withal so modest, so chaste, that whosoever looked on them was freed from that passion of burning lust, if we may believe ² Gerson and ³ Bonaventure; there was no such antidote against it, as the Virgin Mary's face; 'tis not the eye, but carriage of it, as they useth it, that causeth such effects. When Pallas, Juno, Venus, were to win Paris's favour for the golden apple, as it is elegantly described in that pleasant interlude of ⁴ Apuleius, Juno came with majesty upon the stage, Minerva gravity, but Venus *dulce subridens, constitit amæne; et gratissimæ Gratiæ deam propitiantes*, &c.,

¹ Harmo. evangel. lib. 6, cap. 6. ³ 3 sent. d. 3, q. 3, mirum, virgo formosissima, sed a nemine concupita. ⁴ Met. virginis omnes movet ad castitatem. 10.

came in smiling with her gracious graces and exquisite music, as if she had danced, *et nonnunquam saltare solis oculis*, and which was the main matter of all, she danced with her rolling eyes; they were the brokers and harbingers of her suite. So she makes her brags in a modern poet,

¹ "Soon could I make my brow to tyrannize,
And force the world do homage to mine eyes."

The eye is a secret orator, the first bawd, *Amoris porta*, and with private looks, winking, glances and smiles, as so many dialogues they make up the match many times, and understand one another's meanings, before they come to speak a word. ² Euryalus and Lucretia were so mutually enamoured by the eye, and prepared to give each other entertainment, before ever they had conference; he asked her good-will with his eyes; she did *suffragari*, and gave consent with a pleasant look. That ³ Thracian Rodophe was so excellent at this dumb rhetoric, "that if she had but looked upon any one almost (saith Calysiris) she would have bewitched him, and he could not possibly escape it." For as ⁴ Salvianus observes, "the eyes are the windows of our souls, by which, as so many channels, all dishonest concupiscence gets into our hearts." They reveal our thoughts, and as they say, *frons animi index*, but the eye of the countenance, ⁵ *Quid procacibus intueri ocellis?* &c. I may say the same of smiling, gait, nakedness of parts, plausible gestures, &c. To laugh is the proper passion of a man, an ordinary thing to smile; but those counterfeit, composed, affected, artificial and reciprocal, those counter-smiles are the dumb shows and prognostics of greater matters, which they most part use, to inveigle and deceive; though many fond lovers again are so frequently mistaken, and led into a fool's paradise. For if they see but a fair maid laugh, or show a pleasant countenance, use some gracious words or gestures, they apply it all to themselves,

¹ Rosamond's complaint, by Sam. Daniel. ² Æneas Sylv. ³ Helidor. 1. 2, Rodophe Thracia tam inevitabili fascino instructa, tam exacte oculis intuens attraxit, ut si in illam quis incidisset, fieri

non posset quin caperetur. ⁴ Lib. 3, de providentiâ: Animi fenestræ oculi, et omnis improba cupiditas per ocellos tanquam canales introit. ⁵ Buchanan.

as done in their favour ; sure she loves them, she is willing, coming, &c.

“ Stultus quando videt quod pulchra puellula ridet,
Tum fatuus credit se quod amare velit ; ”

“ When a fool sees a fair maid for to smile,
He thinks she loves him, 'tis but to beguile.”

They make an art of it as the poet telleth us,

¹ “ Quis credat ? discunt etiam ridere puellæ,
Quæritur atque illis hæc quoque parte decor.”

“ Who can believe ? to laugh maids make an art,
And seek a pleasant grace to that same part.”

And 'tis as great an enticement as any of the rest,

² “ subrisit molle puella,
Cor tibi rite salit.”

“ She makes thine heart leap with ³ a pleasing gentle smile of hers.”

⁴ “ Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem,”

“ I love Lalage as much for smiling, as for discoursing,” *delectata illa risit tam blandum*, as he said in Petronius of his mistress, being well pleased, she gave so sweet a smile. It won Ismenius, as he ⁵ confesseth, *Ismene subrisit amatorium*, Ismene smiled so lovingly the second time I saw her, that I could not choose but admire her ; and Galla's sweet smile quite overcame ⁶ Faustus the shepherd, *Me aspiciens motis blande subrisit ocellis*. All other gestures of the body will enforce as much. Daphnis in ⁷ Lucian was a poor tattered wench when I knew her first, said Corbile, *pannosa et lacera*, but now she is a stately piece indeed, hath her maids to attend her, brave attires, money in her purse, &c., and

¹ Ovid, de arte amandi. ² Pers. 3

Sat. ³ Vel centum Charites ridere putaret. Musæus of Hero. ⁴ Hor. Od. 22,

lib. 1. ⁵ Eustathius, l. 5. ⁶ Mantuan.

⁷ Tom. 4, meret. dial. Exornando seipsam eleganter, facilem et hilarem se gerendo erga cunctos, rideudo suave ac blandum quid, &c.

will you know how this came to pass? “by setting out herself after the best fashion, by her pleasant carriage, affability, sweet smiling upon all,” &c. Many women dote upon a man for his compliment only, and good behaviour, they are won in an instant; too credulous to believe that every light wanton suitor, who sees or makes love to them, is instantly enamoured, he certainly dotes on, admires them, will surely marry, when as he means nothing less, ’tis his ordinary carriage in all such companies. So both delude each other by such outward shows; and amongst the rest, an upright, a comely grace, courtesies, gentle salutations, cringes, a mincing gait, a decent and an affected pace, are most powerful enticers, and which the prophet Isaiah, a courtier himself, and a great observer, objected to the daughters of Zion, iii. 16, “they minced as they went, and made a tinkling with their feet.” To say the truth, what can they not effect by such means?

“Whilst nature decks them in their best attires
Of youth and beauty which the world admires.”

¹ “*Urit*—*voce, manu, gressu, pectore, fronte, oculis*.” When art shall be annexed to beauty, when wiles and guiles shall concur; for to speak as it is, love is a kind of legerdemain; mere juggling, a fascination. When they show their fair hand, fine foot and leg withal, *magnum sui desiderium nobis relinquunt*, saith ² Balthasar Castilio, *lib.* 1, they set us a longing, “and so when they pull up their petticoats and outward garments,” as usually they do to show their fine stockings, and those of purest silken dye, gold fringes, laces, embroiderings (it shall go hard but when they go to church, or to any other place, all shall be seen), ’tis but a springe to catch woodcocks; and as ³ Chrysostom telleth them downright, “though they say nothing with their mouths, they speak in their gait, they speak with their eyes, they speak in

¹ Angerianus. ² Vel si forte vestimentum de industriâ elevetur, ut pedum ac tibiæ pars aliqua conspiciatur, dum templum aut locum aliquem adie-

rit. ³ Sermone, quod non foemina viris cohabitent. Non loquuta es lingua, sed loquuta es gressu: non loquuta es voce, sed oculis loquuta es clarius quam voce.

the carriage of their bodies." And what shall we say otherwise of that baring of their necks, shoulders, naked breasts, arms and wrists, to what end are they but only to tempt men to lust !

- 1 " Nam quid lacteolus sinus, et ipsas
Præ te fers sine linteo papillas ?
Hoc est dicere, posce, posce, trado ;
Hoc est ad Venerem vocare amantes."

There needs no more as ² Fredericus Matenesius well observes, but a crier to go before them so dressed, to bid us look out, a trumpet to sound, or for defect a sow-gelder to blow,

- 3 " Look out, look out and see
What object this may be
That doth perstringe mine eye ;
A gallant lady goes
In rich and gaudy clothes,
But whither away God knows,
look out, &c., *ut quæ sequuntur.*"

or to what end and purpose ? But to leave all these fantastical raptures, I'll prosecute my intended theme. Nakedness, as I have said, is an odious thing of itself, *remedium amoris* ; yet it may be so used, in part, and at set times, that there can be no such enticement as it is ;

- 4 " Nec mihi cincta Diana placet, nec nuda Cythere,
Illa voluptatis nil habet, hæc nimium."

David so espied Bathsheba, the elders Susanna ; ⁵ Apelles was enamoured with Campaspe, when he was to paint her naked. Tiberius, *in Suet. cap. 42*, supped with Sestius Gallus an old lecher, *libidinoso sene, eâ lege ut nudæ puellæ administrarent* ; some say as much of Nero, and Pontus Huter

¹ Jovianus Pontanus, Baïar. lib. 1, ad Hermionem. " For why do you exhibit your 'milky way,' your uncovered bosoms ? What else is it but to say plainly, Ask me, ask me, I will surrender ; and what is that but love's call ?" ² De luxu vestium discurs. 6. Nihil aliud deest nisi ut præco vos præcedat, &c.

³ If you can tell how, you may sing this to the tune a sow-gelder blows. ⁴ Auson. epig. 28. " Neither draped Diana nor naked Venus pleases me. One has too much voluptuousness about her, the other none." ⁵ Plin. lib. 33, cap. 10. Campaspen nudam picturus Apelles, amore ejus illaqueatus est.

of Carolus Pugnax. Amongst the Babylonians it was the custom of some lascivious queans to dance frisking in that fashion, saith Curtius, *lib. 5*, and Sardus, *de mor. gent. lib. 1*, writes of others to that effect. The ¹Tuscans at some set banquets had naked women to attend upon them, which Leonicus, *de Varia hist. lib. 3, cap. 96*, confirms of such other bawdy nations. Nero would have filthy pictures still hanging in his chamber, which is too commonly used in our times, and Heliogabalus, *etiam coram agentes, ut ad venerem incitarent*; So things may be abused. A servant-maid in Aristænetus spied her master and mistress through the keyhole ²merrily disposed; upon the sight she fell in love with her master. ³Antoninus Caracalla observed his mother-in-law with her breasts amorously laid open, he was so much moved, that he said *Ah si liceret*, O that I might; which she by chance overhearing, replied as impudently, ⁴*Quicquid libet licet*, thou mayest do what thou wilt; and upon that temptation he married her; this object was not in cause, not the thing itself, but that unseemly, indecent carriage of it.

When you have all done, *veniunt a veste sagittæ*, the greatest provocations of lust are from our apparel; God makes, they say, man shapes, and there is no motive like unto it;

⁵ "Which doth even beauty beautify,
And most bewitch a wretched eye."

a filthy knave, a deformed quean, a crooked carcass, a mau-kin, a witch, a rotten post, a hedgestake may be so set out and tricked up, that it shall make as fair a show, as much enamour as the rest; many a silly fellow is so taken. *Primum luxuriæ aucupium*, one calls it, the first snare of lust; ⁶Bossus, *aucupium animarum, lethalem arundinem*, a fatal reed, the greatest bawd, *forte lenocinium, sanguineis lachrymis deplorandum*, saith ⁷Matenesius, and with tears of blood

¹ In Tyrrenis conviviis nudæ mulieres ministrabant. ² Amatoria miscentes vidit, et in ipsis complexibus audit. &c., emersit inde cupido in pectus virginis.

³ Epist. 7, lib. 2.

ney's Arcadia.

⁴ Spartian.

⁵ Sid. De immod. mulier. cultu.

⁷ Discurs. 6, de luxu vestium.

to be deplored. Not that comeliness of clothes is therefore to be condemned, and those usual ornaments; there is a decency and decorum in this as well as in other things, fit to be used becoming several persons, and befitting their estates; he is only fantastical that is not in fashion, and like an old image in arras hangings, when a manner of attire is generally received; but when they are so newfangled, so unstaid, so prodigious in their attires, beyond their means and fortunes, unbefitting their age, place, quality, condition, what should we otherwise think of them? Why do they adorn themselves with so many colours of herbs, fictitious flowers, curious needleworks, quaint devices, sweet-smelling odours, with those inestimable riches of precious stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, emeralds, &c.? Why do they crown themselves with gold and silver, use coronets and tires of several fashions, deck themselves with pendants, bracelets, ear-rings, chains, girdles, rings, pins, spangles, embroideries, shadows, rebatoes, versicolour ribbons? why do they make such glorious shows, with their scarfs, feathers, fans, masks, furs, laces, tiffanies, ruffs, falls, cauls, cuffs, damasks, velvets, tinsels, cloth of gold, silver tissue? with colours of heavens, stars, planets; the strength of metals, stones, odours, flowers, birds, beasts, fishes, and whatsoever Africa, Asia, America, sea, land, art and industry of man can afford? Why do they use and covet such novelty of inventions; such newfangled tires, and spend such inestimable sums on them? "To what end are those crisped, false hairs, painted faces," as ¹ the satirist observes, "such a composed gait, not a step awry?" Why are they like so many Sybarites, or Nero's Poppæa, Ahasuerus's concubines, so costly, so long a dressing, as Cæsar was marshalling his army, or a hawk in pruning? ²*Dum moliantur, dum comuntur, annus est*; a ³gardener takes not so much delight or pains in his garden, a horseman to dress his horse, scour his armour,

¹ Petronius. fol. 95, quo spectant flexæ comæ? quo facies medicamine attrita et oculorum mollis petulantia? quo incessus tam compositus, &c. ² Ter. "They

take a year to deck and comb themselves."

³ P. Aretine. Hortulanus non ita exercetur visendis hortis, eques equis, armis, nauta navibus, &c.

a mariner about his ship, a merchant his shop and shopbook, as they do about their faces, and all those other parts; such setting up with corks, straightening with whalebones; why is it, but as a day-net catcheth larks, to make young men stoop unto them? Philocarus, a gallant in Aristænetus, advised his friend Polianus to take heed of such enticements, ¹“for it was the sweet sound and motion of his mistress’s spangles and bracelets, the smell of her ointments, that captivated him first, *Illā fuit mentis prima ruina meæ. Quid sibi vult pixidum turba*, saith ²Lucian, “to what use are pins, pots, glasses, ointments, irons, combs, bodkins, setting-sticks? why bestow they all their patrimonies and husbands’ yearly revenues on such fooleries?” ³*bina patrimonia singulis auribus*; “why use they dragons, wasps, snakes, for chains, enamelled jewels on their necks, ears?” *dignum potius foret ferro manus istas religari, atque utinam monilia verè dracones essent*; they had more need some of them be tied in bedlam with iron chains, have a whip for a fan, and haircloths next to their skins, and instead of wrought smocks, have their cheeks stigmatized with a hot iron; I say, some of our Jezebels, instead of painting, if they were well served. But why is all this labour, all this cost, preparation, riding, running, far-fetched, and dear-bought stuff? ⁴“Because forsooth they would be fair and fine, and where nature is defective, supply it by art.” ⁵*Sanguine quæ vero non rubet, arte rubet*, (Ovid); and to that purpose they anoint and paint their faces, to make Helen of Hecuba—*parvamque exortamque puellam—Europen*.* To this intent they crush in their feet and bodies, hurt and crucify themselves, sometimes in lax clothes, a hundred yards I think in a gown, a sleeve, and sometimes again so close, *ut nudos exprimant artus*.

¹ Epist. 4. Sonus armillarum bene sonantium, odor unguentorum, &c. ² Tom. 4, dial. Amor. vascula plena multæ infelicitatis omnem maritorum opulentiam in hæc impendunt, dracones, pro monilibus habent, qui utinam vere dracones essent. Lucian. ³ Seneca. ⁴ Castilio, de aulic. lib. 1. Mulieribus omnibus hoc

imprimis in votis est, ut formosæ sint, aut si reipsa non sint, videantur tamen esse; et si quâ parte natura defuit, artis suppetias adjungunt: unde illæ faciei unctiones, dolor et cruciatus in arctandis corporibus, &c. ⁵ Ovid. epist. Med. Jasoni. * “A distorted dwarf, an Europa.”

¹ Now long tails and trains, and then short, up, down, high, low, thick, thin, &c. ; now little or no bands, then as big as cart wheels ; now loose bodies, then great farthingales and close girt, &c. Why is all this, but with the whore in the Proverbs, to intoxicate some or other ? *oculorum decipulam*, ² one therefore calls it, *et indicem libidinis*, the trap of lust, and sure token, as an ivy-bush is to a tavern.

“ Quod pulchros Glycere sumas de pixide vultus,
Quod tibi compositæ nec sine lege comæ :
Quod niteat digitis adamas, Beryllus in aure,
Non sum divinus, sed scio quid cupias.”

“ O Glycere, in that you paint so much,
Your hair is so bedeckt in order such,
With rings on fingers, bracelets in your ear,
Although no prophet, tell I can, I fear.”

To be admired, to be gazed on, to circumvent some novice ; as many times they do, that instead of a lady he loves a cap and a feather, instead of a maid that should have *verum colorem, corpus solidum et succi penum* (as Chærea describes his mistress in the ³ poet), a painted face, a ruff-band, fair and fine linen, a coronet, a flower ⁴ *Naturæque putat quod fuit artificis*), a wrought waistcoat he dotes on, or a pied petticoat, a pure dye instead of a proper woman. For generally, as with rich-furred conies, their cases are far better than their bodies, and like the bark of a cinnamon tree, which is dearer than the whole bulk, their outward accoutrements are far more precious than their inward endowments. 'Tis too commonly so.

⁵ “ Auferimur cultu et gemmis, auroque teguntur
Omnia ; pars minima est ipsa puella sui.”

“ With gold and jewels all is covered,
And with a strange tire we are won,
(While she's the least part of herself)
And with such baubles quite undone.”

Why do they keep in so long together, a whole winter

¹ Modo caudatas tunicas, &c. Bossus. ³ Ter. Eunuc. Act. 2, scen. 3. ⁴ Stroza
² Scribanus, philos. Christ. cap. 6. fil. ⁵ Ovid.

sometimes, and will not be seen but by torch or candlelight, and come abroad with all the preparation may be, when they have no business, but only to show themselves? *Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsæ.*

¹ "For what is beauty if it be not seen,
Or what is't to be seen, if not admir'd,
And though admir'd, unless in love desir'd?"

why do they go with such counterfeit gait, ¹ which ² Philo Judæus reprehends them for, and use (I say it again) such gestures, apish, ridiculous, indecent attires, sybaritical tricks, *fucos genis, purpurissam venis, cerussam fronti, leges oculis*, &c., use those sweet perfumes, powders, and ointments in public, flock to hear sermons so frequent, is it for devotion? or rather, as ³ Basil tells them, to meet their sweethearts, and see fashions; for as he saith, commonly they come so provided to that place, with such curious compliments, with such gestures and tires, as if they should go to a dancing-school, a stage-play, or bawdy-house, fitter than a church.

"When such a she-priest comes her mass to say,
Twenty to one they all forget to pray."

"They make those holy temples, consecrated to godly martyrs and religious uses, the shops of impudence, dens of whores and thieves, and little better than brothel-houses." When we shall see these things daily done, their husbands bankrupts, if not cornutos, their wives light housewives, daughters dishonest; and hear of such dissolute acts, as daily we do, how should we think otherwise? what is their end, but to deceive and inveigle young men? As tow takes fire, such enticing objects produce their effect, how can it be al-

¹ S. Daniel. ² Lib. de victimis. Fracto incessu, obtuitu lascivo, calamistrata, cincinnati, fucata, recens lota, purpurissata, pretiosoque amicta palliolo, spirans unguenta, ut juvenum animos circumveniat. ³ Orat. in ebrios. Impudenter se masculorum aspectibus exponunt, insolenter comas jactantes, tra-

hunt tunicas pedibus collidentes, ocu-
loque petulanti, risu effuso, ad tripudium
insanientes, omnem adolescentum intem-
perantiam in se provocantes, idque in
templis memoriæ martyrum consecratis;
pomœrium civitatis officinam fecerunt
impudentiæ.

tered? When Venus stood before Anchises (as ¹ Homer feigns in one of his hymns) in her costly robes, he was instantly taken,

“Cum ante ipsum staret Jovis filia, videns eam
Anchises, admirabatur formam, et stupendas vestes;
Erat enim induta peplo, igneis radiis splendidiore;
Habebat quoque torques fulgidos, flexiles hælices,
Tenerum collum ambiebant monilia pulchra,
Aurea, variegata.”

“When Venus stood before Anchises first,
He was amazed to see her in her tires;
For she had on a hood as red as fire,
And glittering chains, and ivy-twisted spires,
About her tender neck were costly brooches,
And necklaces of gold, enamell’d ouches.”

So when Medea came in presence of Jason first, attended by her nymphs and ladies, as she is described by ² Apollonius,

“Cunctas vero ignis instar sequebatur splendor,
Tantum ab aureis fimbriis resplendebat jubar,
Accenditque in oculis dulce desiderium.”

“A lustre followed them like flaming fire,
And from their golden borders came such beams,
Which in his eyes provok’d a sweet desire.”

Such a relation we have in ³ Plutarch, when the queens came and offered themselves to Antony, ⁴ “with divers presents, and enticing ornaments, Asiatic allurements with such wonderful joy and festivity, they did so inveigle the Romans, that no man could contain himself, all was turned to delight and pleasure. The women transformed themselves to Bacchus shapes, the men-children to Satyrs and Pans; but Antony himself was quite besotted with Cleopatra’s sweet speeches, philters, beauty, pleasing tires; for when she sailed along the river Cydnus, with such incredible pomp in a gilded ship,

¹ Hymno Veneri dicato. ² Argonaut.
l. 4. ³ Vit. Anton. ⁴ Regiâ domo
ornatuque certantes. sese ac formam su-
am Antonio offerentes, &c. Cum ornatu
et incredibili pompâ per Cydnum fluvium

navigarent auratâ puppi, ipsâ ad simili-
tudinem Veneris ornatâ, puellæ Gratiis
similes, pueri Cupidiniibus, Antonius ad
visum stupefactus.

herself dressed like Venus, her maids like the Graces, her pages like so many Cupids, Antony was amazed, and rapt beyond himself." Heliodorus, *lib.* 1, brings in Dameneta, step-mother to Cnemon, "whom she ¹ saw in his scarfs, rings, robes, and coronet, quite mad for the love of him." It was Judith's pantofles that ravished the eyes of Holofernes. And ² Cardan is not ashamed to confess, that seeing his wife the first time all in white, he did admire and instantly love her. If these outward ornaments were not of such force, why doth ³ Naomi give Ruth counsel how to please Boaz? and ⁴ Judith, seeking to captivate Holofernes, washed and anointed herself with sweet ointments, dressed her hair, and put on costly attires. The riot in this kind hath been excessive in times past; no man almost came abroad, but curled and anointed,

⁵ "Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,
Quantum vix redolent duo funera,"

"one spent as much as two funerals at once, and with perfumed hairs," ⁶ *et rosa canos odorati capillos Assyriâque nardo*. What strange things doth ⁷ Sueton. relate in this matter of Caligula's riot? And Pliny, *lib.* 12 & 13. Read more in Dioscorides, Ulmus, Arnoldus, Randoletius, *de fuco et decoratione*; for it is now an art, as it was of old (so ⁸ Seneca records), *officinæ sunt odores coquentium*. Women are bad and men worse, no difference at all between their and our times; ⁹ "good manners (as Seneca complains) are extinct with wantonness, in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots' colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance," *hic mulier, hæc vir*, more like players, butterflies, baboons, apes, antics, than men. So ridiculous, moreover, we are in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierome said of old, *Uno filio villarum insunt pretia, uno lino*

¹ Amictum chlamyde et coronis quum primum aspexit Cnemonem, ex potestate mentis excidit. ² Lib. de lib. prop.

³ Ruth. iii. 3. ⁴ Cap. ix. 5. ⁵ Juv. Sat. 6. ⁶ Hor. lib. 2, Od. 11. ⁷ Cap. 27. ⁸ Epist. 90. ⁹ Quicquid est boni

moris levitate extinguitur, et politura corporis muliebres munditias antecessimus, colores meretricios viri sumimus, tenero et molli gradu suspendimus gradum, non ambulamus, nat. quæst. lib. 7, cap. 31.

decies sestertiūm inseritur; 'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand oaks and a hundred oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole manor on his back. What with shooties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed. Helio-gabalus is taxed by Lampridius, and admired in his age for wearing jewels in his shoes, a common thing in our times, not for emperors and princes, but almost for serving-men and tailors; all the flowers, stars, constellations, gold and precious stones do condescend to set out their shoes. To repress the luxury of those Roman matrons, there was ¹ Lex Valeria and Oppia, and a Cato to contradict; but no laws will serve to repress the pride and insolency of our days, the prodigious riot in this kind. Lucullus's wardrobe is put down by our ordinary citizens; and a cobbler's wife in Venice, a courtesan in Florence, is no whit inferior to a queen, if our geographers say true; and why is all this? "Why do they glory in their jewels (as ² he saith) or exult and triumph in the beauty of clothes? why is all this cost? to incite men the sooner to burning lust. They pretend decency and ornament; but let them take heed, that while they set out their bodies they do not damn their souls;" 'tis ³ Bernard's counsel: "shine in jewels, stink in conditions; have purple robes, and a torn conscience." Let them take heed of Isaiah's prophecy, that their slippers and attires be not taken from them, sweet balls, bracelets, ear-rings, veils, wimples, cringing-pins, glasses, fine linen, hoods, lawns, and sweet savours, they become not bald, burned, and stink upon a sudden. And let maids beware, as ⁴ Cyprian adviseth, "that while they wander too loosely abroad, they lose not their virginities;" and like Egyptian temples, seem fair without, but prove rotten carcasses within. How much better were it for them to follow that good coun-

¹ Liv. lib. 4. dec. 4. ² Quid exultas in pulchritudine panni? Quid gloriaris in gemmis ut facilius invites ad libidinoseum incendium? Mat. Bossus, de immoder. mulier. cultu. ³ Epist. 113, fulgent monilibus, moribus sordent, pur-

purata vestis, conscientia pannosa, cap. 3. 17. ⁴ De virginali habitu; dum ornari cultius, dum evagari virgines volunt, desinunt esse virgines. Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. de pulchr. animæ, ibid.

sel of Tertullian? ¹ “To have their eyes painted with chastity, the Word of God inserted into their ears, Christ’s yoke tied to the hair, to subject themselves to their husbands. If they would do so, they should be comely enough, clothe themselves with the silk of sanctity, damask of devotion, purple of piety and chastity, and so painted, they shall have God himself to be a suitor;” “let whores and queans prank up themselves, ² let them paint their faces with minion and ceruse, they are but fuels of lust, and signs of a corrupt soul; if ye be good, honest, virtuous, and religious matrons, let sobriety, modesty and chastity be your honour, and God himself your love and desire.” *Mulier rectè olet, ubi nihil olet*, then a woman smells best, when she hath no perfume at all; no crown, chain, or jewel (Guivarra adds) is such an ornament to a virgin, or virtuous woman, *quam virgini pudor*, as chastity is; more credit in a wise man’s eye and judgment they get by their plainness, and seem fairer than they that are set out with baubles, as a butcher’s meat is with pricks, puffed up, and adorned like so many jays with variety of colours. It is reported of Cornelia, that virtuous Roman lady, great Scipio’s daughter, Titus Sempronius’s wife and the mother of the Gracchi, that being by chance in company with a companion, a strange gentlewoman (some light housewife belike, that was dressed like a May lady, and, as most of our gentlewomen are, “was ³ more solicitous of her headtire than of her health, that spent her time between a comb and a glass, and had rather be fair than honest (as Cato said), and have the commonwealth turned topsy-turvy than her tires marred”); and she did nought but brag of her fine robes and jewels, and provoked the Roman matron to show hers; Cornelia kept her in talk till her children came from school,

¹ Lib. 2, de cultu mulierum, oculos depictos verecundiâ, inferentes in aures sermonem dei, annectentes crinibus jugum Christi, caput maritis subjicientes, sic facile et satis eritis ornatae: vestite vos serico probitatis, byssino sanctitatis, purpurâ pudicitiae; taliter pigmentatae deum habebitis amatorem. ² Suas habeant Romanae lascivias; purpurissa,

ac cerussa ora perungant, fomenta libidinum, et corruptae mentis indicia; vestrum ornamentum deus sit, pudicitia, virtutis studium. Bossus Plautus. ³ Sollicitiores de capitis sui decore quam de salute, inter pectinem et speculum diem perdunt, concinniores esse malunt quam honestiores, et rempub. minus turbari curant quam comam. Seneca.

and these, said she, are my jewels; and so deluded and put off a proud, vain, fantastical housewife. How much better were it for our matrons to do as she did, to go civilly and decently, ¹ *Honestæ mulieris instar quæ utitur auro pro eo quod est, ad ea tantum quibus opus est*, to use gold as it is gold, and for that use it serves, and when they need it, than to consume it in riot, beggar their husbands, prostitute themselves, inveigle others, and peradventure damn their own souls? How much more would it be to their honour and credit? Thus doing, as Hierom said of Blesilla, ² “Furius did not so triumph over the Gauls, Papyrius of the Samnites, Scipio of Numantia, as she did by her temperance;” *pullâ semper veste*, &c., they should insult and domineer over lust, folly, vainglory, all such inordinate, furious, and unruly passions.

But I am over-tedious, I confess, and whilst I stand gaping after fine clothes, there is another great allurements (in the world’s eye at least), which had like to have stolen out of sight, and that is money, *veniunt a dote sagittæ*, money makes the match; ³ *Μόνον ἀργυρον βλέπουσιν*; ’tis like sauce to their meat, *cum carne condimentum*, a good dowry with a wife. Many men if they do hear but of a great portion, a rich heir, are more mad than if they had all the beauteous ornaments, and those good parts art and nature can afford, they ⁴ care not for honesty, bringing up, birth, beauty, person, but for money.

⁵ “Canes et equos (ô Cyrne) quærimus
Nobiles, et a bonâ progenie;
Malam vero uxorem, malique patris filiam
Ducere non curat vir bonus,
Modo eî magnam dotem afferat.”

“Our dogs and horses still from the best breed
We carefully seek, and well may they speed:
But for our wives, so they prove wealthy,
Fair or foul, we care not what they be.”

¹ Lucian. ² Non sic Furius de Gallis, do in hâc parte. ³ Anacreon 4, solum
non Papyrius de Samnitibus, Scipio de intuemur aurum. ⁴ Affer tecum si vis
Numantiâ triumphavit, ac illa se vincen- vivere mecum. ⁵ Theognis.

If she be rich, then she is fair, fine, absolute and perfect; then they burn like fire, they love her dearly, like pig and pie, and are ready to hang themselves if they may not have her. Nothing so familiar in these days, as for a young man to marry an old wife, as they say, for a piece of gold; *asinum auro onustum*; and though she be an old crone, and have never a tooth in her head, neither good conditions, nor a good face, a natural fool, but only rich, she shall have twenty young gallants to be suitors in an instant. As she said in Suetonius, *non me, sed mea ambiunt*, 'tis not for her sake, but for her lands or money; and an excellent match it were (as he added) if she were away. So on the other side, many a young lovely maid will cast away herself upon an old, doting, decrepit dizzard,

¹ "Bis puer effæcto quamvis balbutiat ore,
Prima legit raræ tam culta roseta puellæ,"

that is rheumatic and gouty, hath some twenty diseases, perhaps but one eye, one leg, never a nose, no hair on his head, wit in his brains, nor honesty, if he have land or ² money, she will have him before all other suitors, ³ *Dummodo sit dives barbarus ille placet*. "If he be rich, he is the man," a fine man, and a proper man, she will go to Jacaktres or Tidore with him; *Galesimus de monte aureo*. Sir Giles Goosecap, Sir Amorous La-Fool, shall have her. And as Philemasium in ⁴ Aristænetus told Emmusus, *absque argento omnia vana*, hang him that hath no money, "'tis to no purpose to talk of marriage without means," ⁵ trouble me not with such motions; let others do as they will, "I'll be sure to have one shall maintain me fine and brave." Most are of her mind, ⁶ *De moribus ultima fiet quæstio*, for his conditions, she shall inquire after them another time, or when all is done, the match made, and every body gone home. ⁷ Lucian's Lycia was a proper young maid, and had many fine

¹ Chaloner l. 9, de Repub. Ang.
² Uxorem ducat Danaen, &c. ³ Ovid.
⁴ Epist. 14, formam spectant alii per gratias, ego pecuniam, &c., ne mihi negotium facesse. ⁵ Qui caret argento,

frustra utitur argumento. ⁶ Juvenalis.
⁷ Tom. 4, meret. dial. multos amatores rejecit, quia pater ejus nuper mortuus, ac dominus ipse factus bonorum omnium.

gentlemen to her suitors ; Ethecles, a senator's son, Melissus, a merchant, &c. ; but she forsook them all for one Passius, a base, hirsute, baldpated knave ; but why was it ? " His father lately died and left him sole heir of his goods and lands." This is not amongst your dust worms alone, poor snakes that will prostitute their souls for money, but with this bait you may catch our most potent, puissant, and illustrious princes. That proud upstart domineering Bishop of Ely, in the time of Richard the First, viceroy in his absence, as ¹Nubrigensis relates it, to fortify himself, and maintain his greatness, *propinquare suarum connubiis, plurimos sibi potentes et nobiles devincire curavit*, married his poor kinswomen (which came forth of Normandy by droves) to the chiefest nobles of the land, and they were glad to accept of such matches, fair or foul, for themselves, their sons, nephews, &c. *Et quis tam præclaram affinitatem sub spe magnæ promotionis non optaret ?* Who would not have done as much for money and preferment ? as mine author ²adds. Vortiger, King of Britain, married Rowena the daughter of Hengist the Saxon prince, his mortal enemy ; but wherefore ? she had Kent for her dowry. Iagello, the great Duke of Lithuania, 1386, was mightily enamoured on Hedenga, insomuch that he turned Christian from a Pagan, and was baptized himself by the name of Uladislau, and all his subjects for her sake ; but why was it ? she was daughter and heir of Poland, and his desire was to have both kingdoms incorporated into one. Charles the Great was an earnest suitor to Irene, the Empress, but saith ³Zonarus, *ob regnum*, to annex the empire of the East to that of the West. Yet what is the event of all such matches, that are so made for money, goods, by deceit, or for burning lust, *quos fæda libido conjunxit*, what follows ? they are almost mad at first, but 'tis a mere flash ; as chaff and straw soon fired, burn

¹ Lib. 3. cap. 14, quis nobilium eo tempore, sibi aut filio aut nepoti uxorem accipere cupiens, oblatam sibi aliquam propinquare ejus non acciperet obviis

manibus ? Quarum turbam acciverat e Normanniâ in Angliam ejus rei gratiâ. ² Alexander Gaguinus, Sarmat. Europ. descript. ³ Tom. 3, Annal.

vehemently for a while, yet out in a moment; so are all such matches made by those allurements of burning lust; where there is no respect of honesty, parentage, virtue, religion, education, and the like, they are extinguished in an instant, and instead of love comes hate; for joy, repentance and desperation itself. Franciscus Barbarus in his first book *de re uxoriâ*, c. 5, hath a story of one Philip of Padua that fell in love with a common whore, and was now ready to run mad for her; his father having no more sons let him enjoy her; ¹“but after a few days, the young man began to loathe, could not so much as endure the sight of her, and from one madness fell into another.” Such event commonly have all these lovers; and he that so marries, or for such respects, let them look for no better success than Menelaus had with Helen, Vulcan with Venus, Theseus with Phædra, Minos with Pasiphaë, and Claudius with Messalina; shame, sorrow, misery, melancholy, discontent.

SUBJECT. IV.—*Importunity and Opportunity of Time, Place, Conference, Discourse, Singing, Dancing, Music, Amorous Tales, Objects, Kissing, Familiarity, Tokens, Presents, Bribes, Promises, Protestations, Tears, &c.*

ALL these allurements hitherto are afar off, and at a distance; I will come nearer to those other degrees of love, which are conference, kissing, dalliance, discourse, singing, dancing, amorous tales, objects, presents, &c., which as so many Sirens steal away the hearts of men and women. For, as Tattius observes, l. 2, ²“It is no sufficient trial of a maid's affection by her eyes alone, but you must say something that shall be more available, and use such other forcible engines; therefore take her by the hand, wring her fingers hard, and sigh withal; if she accept this in good part, and seem not to

¹ Libido statim deferbuit, fastidium cæpit, et quod in eâ tantopere adamavit aspernatur, et ab ægitudine liberatus in angorem incidit. ² De puellæ voluntate periculum facere solis oculis non est satis, sed efficacius aliquid agere oportet, ibique

etiam machinam alteram adhibere: itaque manus tange, digitos constringe, atque inter stringendum suspira; si hæc agentem æquo se animo feret, neque facta hujusmodi aspernabitur, tum vero dominam appella, ejusque collum suaviare.

be much averse, then call her mistress, take her about the neck and kiss her," &c. But this cannot be done except they first get opportunity of living, or coming together, ingress, egress, and regress; letters and commendations may do much, outward gestures and actions; but when they come to live near one another, in the same street, village, or together in a house, love is kindled on a sudden. Many a serving-man by reason of this opportunity and importunity inveigles his master's daughter, many a gallant loves a dowdy, many a gentleman runs upon his wife's maids; many ladies dote upon their men, as the queen in Ariosto did upon the dwarf, many matches are so made in haste, and they are compelled as it were by ¹necessity so to love, which had they been free, come in company of others, seen that variety which many places afford, or compared them to a third, would never have looked one upon another. Or had not that opportunity of discourse and familiarity been offered, they would have loathed and contemned those whom, for want of better choice and other objects, they are fatally driven on, and by reason of their hot blood, idle life, full diet, &c., are forced to dote upon them that come next. And many times those which at the first sight cannot fancy or affect each other, but are harsh and ready to disagree, offended with each other's carriage, like Benedict and Beatrice in the ²comedy, and in whom they find many faults, by this living together in a house, conference, kissing, colling, and such like allurements, begin at last to dote insensibly one upon another.

It was the greatest motive that Potiphar's wife had to dote upon Joseph, and ³Clitophon upon Leucippe his uncle's daughter, because the plague being at Byzance, it was his fortune for a time to sojourn with her, to sit next her at the table, as he tells the tale himself in Tatius, *lib.* 2, (which, though it be but a fiction, is grounded upon good observation, and doth well express the passions of lovers,) he had opportunity to take her by the hand, and after a while to kiss, and

¹ Hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings.

² Shakspeare.

³ Tatius, *lib.* 1.

handle her paps, &c., ¹ which made him almost mad. Is-
 menius the orator makes the like confession in Eustathius,
lib. 1, when he came first to Sosthenes's house, and sat at
 table with Cratistes his friend, Ismene, Sosthenes's daughter,
 waiting on them "with her breasts open, arms half bare,"
²*Nuda pedem, discincta sinum, spoliata lacertos*; after the
 Greek fashion in those times,—³*nudos media plus parte*
lacertos, as Daphne was when she fled from Phœbus (which
 moved him much), was ever ready to give attendance on
 him, to fill him drink, her eyes were never off him, *roga-*
bundi oculi, those speaking eyes, courting eyes, enchanting
 eyes; but she was still smiling on him, and when they were
 risen, that she had got a little opportunity, ⁴"she came and
 drank to him, and withal trod upon his toes, and would come
 and go, and when she could not speak for the company, she
 would wring his hand," and blush when she met him; and
 by this means first she overcame him (*bibens amorem haurie-*
bam simul), she would kiss the cup and drink to him, and
 smile, "and drink where he drank on that side of the cup,"
 by which mutual compressions, kissings, wringing of hands,
 treading of feet, &c. *Ipsam mihi videbar sorbillare virginem*,
 I sipped and sipped so long, till at length I was drunk in love
 upon a sudden. Philocharinus, in ⁵Aristanetus, met a fair
 maid by chance, a mere stranger to him, he looked back at
 her, she looked back at him again, and smiled withal.

⁶ "Ille dies lethi primus, primusque malorum
 Causa fuit"

It was the sole cause of his farther acquaintance, and love
 that undid him. ⁷*O nullis tutum credere blanditiis*.

This opportunity of time and place, with their circum-
 stances, are so forcible motives, that it is impossible almost
 for two young folks equal in years to live together, and not

¹ In mammarum attractu, non asper-
 nanda inest jucunditas, et attractus,
 &c. ² Mantuan. ³ Ovid. 1 Met.

⁴ Manus ad cubitum nuda, coram astans,
 fortius intuita, tenuem de pectore spiri-
 tum ducens digitum meum pressit, et
 bibens pedem pressit; mutæ compres-

siones corporum, labiorum commixtiones,
 pedum connexiones, &c. Et bibit eodem
 loco, &c. ⁵ Epist. 4. Respexit, respexit

et illa subridens, &c. ⁶ Vir. Æn. 4.

"That was the first hour of destruction,
 and the first beginning of my miseries."

⁷ Propertius.

be in love, especially in great houses, princes' courts, where they are idle *in summo gradu*, fare well, live at ease, and cannot tell otherwise how to spend their time. ¹*Illic Hippolitum pone, Priapus erit.* Achilles was sent by his mother Thetis to the island of Scyros in the Ægean sea (where Lycomedes then reigned) in his nonage to be brought up; to avoid that hard destiny of the oracle (he should be slain at the siege of Troy); and for that cause was nurtured in Geneseo, amongst the king's children in a woman's habit; but see the event; he compressed Deidamia, the king's fair daughter, and had a fine son, called Pyrrhus, by her. Peter Abelard, the philosopher, as he tells the tale himself, being set by Fulbertus, her uncle, to teach Heloise, his lovely niece, and to that purpose sojourned in his house, and had committed *agnam tenellam famelico lupo*, I use his own words, he soon got her good will, *plura erant oscula quam sententiæ*, and he read more of love than any other lecture; such pretty feats can opportunity play; *primum domo conjuncti, inde animis*, &c. But when as I say, *nox, vinum, et adolescentia*, youth, wine, and night, shall concur, *nox amoris et quietis conscia*, 'tis a wonder they be not all plunged over head and ears in love; for youth is *benigna in amorem, et prona materies*, a very combustible matter, naphtha itself, the fuel of love's fire, and most apt to kindle it. If there be seven servants in an ordinary house, you shall have three couple in some good liking at least, and amongst idle persons how should it be otherwise? "Living at ²Rome, saith Aretine's Lucretia, in the flower of my fortunes, rich, fair, young, and so well brought up, my conversation, age, beauty, fortune, made all the world admire and love me." Night alone, that one occasion, is enough to set all on fire, and they are so cunning in great houses, that they make their best advantage of it. Many a gentlewoman, that is guilty to herself of her imperfections, paintings, impostures, will not willingly be

¹ Ovid. amor. lib. 2, eleg. 2. "Place modesty itself in such a situation, desire will intrude." ² Romæ vivens flore fortunæ, et opulentia meæ, ætas, forma, gratia conversationis, maxime me fecerunt expetibilem, &c.

seen by day, but as ¹ Castilio noteth, in the night, *Diem ut glis odit, tædarum lucem super omnia mavult*, she hateth the day like a dormouse, and above all things loves torches and candlelight, and if she must come abroad in the day, she covets, as ² in a mercer's shop, a very obfuscate and obscure sight. And good reason she hath for it: *Nocte latent mendæ*, and many an amorous gull is fetched over by that means. Gomesius, *lib. 3, de sale gen. c. 22*, gives instance in a Florentine gentleman, that was so deceived with a wife, she was so radiantly set out with rings and jewels, lawns, scarfs, laces, gold, spangles, and gaudy devices, that the young man took her to be a goddess (for he never saw her but by torchlight); but after the wedding solemnities, when as he viewed her the next morning without her tires, and in a clear day, she was so deformed, a lean, yellow, shrivelled, &c., such a beastly creature in his eyes, that he could not endure to look upon her. Such matches are frequently made in Italy, where they have no other opportunity to woo but when they go to church, or, as ³ in Turkey, see them at a distance, they must interchange few or no words, till such time they come to be married, and then as Sardus, *lib. 1, cap. 3, de morb. gent.* and ⁴ Bohemus relate of those old Lacedemonians, "the bride is brought into the chamber, with her hair girt about her, the bridegroom comes in and unties the knot, and must not see her at all by daylight till such time as he is made a father by her." In those hotter countries these are ordinary practices at this day; but in our northern parts, amongst Germans, Danes, French, and Britons, the continent of Scandia and the rest, we assume more liberty in such cases; we allow them, as Bohemus saith, to kiss coming and going, *et modo absit lascivia, in cauponem ducere*, to talk merrily, sport, play, sing, and dance, so that it be modestly done, go to the alehouse and tavern together. And 'tis not amiss, though

¹ De Aulic. l. 1, fol. 63.
epist.

² Ut adulterini mercatorum panni.
⁴ Paranympa in cubiculum adducta capillos ad cutim referebat;

³ Busbeq. sponsus inde ad eam ingressus cingulum solvebat, nec prius sponsam aspexit interdiu quam ex illa factus esset pater.

¹ Chrysostom, Cyprian, Hierome, and some other of the fathers speak bitterly against it; but that is the abuse which is commonly seen at some drunken matches, dissolute meetings, or great unruly feasts. ²“A young, pitted, trim-bearded fellow,” saith Hierome, “will come with a company of compliments, and hold you up by the arm as you go, and wringing your fingers, will so be enticed, or entice; one drinks to you, another embraceth, a third kisseth, and all this while the fiddler plays or sings a lascivious song; a fourth singles you out to dance, ³one speaks by beck and signs, and that which he dares not say, signifies by passions; amongst so many and so great provocations of pleasure, lust conquers the most hard and crabbed minds, and scarce can a man live honest amongst feasting, and sports, or at such great meetings.” For as he goes on, ⁴“she walks along, and with the ruffling of her clothes, makes men look at her, her shoes creak, her paps tied up, her waist pulled in to make her look small, she is strait girded, her hairs hang loose about her ears, her upper garment sometimes falls, and sometimes tarries to show her naked shoulders, and as if she would not be seen, she covers that in all haste, which voluntarily she showed.” And not at feasts, plays, pageants, and such assemblies, ⁵but as Chrysostom objects, these tricks are put in practice “at service time in churches, and at the communion itself.” If such dumb shows, signs, and more obscure significations of love can so move, what shall they do that have full liberty to sing, dance, kiss, coll, to use all manner of discourse and dalliance! What shall he do that is beleaguered on all sides?

⁶ “Quem tot, tam roseæ petunt puellæ,
Quem cultæ cupiunt nurus, amorque

¹ Serm. cont. concub. ² Lib. 2, epist. ad filium, et virginem et matrem viduam epist. 10, dabit tibi barbatulus quispiam manum, sustentabit lassam, et pressis digitis aut tentabitur aut tentabit, &c. ³ Loquetur alius nutibus, et quicquid metuit dicere, significabit affectibus. Inter has tantas voluptatum illecebras etiam ferreas mentes libido domat. Difficile inter epulas servatur pudicitia. ⁴ Clamore

vestium ad se juvenes vocat; capilli fasciis comprimuntur crispatis, cingulo pectus arctatur, capilli vel in frontem, vel in aures defluunt: palliolum interdum cadit, ut nudet humeros, et quasi videri noluerit, festinans celat, quod volens detexerit. ⁵ Serm. cont. concub. In sancto et reverendo sacramentorum tempore multas occasiones, ut illis placeant qui eas vident, præbent. ⁶ Pont. Baia. l. 1.

Omnis undique et undecunque et usque,
Omnis ambit Amor, Venusque Hymenque."

"After whom so many rosy maids inquire,
Whom dainty dames and loving wights desire,
In every place, still, and at all times sue,
Whom gods and gentle goddesses do woo."

How shall he contain? The very tone of some of their voices, a pretty, pleasing speech, an affected tone they use, is able of itself to captivate a young man; but when a good wit shall concur, art and eloquence, fascinating speech, pleasant discourse, sweet gestures, the Sirens themselves cannot so enchant. ¹ P. Jovius commends his Italian countrywomen, to have an excellent faculty in this kind, above all other nations, and amongst them the Florentine ladies; some prefer Roman and Venetian courtesans, they have such pleasing tongues, and such ² elegance of speech, that they are able to overcome a saint, *Pro facie multis vox sua lena fuit. Tantâ gratiâ vocis famam conciliabat*, saith Petronius ³ in his fragment of pure impurities, I mean his *Satyricon*, *tam dulcis sonus permulcebat aëra, ut putares inter auras cantare Syrenum concordiam*; she sang so sweetly that she charmed the air, and thou wouldst have thought thou hadst heard a concert of Sirens. "O good God, when Lais speaks, how sweet it is!" Philocolus exclaims in Aristænetus, to hear a fair young gentlewoman play upon the virginals, lute, viol, and sing to it, which as Gellius observes, *lib. 1, cap. 11*, are *lascivientium deliciæ*, the chief delight of lovers, must needs be a great enticement. Parthenis was so taken. ⁴ *Mî vox ista avidâ haurit ab aure animam*; O sister Harpedona (she laments) I am undone, ⁵ "how sweetly he sings, I'll speak a bold word, he is the properest man that ever I saw in my life; O how sweetly he sings, I die for his sake, O that he

¹ Descr. Brit. ² Res est blanda canor, discunt cantare puellæ pro facie, &c. Ovid. 3, de art. amandi. ³ Epist. l. 1, Cum loquitur Lais, quanta, O dii boni, vocis ejus dulcedo! ⁴ "The sweet sound of his voice reanimates my soul

through my covetous ears." ⁵ Aristænetus, lib. 2. epist. 5. Quam suavè canit! verbum audax dixi, omnium quos vidi formosissimus; utinam amare me dignetur!

would love me again!" If thou didst but hear her sing, saith ¹ Lucian, "thou wouldst forget father and mother, forsake all thy friends, and follow her." Helena is highly commended by ² Theocritus the poet for her sweet voice and music; none could play so well as she, and Daphnis in the same Edyllion,

"Quam tibi os dulce est, et vox amabilis, ô Daphni,
Jucundius est audire te canentem, quam mel lingere!"

"How sweet a face hath Daphne, how lovely a voice!
Honey itself is not so pleasant in my choice."

A sweet voice and music are powerful enticers. Those Samian singing wenches, Aristonica, CEnanthes and Agathoclea, *regiis diadematibus insultârunt*, insulted over kings themselves, as ³ Plutarch contends. *Centum luminibus circum caput Argus habebat*, Argus had a hundred eyes, all so charmed by one silly pipe, that he lost his head. Clitophon complains in ⁴ Tattius of Leucippe's sweet tunes, "he heard her play by chance upon the lute, and sing a pretty song to it in commendations of a rose," out of old Anacreon belike;

"Rosa honor decusque florum,
Rosa flos odorque divum,
Hominum rosa est voluptas,
Decus illa Gratiarum,
Florente amoris hora,
Rosa suavium Diones," &c.

"Rose the fairest of all flowers,
Rose delight of higher powers,
Rose the joy of mortal men,
Rose the pleasure of fine women,
Rose the Graces' ornament,
Rose Dione's sweet content."

To this effect the lovely virgin with a melodious air upon her golden wired harp or lute, I know not well whether, played and sang, and that transported him beyond himself, "and that ravished his heart." It was Jason's discourse as much as his

¹ Imagines; si cantantem audieris, ita sane ulla sic Cytharam pulsare novit. detulcebere, ut parentum et patriæ statu. ³ Amatorio Dialogo. ⁴ Puellam Cytharâ canentem vidimus.

beauty, or any other of his good parts, which delighted Medea so much.

¹ "Delectabatur enim
Animus simul formâ dulcibusque verbis."

It was Cleopatra's sweet voice and pleasant speech which inveigled Antony, above the rest of her enticements. *Verba ligant hominem, ut taurorum cornua funes*, "as bulls' horns are bound with ropes, so are men's hearts with pleasant words." "Her words burn as fire," Eccles. ix. 10. Roxalana bewitched Solyman the Magnificent, and Shore's wife by this engine overcame Edward the Fourth, ² *Omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres*. The wife of Bath in Chaucer confesseth all this out of her experience.

*Some folk desire us for riches,
Some for shape, some for fairness,
Some for that she can sing or dance,
Some for gentleness, or for dalliance.*

³ Peter Aretine's Lucretia telleth as much and more of herself, "I counterfeited honesty, as if I had been *virgo virginissima*, more than a vestal virgin, I looked like a wife, I was so demure and chaste, I did add such gestures, tunes, speeches, signs and motions upon all occasions, that my spectators and auditors were stupefied, enchanted, fastened all to their places, like so many stocks and stones." Many silly gentlewomen are fetched over in like sort, by a company of gulls and swaggering companions, that frequently belie noblemen's favours, rhyming Coribantiasmi, Thrasonean Rhodomantes or Bombomachides, that have nothing in them but a few player's ends and compliments, vain braggadocians, impudent intruders, that can discourse at table of knights and lords' combats, like ⁴ Lucian's Leontiscus, of other men's travels, brave adventures, and such common trivial news, ride, dance, sing old ballad tunes, and wear their clothes in

¹ Apollonius. Argonaut, l. 3, "The mind is delighted as much by eloquence as beauty." ² Catullus. ³ Pornodiascalo dial. Ital. Latin. interp. Jasper

Barthio Germ. Fingebam honestatem plusquam virginis vestalis, intuebar oculis uxoris, addebam gestus, &c. ⁴ Tom. 4, dial. meret.

fashion, with a good grace ; a fine sweet gentleman, a proper man, who could not love him ! She will have him though all her friends say no, though she beg with him. Some again are incensed by reading amorous toys, Amadis de Gaul, Palmerin de Oliva, the Knight of the Sun, &c., or hearing such tales of ¹lovers, descriptions of their persons, lascivious discourses, such as Astyanassa, Helen's waiting-woman, by the report of Suidas, writ of old, *de variis concubitûs modis*, and after her Philenis and Elephantine ; or those light tracts of ²Aristides Milesius (mentioned by Plutarch) and found by the Persians in Crassus's army amongst the spoils, Aretine's dialogues, with ditties, lovesongs, &c., must needs set them on fire, with such like pictures, as those of Aretine, or wanton objects of what kind soever ; "no stronger engine than to hear or read of love-toys, fables and discourses (³one saith), and many by this means are quite mad." At Abdera in Thrace (Andromeda one of Euripides's tragedies being played) the spectators were so much moved with the object, and those pathetic love speeches of Perseus, amongst the rest, "O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men," &c., that every man almost a good while after spake pure iambics, and raved still on Perseus's speech, "O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men." As carmen, boys and apprentices, when a new song is published with us, go singing that new tune still in the streets, they continually acted that tragical part of Perseus, and in every man's mouth was "O Cupid," in every street, "O Cupid," in every house almost, "O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men," pronouncing still like stage-players, "O Cupid ;" they were so possessed all with that rapture, and thought of that pathetic love speech, they could not a long time after forget, or drive it out of their minds, but "O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men," was ever in their mouths. This belike made Aristotle, *Polit. lib. 7, cap. 18*, forbid young men to see comedies, or to hear amorous tales.

¹ Amatorius sermo vehemens vehementis cupiditatis incitatio est. Tatius, l. 1.

² De luxuriâ et deliciis compositi. ³Æneas

Sylvius. Nulla machina validior quam lectio lascivæ historiæ : sæpe etiam hujusmodi fabulis ad furorem incenduntur.

¹ “Hæc igitur juvenes nequam facilesque puellæ
Inspiciant”

“let not young folks meddle at all with such matters.” And this made the Romans, as ² Vitruvius relates, put Venus’s temple in the suburbs, *extra murum, ne adolescentes venereis insuescant*, to avoid all occasions and objects. For what will not such an object do? Ismenius, as he walked in Sosthenes’s garden, being now in love, when he saw so many ³ lascivious pictures, Thetis’s marriage, and I know not what, was almost beside himself. And to say truth, with a lascivious object who is not moved, to see others dally, kiss, dance? And much more when he shall come to be an actor himself.

To kiss and be kissed, which, amongst other lascivious provocations, is as a burden in a song, and a most forcible battery, as infectious, ⁴ Xenophon thinks, as the poison of a spider; a great allurements, a fire itself, *procœmium aut anti-cœnium*, the prologue of burning lust (as Apuleius adds), lust itself, ⁵ *Venus quintâ parte sui nectaris imbuit*, a strong assault, that conquers captains, and those all-commanding forces (⁶ *Domasque Ferro sed domaris osculo*). ⁷ Aretine’s Lucretia, when she would in kindness overcome a suitor of hers, and have her desire of him, “took him about the neck, and kissed him again and again,” and to that, which she could not otherwise effect, she made him so speedily and willingly condescend. And ’tis a continual assault,—⁸ *hoc non deficit incipitque semper*, always fresh, and ready to ⁹ begin as at first, *basium nullo fine terminatur, sed semper recens est*, and hath a fiery touch with it.

¹⁰ “Tenta modò tangere corpus,
Jam tua mellifluo membra calore fluent.”

¹ Martial. l. 4. ² Lib. 1, c. 7.
³ Eustathius, l. 1. *Picturæ parant animum ad Venerem, &c.* Horatius ad res venereas intemperantior traditur: nam cubiculo suo sic specula dicitur habuisse disposita, ut quocunque respexisset imaginem coitus referrent. Suetonius, vit. ejus. ⁴ *Osculum ut phylangium inficit.* ⁵ Hor. “Venus hath imbued with the quitesence of her

nectar.” ⁶ Heinsius. “You may conquer with the sword, but you are conquered by a kiss.” ⁷ *Applico me illi proximus et spisse deosculata sagum peto.* ⁸ Petronius, Catalect. ⁹ Catullus ad Lesbiam: *da mihi basia mille. deinde centum, &c.* ¹⁰ Petronius. “Only attempt to touch her person, and immediately your members will be filled with a glow of delicious warmth.”

Especially when they shall be lasciviously given, as he feelingly said, ¹ *et me pressulum deosculata Fotis, Catenatis lacertis*, ² *Obtorto valgitèr labello*.

³ "Valgiis suaviis,
Dum semiulco suavio
Meam puellam suavior,
Anima tunc ægra et saucia
Concurrit ad labia mihi."

The soul and all is moved; ⁴ *Jam pluribus osculis labra crepitabant, animarum quoque mixturam facientes, inter mutuos complexus animas anhelantes*,

⁵ "Hæsimus calentes
Et transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis
Errantes animas, valete curæ."

"They breathe out their souls and spirits together with their kisses," saith ⁶ Balthasar Castilio, "change hearts and spirits, and mingle affections as they do kisses, and it is rather a connection of the mind than of the body." And although these kisses be delightful and pleasant, Ambrosial kisses, ⁷ *Suaviolum dulci dulcius Ambrosiâ*, such as ⁸ Ganymede gave Jupiter, *Nectare suavius*, sweeter than ⁹ nectar, balsam, honey, ¹⁰ *Oscula merum amorem stillantia*, love-dropping kisses; for

"The gillyflower, the rose is not so sweet,
As sugared kisses be when lovers meet:"

Yet they leave an irksome impression, like that of aloes or gall,

¹¹ "Ut mi ex Ambrosiâ mutatum jam foret illud
Suaviolum tristi tristius helleboro."

"At first Ambrose itself was not sweeter,
At last black hellebore was not so bitter."

¹ Apuleius, l. 10, et Catalect. ² Petronius. ³ Apuleius. ⁴ Petronius, Prosellos ad Circen. ⁵ Petronius. ⁶ Animus conjungitur, et spiritus etiam noster per osculum effluit; alternatim se in utriusque corpus infundentes commiscunt; animæ potius quam corporis

connectio. ⁷ Catullus. ⁸ Lucian. Tom. 4. ⁹ Non dat basia, dat Nera nectar, dat rores animæ suaveolentes, dat nardum, thymumque, cinnamumque et mel, &c. Secundus, bas. 4. ¹⁰ Eustathius, lib. 4. ¹¹ Catullus.

They are deceitful kisses,

¹ “ Quid me mollibus implicas lacertis?
Quid fallacibus osculis inescas? ” &c.

“ Why dost within thine arms me lap,
And with false kisses me entrap? ”

They are destructive, and the more the worse: ² *Et quæ me perdunt, oscula mille dabat*, they are the bane of these miserable lovers. There be honest kisses, I deny not, *osculum charitatis*, friendly kisses, modest kisses, vestal-virgin kisses, officious and ceremonial kisses, &c. *Osculi sensus, brachiorum amplexus*, kissing and embracing are proper gifts of Nature to a man; but these are too lascivious kisses, ³ *Implicuitque suos circum mea colla lacertos*, &c., too continueate and too violent, ⁴ *Brachia non hederæ, non vincunt oscula conchæ*: they cling like ivy, close as an oyster, bill as doves, meretricious kisses, biting of lips, *cum additamento*: *Tam impresso ore* (saith ⁵ Lucian) *ut vix labia detrahant, inter deosculandum mordicantes, tum et os aperientes quoque et mammas attrectantes*, &c., such kisses as she gave to Gyton, *innumera oscula dedit non repugnanti puero, cervicem invadens*, innumerable kisses, &c. More than kisses, or too homely kisses; as those that ⁶ he spake of, *Accepturus ab ipsâ venere* ⁷ *suavia*, &c., with such other obscenities that vain lovers use, which are abominable and pernicious. If, as Peter de Ledesmo, *cas. cons.* holds, every kiss a man gives his wife after marriage, be *mortale peccatum*, a mortal sin, or that of ⁷ Hierome, *Adulter est quisquis in uxorem suam ardentior est amator*; or that of Thomas Secund. *quæst.* 154, *artic.* 4, *contactus et osculum sit mortale peccatum*, or that of Durand. *Rational. lib.* 1, *cap.* 10, *abstinere debent conjuges*

¹ Buchanan. ² Ovid. *art. am. Eleg.* 18. ³ Ovid. “She folded her arms around my neck.” ⁴ Cum capita li-

ment solitis morsiunculis, et cum mamillarum pressiunculis. *Lip. od. ant. lec. lib.* 3. ⁶ Tom. 4, *dial. meretr.*

⁶ Apuleius, *Miles.* 6. Et unum blandien-

tis linguæ admulsum longè mellitum: et post *lib.* 11, *Arctius eam complexus cæpi suaviari jamque pariter patentis oris inhalitu cinnameo et occurrentis linguæ illisu nectareo*, &c. ⁷ *Lib.* 1, *advers. Jovin. cap.* 30.

a complexu, toto tempore quo solennitas nuptiarum interdicitur, what shall become of all such ¹ immodest kisses and obscene actions, the forerunners of brutish lust, if not lust itself! What shall become of them that often abuse their own wives? But what have I to do with this?

That which I aim at, is to show you the progress of this burning lust; to epitomize therefore all this which I have hitherto said, with a familiar example out of that elegant Musæus, observe but with me those amorous proceedings of Leander and Hero; they began first to look one on another with a lascivious look,

“ Obliquè intuens inde nutibus,—
Nutibus mutuis inducens in errorem mentem puellæ.
Et illa e contra nutibus mutuis juvenis
Leandri quod amorem non renuit, &c. Inde
Adibat in tenebris tacitè quidem stringens
Roseos puellæ digitos, ex imo suspirabat
Vehementer ————— Inde
Virginis autem bene olens collum osculatus,
Tale verbum ait amoris ictus stimulo,
Preces audi et amoris miserere mei, &c.
Sic fatus recusantis persuasit mentem puellæ.”

“ With becks and nods, he first began
To try the wench's mind,
With becks and nods and smiles again
An answer he did find.
And in the dark he took her by the hand,
And wrung it hard, and sighed grievously,
And kiss'd her too, and woo'd her as he might,
With pity me, sweetheart, or else I die,
And with such words and gestures as there past,
He won his mistress's favour at the last.”

The same proceeding is elegantly described by Apollonius in his *Argonautics*, between Jason and Medea, by Eustathius in the ten books of the loves of Ismenius and Ismene, Achilles Tatius between his Clitophon and Leucippe, Chaucer's neat poem of Troilus and Cresseide; and in that notable tale in

¹ Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et cetera sumpsit, &c.

Petronius of a soldier and a gentlewoman of Ephesus, that was so famous all over Asia for her chastity, and that mourned for her husband: the soldier wooed her with such rhetoric as lovers use to do,—*placitone etiam pugnabis amori?* &c., at last, *frangi pertinaciam passa est*, he got her good-will, not only to satisfy his lust,¹ but to hang her dead husband's body on the cross (which he watched instead of the thief's that was newly stolen away), whilst he wooed her in her cabin. These are tales, you will say, but they have most significant morals, and do well express those ordinary proceedings of doting lovers.

Many such allurements there are, nods, jests, winks, smiles, wrestlings, tokens, favours, symbols, letters, valentines, &c. For which cause belike, Godefridus, *lib. 2, de amor.* would not have women learn to write. Many such provocations are used when they come in presence,² they will, and will not,

“Malo me Galatea petit lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.”

“My mistress with an apple woos me,
And hastily to covert goes
To hide herself, but would be seen
With all her heart before, God knows.”

Hero so tripped away from Leander as one displeased,

³ “Yet as she went full often look'd behind,
And many poor excuses did she find
To linger by the way,”

but if he chance to overtake her, she is most averse, nice and coy,

“Denegat et pugnat, sed vult super omnia vinci.”

“She seems not won, but won she is at length,
In such wars women use but half their strength.”

¹ Corpus placuit mariti sui tolli ex arcâ, velis, ubi nolis cupiunt ultro. Ter. atque illi quæ vacabat cruci adfigi. Eunuc. act. 4, sc. 7. ² Marlowe.
Novi ingenium mulierum, nolunt ubi

Sometimes they lie open and are most tractable and coming, apt, yielding, and willing to embrace, to take a green gown, with that shepherdess in Theocritus, *Edyl.* 27, to let their coats, &c., to play and dally, at such seasons, and to some, as they spy their advantage; and then coy, close again, so nice, so surly, so demure, you had much better tame a colt, catch or ride a wild horse, than get her favour, or win her love, not a look, not a smile, not a kiss for a kingdom. ¹ Aretine's Lucretia was an excellent artisan in this kind, as she tells her own tale, "Though I was by nature and art most beautiful and fair, yet by these tricks I seemed to be far more amiable than I was, for that which men earnestly seek and cannot attain, draws on their affection with a most furious desire. I had a suitor loved me dearly (said she), and the ² more he gave me, the more eagerly he wooed me, the more I seemed to neglect, to scorn him, and which I commonly gave others, I would not let him see me, converse with me, no, not have a kiss. To gull him the more, and fetch him over (for him only I aimed at) I personated my own servant to bring in a present from a Spanish count, whilst he was in my company, as if he had been the count's servant, which he did excellently well perform: ³ *Comes de monte Turco*, 'my lord and master hath sent your ladyship a small present, and part of his hunting, a piece of venison, a pheasant, a few partridges, &c.' (all which she bought with her own money), 'commends his love and service to you, desiring you to accept of it in good part, and he means very shortly to come and see you.'" Withal she showed him rings, gloves, scarfs, coronets which others had sent her, when there was no such matter, but only to circumvent him. ⁴ By these means (as she concludes) "I made the poor gentleman so mad, that he was ready to spend

¹ Pornodiascalo dial. Ital. Latin. Donat. a Gasp. Barthio Germano. Quanquam naturâ, et arte eram formosissima, isto tamen astu tanto speciosior videbar, quod enim oculis cupitum ægrè præbatur, multo magis affectus humanos incendit. ² Quo majoribus me donis propitiabat, eo pejoribus illum modis

tractabam, ne basium impetravit, &c. ³ Comes de monte Turco Hispanus has de venatione suâ partes misit, jussitque peramanter orare, ut hoc qualecunque donum suo nomine accipias. ⁴ His artibus hominem ita excantabam, ut pro me ille ad omnia paratus, &c.

himself, and venture his dearest blood for my sake." Philinna, in ¹ Lucian, practised all this long before, as it shall appear unto you by her discourse; for when Diphilus her sweetheart came to see her (as his daily custom was) she frowned upon him, would not vouchsafe him her company, but kissed Lamprius his corrival, at the same time ² before his face; but why was it? To make him (as she telleth her mother that chid her for it) more jealous; to whet his love, to come with a greater appetite, and to know that her favour was not so easy to be had. Many other tricks she used besides this (as she there confesseth), for she would fall out with, and anger him of set purpose, pick quarrels upon no occasion, because she would be reconciled to him again. *Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio*, as the old saying is, the falling out of lovers is the renewing of love; and according to that of Aristænetus, *jucundiores amorum post injurias deliciæ*, love is increased by injuries, as the sunbeams are more gracious after a cloud. And surely this aphorism is most true; for as Ampelis informs Crisis in the said Lucian, ³ "If a lover be not jealous, angry, waspish, apt to fall out, sigh and swear, he is no true lover." To kiss and coll, hang about her neck, protest, swear and wish, are but ordinary symptoms, *incipientis adhuc et crescentis amoris signa*; but if he be jealous, angry, apt to mistake, &c., *benè speres licet*, sweet sister he is thine own; yet if you let him alone, humour him, please him, &c., and that he perceive once he hath you sure, without any corrival, his love will languish, and he will not care so much for you. Hitherto (saith she) can I speak out of experience; Demophantus a rich fellow was a suitor of mine, I seemed to neglect him, and gave better entertainment to Calliades the painter before his face, *principio abiit, verbis me insectatus* at first he went away all

¹ Tom. 4, dial. meret. ² Relicto illo, ægre ipsi interim faciens. et omnino difficilis. ³ Si quis enim nec Zelotypus, irascitur, nec pugnat aliquando amator, nec perjurat, non est habendus amator,

&c. Totus hic ignis Zelotypia constat, &c., maximi amores inde nascuntur. Sed si persuasum illi fuerit te solum habere, elanguescit illico amor suus.

in a chafe, cursing and swearing, but at last he came submitting himself, vowing and protesting he loved me most dearly, I should have all he had, and that he would kill himself for my sake. Therefore I advise thee (dear sister Crisis) and all maids, not to use your suitors over kindly; *insolentes enim sunt hoc cùm sentiunt*, 'twill make them proud and insolent; but now and then reject them, estrange thyself, *et si me audies semel atque iterum exclude*, shut him out of doors once or twice, let him dance attendance; follow my counsel, and by this means ¹you shall make him mad, come off roundly, stand to any conditions, and do whatsoever you will have him. These are the ordinary practices; yet in the said Lucian, Melissa methinks had a trick beyond all this; for when her suitor came coldly on, to stir him up, she writ one of his corrivals' names and her own in a paper, *Melissa amat Hermotimum*, *Heromotimus Melissam*, causing it to be stuck upon a post, for all gazers to behold, and lost it in the way where he used to walk; which when the silly novice perceived, *statim ut legit credidit*, instantly apprehended it was so, came raving to me, &c., ²“and so when I was in despair of his love, four months after I recovered him again.” Eugenia drew Timocles for her valentine, and wore his name a long time after in her bosom; Camæna singled out Pamphilus to dance, at Myson's wedding (some say), for there she saw him first; Fælicianus overtook Cælia by the highway side, offered his service, thence came further acquaintance, and thence came love. But who can repeat half their devices? What Aretine experienced, what conceited Lucian, or wanton Aristænetus? They will deny and take, stiffly refuse, and yet earnestly seek the same, repel to make them come with more eagerness, fly from if you follow, but if averse, as a shadow they will follow you again, *fugientem sequitur, sequentem fugit*; with a regaining retreat, a gentle reluctancy, a smiling threat, a pretty pleasant peevishness

¹ Venientem videbis ipsum denuo inflammatum et prorsus insanientem. ² Et sic cum fere de illo desperâssem, post menses quatuor ad me rediit.

they will put you off, and have a thousand such several enticements. For as he saith,

¹ “Non est forma satis, nec quæ vult bella videri,
Debet vulgari more placere suis,
Dicta, sales, lusus, sermones, gratia, risus,
Vincunt naturæ candidioris opus.”

“’Tis not enough though she be fair of hue,
For her to use this vulgar compliment;
But pretty toys and jests, and saws and smiles,
As far beyond what beauty can attempt.”

² For this cause belike Philostratus, in his images, makes diverse loves, “some young, some of one age, some of another, some winged, some of one sex, some of another, some with torches, some with golden apples, some with darts, gins, snares, and other engines in their hands,” as Propertius hath prettily painted them out, *lib. 2 et 29*, and which some interpret, diverse enticements, or diverse affections of lovers, which if not alone, yet jointly may batter and overcome the strongest constitutions.

It is reported of Decius and Valerianus, those two notorious persecutors of the church, that when they could enforce a young Christian by no means (as ³ Hierome records) to sacrifice to their idols, by no torments or promises, they took another course to tempt him: they put him into a fair garden, and set a young courtesan to dally with him, ⁴ “she took him about the neck and kissed him, and that which is not to be named,” *manibusque attrectare, &c.*, and all those enticements which might be used, that whom torments could not, love might batter and beleaguer. But such was his constancy, she could not overcome, and when this last engine would take no place, they left him to his own ways. At

⁵ Berkley in Gloucestershire, there was in times past a nun-

¹ Petronius, Catal. ² Imagines deorum, fol. 327, varios amores facit, quos aliqui interpretantur multiplices affectus et illecebras, alios puellios, puellas, alatos, alios poma aurea, alios sagittas, alios laqueos, &c. ³ Epist. lib. 3, vita Pauli

Eremitæ. ⁴ Meretrix speciosa cepit delicatius stringere colla complexibus, et corpore in libidinem concitato, &c. ⁵ Camden in Gloucestershire, huic præfuit nobilis et formosa abbatissa, Godwinus comes indole subtilis, non ipsam,

nery (saith Gualterus Mapes, an old historiographer, that lived four hundred years since), “of which there was a noble and a fair lady abbes; Godwin, that subtle Earl of Kent, travelling that way (seeking not her but hers), leaves a nephew of his, a proper young gallant (as if he had been sick) with her, till he came back again, and gives the young man charge so long to counterfeit, till he had deflowered the abbes, and as many besides of the nuns as he could, and leaves him withal, rings, jewels, girdles, and such toys to give them still, when they came to visit him. The young man, willing to undergo such a business, played his part so well, that in short space he got up most of their bellies, and when he had done, told his lord how he had sped; ¹ his lord made instantly to the court, tells the king how such a nunnery was become a bawdy-house, procures a visitation, gets them to be turned out, and begs the lands to his own use.” This story I do therefore repeat, that you may see of what force these enticements are, if they be opportunely used, and how hard it is even for the most averse and sanctified souls to resist such allurements. John Major, in the life of John the monk, that lived in the days of Theodosius, commends the hermit to have been a man of singular continency, and of a most austere life; but one night by chance the devil came to his cell in the habit of a young market wench that had lost her way, and desired for God’s sake some lodging with him. ² “The old man let her in, and after some common conference of her mishap, she began to inveigle him with lascivious talk and jests, to play with his beard, to kiss him, and do worse, till at last she overcame him. As he went to address himself to that business, she vanished on a sudden, and the devils in the air laughed him to scorn.” Whether this be a true story, or

sed sua cupiens, reliquit nepotem suum formâ elegantissimum, tanquam infirmum donec revertetur; instruit, &c. ¹ Ille impiger regem adit, abbatissam et suas pręgnantes edocet, exploratoribus missis probat, et iis ejectis, a domino suo manerium accepit. ² Post sermones

de casu suo suavitatem sermonis conciliat animum hominis, manumque inter colloquia et risus ad barbam protendit et palpare coępit cervicem suam et osculari; quid multa? Captivum ducit militem Christi. Complexura evanescit, demones in aëre monechum riserunt.

a tale, I will not much contend, it serves to illustrate this which I have said.

Yet were it so, that these of which I have hitherto spoken, and such like enticing baits, be not sufficient, there be many others, which will of themselves intend this passion of burning lust, amongst which, dancing is none of the least; and it is an engine of such force, I may not omit it. *Incitamentum libidinis*, Petrarch calls it, the spur of lust. "A ¹ circle of which the devil himself is the centre. ² Many women that use it, have come dishonest home, most indifferent, none better." ³ Another terms it, "the companion of all filthy delights and enticements, and 'tis not easily told what inconveniences come by it, what scurrile talk, obscene actions," and many times such monstrous gestures, such lascivious motions, such wanton tunes, meretricious kisses, homely embracings,

⁴ " (ut Gaditana canoro

Incipiat prurire choro, plausuque probatæ
Ad terram tremulâ descendant clune puellæ,
Irritamentum Veneris languentis) "

that it will make the spectators mad. When that epitomizer of ⁵ Trogus had to the full described and set out King Ptolemy's riot as a chief engine and instrument of his overthrow, he adds, *tympanum et tripudium*, fiddling and dancing; "the king was not a spectator only, but a principal actor himself." A thing nevertheless frequently used, and part of a gentleman's bringing up, to sing, dance, and play on the lute, or some such instrument, before she can say her paternoster, or ten commandments. 'Tis the next way their parents think to get them husbands, they are compelled to learn, and by that means, ⁶ *Incestos amores de tenero meditantur ungue*; 'tis

¹ Chorræa circulus, cujus centrum diab.

² Multæ inde impudicæ domum rediere, plures ambiguae, melior nulla.

³ Turpium deliciarum comes est externa saltatio; neque certè facile dictu quæ mala hinc visus hauriat, et quæ pariat, colloquia, monstrosos, inconditos gestus, &c.

⁴ Juv. Sat. 11. "Perhaps you may ex-

pect that a Gaditanian with a tuneful company may begin to wanton, and girls approved with applause lower themselves to the ground in a lascivious manner, a provocative of languishing desire. ⁵ Justin. l. 10. Adduntur instrumenta luxuriæ, tympana et tripudia: nec tam spectator rex, sed nequitæ magister, &c. ⁶ Hor

a great allurements as it is often used, and many are undone by it. Thais, in Lucian, inveigled Lamprias in a dance, Herodias so far pleased Herod, that she made him swear to give her what she would ask, John Baptist's head in a platter. ¹ Robert, Duke of Normandy, riding by Falais, spied Arletta, a fair maid, as she danced on a green, and was so much enamoured with the object, that ² he must needs lie with her that night. Owen Tudor won Queen Catherine's affection in a dance, falling by chance with his head in her lap. Who cannot parallel these stories out of his experience? Speusippas, a noble gallant in ³ that Greek Aristænetus, seeing Panareta a fair young gentlewoman dancing by accident, was so far in love with her, that for a long time after he could think of nothing but Panareta; he came raving home full of Panareta; "Who would not admire her, who would not love her, that should but see her dance as I did? O admirable, O divine Panareta! I have seen old and new Rome, many fair cities, many proper women, but never any like to Panareta, they are dross, dowdies all to Panareta! O how she danced, how she tripped, how she turned, with what a grace! happy is that man that shall enjoy her. O most incomparable, only, Panareta!" When Xenophon, in *Symposio*, or *Banquet*, had discoursed of love, and used all the engines that might be devised, to move Socrates, amongst the rest, to stir him the more, he shuts up all with a pleasant interlude or dance of Dionysius and Ariadne. ⁴ "First Ariadne dressed like a bride came in and took her place; by and by Dionysius entered, dancing to the music. The spectators did all admire the young man's carriage; and Ariadne herself was so much

1. 5, Od. 6. ¹ Havarde, vita ejus.

² Of whom he begat William the Conqueror; by the same token she tore her smock down, saying, &c. ³ Epist. 26. Quis non vidit et amavit? veterem et novam vidi Romam, sed tibi similem non vidi Panareta; felix qui Panareta fruitur, &c. ⁴ Principio Ariadne velut sponsa prodit, ac sola recedit; prodiens illico Dionysius ad numeros cantante tibia saltabat; admirati sunt omnes saltantem juvenem, ipsaque Ariadne, ut vix potue-

rit conquirere; postea vero cum Dionysius eam aspexit, &c. Ut autem surrexit Dionysius, erexit simul Ariadnem, licebatque spectare gestus osculantium, et inter se complectentium; qui autem spectabant, &c. Ad extremum videntes eos mutuis amplexibus implicatos et jamjam ad thalamum ituros; qui non duxerant uxores jurabant uxores se ducturos; qui autem duxerant consensu equis et incitatis, ut iisdem fruereantur, domum festinarunt.

affected with the sight, that she could scarce sit. After a while Dionysius beholding Ariadne, and incensed with love, bowing to her knees, embraced her first, and kissed her with a grace; she embraced him again, and kissed him with like affection, &c., as the dance required; but they that stood by, and saw this, did much applaud and commend them both for it. And when Dionysius rose up, he raised her up with him, and many pretty gestures, embraces, kisses, and love compliments passed between them; which when they saw fair Bacchus and beautiful Ariadne so sweetly and so unfeignedly kissing each other, so really embracing, they swore they loved indeed, and were so inflamed with the object, that they began to rouse up themselves, as if they would have flown. At the last, when they saw them still, so willingly embracing, and now ready to go to the bridechamber, they were so ravished with it, that they that were unmarried, swore they would forthwith marry, and those that were married called instantly for their horses, and galloped home to their wives." What greater motive can there be than this burning lust? what so violent an oppugner? Not without good cause therefore so many general councils condemn it, so many fathers abhor it, so many grave men speak against it; "Use not the company of a woman," saith Siracides, 8, 4, "that is a singer, or a dancer; neither hear, lest thou be taken in her craftiness." *In circo non tam cernitur quam discitur libido.* ¹ Hædus holds, lust in theatres is not seen, but learned. Gregory Nazianzen, that eloquent divine, (² as he relates the story himself,) when a noble friend of his solemnly invited him with other bishops, to his daughter Olympia's wedding, refused to come: ³ "For it is absurd to see an old gouty bishop sit amongst dancers;" he held it unfit to be a spectator, much less an actor. *Nemo saltat sobrius*, Tully writes, he is not a sober man that danceth; for some such reason (belike) Domitian forbade the Roman senators to dance, and for that fact

¹ Lib. 4, de contemnend. amoribus. inter saltantes podagricum videre senem,
² Ad Anysium, epist. 57. ³ Intempestivum enim est, et a nuptiis abhorrens, et episcopum.

removed many of them from the senate. But these, you will say, are lascivious and Pagan dances, 'tis the abuse that causeth such inconvenience, and I do not well therefore to condemn, speak against, or "innocently to accuse the best and pleasantest thing (so ¹ Lucian calls it) that belongs to mortal men." You misinterpret, I condemn it not; I hold it notwithstanding an honest disport, a lawful recreation, if it be opportune, moderately and soberly used; I am of Plutarch's mind, ² "that which respects pleasure alone, honest recreation, or bodily exercise, ought not to be rejected and condemned:" I subscribe to ³ Lucian, "'tis an elegant thing, which cheereth up the mind, exerciseth the body, delights the spectators, which teacheth many comely gestures, equally affecting the ears, eyes, and soul itself." Sallust discommends singing and dancing in Sempronia, not that she did sing or dance, but that she did it in excess, 'tis the abuse of it; and Gregory's refusal doth not simply condemn it, but in some folks. Many will not allow men and women to dance together, because it is a provocation to lust; they may as well, with Lycurgus and Mahomet, cut down all vines, forbid the drinking of wine, for that it makes some men drunk.

⁴ "Nihil prodest quod non lædere posset idem;
Igne quid utilius?"

I say of this as of all other honest recreations, they are like fire, good and bad, and I see no such inconvenience, but that they may so dance, if it be done at due times, and by fit persons; and conclude with Wolfongus ⁵ Hider, and most of our modern divines: *Si decoræ, graves, verecundæ, plenâ luce bonorum virorum et matronarum honestarum, tempestivè fiant, probari possunt, et debent.* "There is a time to mourn, a time to dance," Eccles. iii. 4. Let them take their pleasures then, and as ⁶ he said of old, "young men and maids flourishing in their age, fair and lovely to behold, well attired, and

¹ Rem omnium in mortalium vitâ optimam innocenter accusare. ² Quæ honestam voluptatem respicit, aut corporis exercitium, contemni non debet. ³ Elegantissima res est, quæ et mentem acuit,

corpus exerceat, et spectantes oblectet, multos gestus decoros docens, oculos, aures, animum ex æquo demulcens. ⁴ Ovid. ⁵ System. moralis philosophiæ. ⁶ Apuleius, 10. Puelli, puellæque viren-

of comely carriage, dancing a Greek galliard, and as their dance required, kept their time, now turning now tracing, now apart now altogether, now a courtesy then a caper," &c., and it was a pleasant sight to see those pretty knots, and swimming figures. The sun and moon (some say) dance about the earth, the three upper planets about the sun as their centre, now stationary, now direct, now retrograde, now *in apogæo*, then *in perigæo*, now swift then slow, occidental, oriental, they turn round, jump and trace, ♀ and ♂ about the sun with those thirty-three Maculæ or Burbonian planets, *circa Solem saltantes Cytharedum*, saith Fromundus. Four Medicean stars dance about Jupiter, two Austrian about Saturn, &c., and all (belike) to the music of the spheres. Our greatest counsellors, and staid senators, at some times dance, as David before the ark, 2 Sam. vi. 14. Miriam, Exod. xv. 20. Judith, xv. 13, (though the devil hence perhaps hath brought in those bawdy bacchanals,) and well may they do it. The greatest soldiers, as ¹ Quintilianus, ² Æmilius Probus, ³ Cœlius Rhodiginus, have proved at large, still use it in Greece, Rome, and the most worthy senators, *cantare, saltare*, Lucian, Macrobius, Libanus, Plutarch, Julius, Pollux, Athenæus, have written just tracts in commendation of it. In this our age it is in much request in those countries, as in all civil commonwealths, as Alexander ab Alexandro, *lib. 4, cap. 10, et lib. 2, cap. 25*, hath proved at large, ⁴ amongst the barbarians themselves none so precious; all the world allows it.

⁵ "Divitias contemno tuas, rex Creese, tuamque
Vendo Asiam, unguentis, flore, mero, choreis."

⁶ Plato, in his Commonwealth, will have dancing-schools to be maintained, "that young folks might meet, be acquainted, see

ti florentes ætatulâ, formâ conspicui, veste nitidi, inessu gratiosi, Græcanicam saltantes Pyrrhicam, dispositis ordinationibus, decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in orbem flexi, nunc in obliquam seriem connexi, nunc in quadrum cuneati, nunc inde separati, &c. ¹ Lib. 1, cap. 11. ² Vit. Epaminondæ.

³ Lib. 5. ⁴ Read P. Martyr, Ocean Decad. Benzo, Lerijs, Hagluit, &c.

⁵ Angerianus, Erotopædium. ⁶ 10 Leg. τῆς γὰρ τοιαύτης σπονδῆς ἕνεκα, &c., hujus causâ oportuit disciplinam constitui, ut tam pueri quam puellæ choreas celebrent, spectenturque ac spectent, &c.

one another, and be seen ;" nay more, he would have them dance naked ; and scoffs at them that laugh at it. But Eusebius, *præpar. Evangel. lib. 1, cap. 11*, and Theodoret, *lib. 9, curat. græc. affect.* worthily lash him for it ; and well they might ; for as one saith, ¹ "the very sight of naked parts causeth enormous, exceeding concupiscences, and stirs up both men and women to burning lust." There is a mean in all things ; this is my censure in brief ; dancing is a pleasant recreation of body and mind, if sober and modest (such as our Christian dances are), if tempestively used ; a furious motive to burning lust, if as by Pagans heretofore, unchastely abused. But I proceed.

If these allurements do not take place, for ² Simierus, that great master of dalliance, shall not behave himself better, the more effectually to move others, and satisfy their lust, they will swear and lie, promise, protest, forge, counterfeit, brag, bribe, flatter and dissemble of all sides. 'Twas Lucretia's counsel in Aretine, *Si vis amicâ frui, promitte, finge, jura, perjura, jacta, simula, mentire* ; and they put it well in practice, as Apollo to Daphne,

³ "mihi Delphica tellus

Et Claros et Tenedos, patareaque regia servit,
Jupiter est genitor "

"Delphos, Claros, and Tenedos serve me,
And Jupiter is known my sire to be."

⁴ The poorest swains will do as much, ⁵ *Mille pecus nivei sunt et mihi vallibus agni* ; "I have a thousand sheep, good store of cattle, and they are all at her command,"

⁶ "Tibi nos, tibi nostra supellex,
Ruraque servierint "

"house, land, goods, are at her service," as he is himself. Dinomachus, a senator's son in ⁷ Lucian, in love with a wench

¹ Aspectus enim nudorum corporum tam mares quam feminas irritare solet ad enormes lasciviæ appetitus. ² Camden, *Annal. anno 1578, fol. 276.* ³ Met. 1, Ovid. ⁴ Erasmus, egl. mille mei Siculis errant in montibus agni. ⁵ Virg. ⁶ Læchæus. ⁷ Tom. 4, meret.

inferior to him in birth and fortunes, the sooner to accomplish his desire, wept unto her, and swore he loved her with all his heart, and her alone, and that as soon as ever his father died (a very rich man and almost decrepit) he would make her his wife. The maid by chance made her mother acquainted with the business, who being an old fox, well experienced in such matters, told her daughter, now ready to yield to his desire, that he meant nothing less, for dost thou think he will ever care for thee, being a poor wench,¹ that may have his choice of all the beauties in the city, one noble by birth, with so many talents, as young, better qualified, and fairer than thyself? daughter, believe him not; the maid was abashed, and so the matter broke off. When Jupiter wooed Juno first (Lilius Giraldus relates it out of an old comment on Theocritus), the better to effect his suit, he turned himself into a cuckoo, and spying her one day walking along, separated from the other goddesses, caused a tempest suddenly to arise, for fear of which she fled to shelter; Jupiter to avoid the storm likewise flew into her lap, *in virginis Junonis gremium devolavit*, whom Juno for pity covered in her² apron. But he turned himself forthwith into his own shape, began to embrace and offer violence unto her, *sed illa matris metu abnuebat*, but she by no means would yield, *donec pollicitus connubium obtinuit*, till he vowed and swore to marry her, and then she gave consent. This fact was done at Thornax hill, which ever after was called Cuckoo hill, and in perpetual remembrance there was a temple erected to Telia Juno in the same place. So powerful are fair promises, vows, oaths, and protestations. It is an ordinary thing too in this case to belie their age, which widows usually do, that mean to marry again, and bachelors too sometimes,

³ "Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
cernere lustrum;"

dial. amare se jurat et lachrimatur dicit-
que uxorem me ducere velle. quum pater
oculos clausisset ¹ Quum dotem alibi

multo majorem aspiciet. &c. ² Or up-
per garment. Quem Juno miserata veste
contextit. ³ Hor.

to say they are younger than they are. Charmides in the said Lucian loved Philematium, an old maid of forty-five years; ¹she swore to him she was but thirty-two next December. But to dissemble in this kind, is familiar of all sides, and often it takes. ²*Fallere credentem res est operosa puellam* 'tis soon done, no such great mastery, *Egregiam verò laudem, et spolia ampla*,——and nothing so frequent as to belie their estates, to prefer their suits, and to advance themselves. Many men to fetch over a young woman, widows, or whom they love, will not stick to crack, forge and feign anything comes next, bid his boy fetch his cloak, rapier, gloves, jewels, &c., in such a chest, scarlet-golden-tissue breeches, &c., when there is no such matter; or make any scruple to give out, as he did in Petronius, that he was master of a ship, kept so many servants, and to personate their part the better, take upon them to be gentlemen of good houses, well descended and allied, hire apparel at brokers', some scavenger or pricklouse tailors to attend upon them for the time, swear they have great possessions, ³bribe, lie, cog, and foist how dearly they love, how bravely they will maintain her, like any lady, countess, duchess, or queen; they shall have gowns, tires, jewels, coaches, and caroches, choice diet,

“ The heads of parrots, tongues of nightingales,
The brains of peacocks, and of ostriches,
Their bath shall be the juice of gillyflowers,
Spirit of roses and of violets,
The milk of unicorns,” &c.

as old Volpone courted Cœlia in the ⁴comedy, when as they are no such men, not worth a groat, but mere sharkers, to make a fortune, to get their desire, or else pretend love to spend their idle hours, to be more welcome, and for better entertainment. The conclusion is, they mean nothing less,

¹ Dejeravit illa secundum supra trigesimum ad proximum Decembrem completuram se esse. ² Ovid. ³ Nam donis

vincitur omnis amor. Catullus. 1, el, 5
⁴ Fox, act. 3. sc. 3.

¹ “ Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere curant:
Sed simul ac cupidæ mentis satiata libido est,
Dicta nihil metuere, nihil perjuria curant; ”

“ Oaths, vows, promises, are much protested;
But when their mind and lust is satisfied,
Oaths, vows, promises, are quite neglected; ”

though he solemnly swear by the genius of Cæsar, by Venus's shrine, Hymen's deity, by Jupiter, and all the other gods, give no credit to his words. For when lovers swear, Venus laughs, *Venus hæc perjuria ridet*, ² Jupiter himself smiles, and pardons it withal, as grave ³ Plato gives out; of all perjury, that alone for love matters is forgiven by the gods. If promises, lies, oaths, and protestations, will not avail, they fall to bribes, tokens, gifts, and such like feats. ⁴ *Plurimus auro conciliatur amor*; as Jupiter corrupted Danaë with a golden shower, and Liber Ariadne with a lovely crown (which was afterwards translated into the heavens, and there forever shines); they will rain chickens, florins, crowns, angels, all manner of coins and stamps in her lap. And so must he certainly do that will speed, make many feasts, banquets, invitations, send her some present or other every foot. *Summo studio parentur epulæ* (saith ⁵ Hædus) *et crebræ fiant largitiones*, he must be very bountiful and liberal, seek and sue, not to her only, but to all her followers, friends, familiars, fiddlers, panders, parasites, and household servants; he must insinuate himself, and surely will, to all, of all sorts, messengers, porters, carriers, no man must be unrewarded, or unrespected. I had a suitor (saith ⁶ Aretine's Lucretia) that when he came to my house, flung gold and silver about, as if it had been chaff. Another suitor I had was a very choleric fellow; but I so handled him, that for all his funning, I brought him upon his knees. If there had been an excellent bit in the market, any novelty, fish, fruit, or fowl, muscadel,

¹ Catullus. ² *Perjuria ridet amantem Jupiter, et ventos irrita ferre jubet*, Tibul. lib. 3 et 6. ³ In Philebo, pejerantibus his dii soli ignoscunt. ⁴ Catul. ⁵ Lib. 1. de contemnendis amoribus. ⁶ Dial. Ital. argentum ut paleas projiciebat. Biliosum habui amatorem qui sup-

plex flexis genibus, &c. Nullus recens allatus terræ fructus, nullum cupedia-rum genus tam carum erat, nullum vinum Creticum pretiosum, quin ad me ferret illico; credo alterum oculum pig-nori daturus, &c.

or malmsey, or a cup of neat wine in all the city, it was presented presently to me; though never so dear, hard to come by, yet I had it; the poor fellow was so fond at last, that I think if I would I might have had one of his eyes out of his head. A third suitor was a merchant of Rome, and his manner of wooing was with ¹exquisite music, costly banquets, poems, &c. I held him off till at length he protested, promised and swore *pro virginitate regno me donaturum*, I should have all he had, house, goods, and lands, *pro concubitu solo*; ²neither was there ever any conjuror, I think, to charm his spirits that used such attention, or mighty words, as he did exquisite phrases, or general of any army so many stratagems to win a city, as he did tricks and devices to get the love of me. Thus men are active and passive, and women not far behind them in this kind: *Audax ad omnia fœmina, quæ vel amat, vel odit.*

³ *For half so boldly there can non
Swear and lye as women can."*

⁴ They will crack, counterfeit, and colloque as well as the best, with handkerchiefs, and wrought nightcaps, purses, posies, and such toys; as he justly complained,

⁵ "Cur mittis violas? nempe ut violentius urar;
Quid violas violis me violenta tuis?" &c.

"Why dost thou send me violets, my dear?
To make me burn more violent, I fear,
With violets too violent thou art,
To violate and wound my gentle heart."

When nothing else will serve, the last refuge is their tears. *Hæc scripsi (testor amorem) mixta lachrymis et suspiriis*, 'twixt tears and sighs, I write this (I take love to witness), saith ⁶Chelidonia to Philonius. *Lumina quæ modò fulmina, jam flumina lachrymarum*, those burning torches are now turned to floods of tears. Aretine's Lucretia, when her

¹ Post musicam opiperas epulas, et tantis juramentis, donis. &c. ² Nunquam aliquis umbrarum conjurator tantâ attentione, tamque potentibus verbis usus est, quam ille exquisitis mihi dictis,

&c. ³ Chaucer. ⁴ Ah crudele genus nec tutum fœmina nomen! Tibul. l. 1. 8, eleg. 4. ⁵ Jovianus Pon. ⁶ Aristænetus, lib. 2, epist. 18.

sweetheart came to town, ¹ wept in his bosom, "that he might be persuaded those tears were shed for joy of his return." Quartilla in Petronius, when nought would move, fell a weeping, and as Balthasar Castilio paints them out, ² "To these crocodile's tears they will add sobs, fiery sighs, and sorrowful countenance, pale colour, leanness, and if you do but stir abroad, these fiends are ready to meet you at every turn, with such a sluttish, neglected habit, dejected look, as if they were now ready to die for your sake; and how, saith he, shall a young novice thus beset, escape?" But believe them not.

³ "animam ne crede puellis,
Namque est foemineâ tutior unda fide."

Thou thinkest, peradventure, because of her vows, tears, smiles, and protestations, she is solely thine, thou hast her heart, hand, and affection, when as indeed there is no such matter, as the ⁴ Spanish bawd said, *gaudet illa habere unum in lecto, alterum in portâ, tertium qui domi suspiret*, she will have one sweetheart in bed, another in the gate, a third sighing at home, a fourth, &c. Every young man she sees and likes hath as much interest, and shall as soon enjoy her as thyself. On the other side, which I have said, men are as false, let them swear, protest, and lie; ⁵ *Quod vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis*. They love some of them those eleven thousand virgins at once, and make them believe, each particular, he is besotted on her, or love one till they see another, and then her alone; like Milo's wife in Apuleius, *lib. 2, Si quem conspexerit speciosæ formæ juvenem, venustate ejus sumitur, et in eum animum intorquet*. 'Tis their common compliment in that case, they care not what they swear, say, or do: One while they slight them, care not for them, rail downright and

¹ *Suaviter flebam, ut persuasum habebat lachrymas præ gaudio illius redivas mihi emanare.* ² *Lib. 3, his accedunt, vultus subtristis, color pallidus, gemebunda vox, ignita suspiria, lachrymæ prope innumerabiles. Istæ se statim umbræ offerunt tanto squalore et in omni fere diverticulo tantâ macie, ut illas*

jamjam moribundas putes. ³ *Petronius. "Trust not your heart to women, for the wave is less treacherous than their fidelity."* ⁴ *Coelestina, act. 7, Barthio interpret. omnibus arridet, et a singulis amari se solam dicit.* ⁵ *Ovid. "They have made the same promises to a thousand girls that they make to you."*

scoff at them, and then again they will run mad, hang themselves, stab and kill, if they may not enjoy them. Henceforth, therefore,——*nulla viro juranti fœmina credat*, let not maids believe them. These tricks and counterfeit passions are more familiar with women, ¹*finem hic dolori faciet aut vitæ dies, miserere amantis*, quoth Phædra to Hippolytus. Joessa, in ²Lucian, told Pythias, a young man, to move him the more, that if he would not have her, she was resolved to make away herself. “There is a Nemesis, and it cannot choose but grieve and trouble thee, to hear that I have either strangled or drowned myself for thy sake.” Nothing so common to this sex as oaths, vows, and protestations, and as I have already said, tears, which they have at command, for they can so weep, that one would think their very hearts were dissolved within them, and would come out in tears; their eyes are like rocks, which still drop water, *diariæ lachrymæ et sudoris in modum turgeri promptæ*, saith ³Aristænetus, they wipe away their tears like sweat, weep with one eye, laugh with the other; or as children ⁴weep and cry, they can both together.

⁵ “Neve puellarum lachrymis moveare memento,
Ut flerent oculos erudiere suos.”

“Care not for women’s tears, I counsel thee,
They teach their eyes as much to weep as see.”

And as much pity is to be taken of a woman weeping, as of a goose going barefoot. When Venus lost her son Cupid, she sent a crier about, to bid every one that met him take heed.

⁶ “Si flentem aspicias, ne mox fallare caveto;
Sin arridebit, magis effuge; et oscula si fors
Ferre volet, fugito; sunt oscula noxia, in ipsis
Suntque venena labris,” &c.

¹ Seneca, Hippol. ² Tom. 4. dial. meret. tu vero aliquando mœrore afficeris ubi audieris me a meipsâ laqueo tui causâ suffocatam aut in puteum præcipitam. ³ Epist. 20, l. 2. ⁴ Matronæ flent duo-

bus oculis, moniales quatuor, virgines uno, meretrices nullo. ⁵ Ovid. ⁶ Imagines deorum, fol. 332, e Moschi amore fugitivo, quem Politianus Latinum fecit.

“Take heed of Cupid’s tears, if cautious,
And of his smiles and kisses I thee tell,
If that he offer’t, for they be noxious,
And very poison in his lips doth dwell.”

¹ A thousand years, as Castilio conceives, “will scarce serve to reckon up those allurements and guiles, that men and women use to deceive one another with.”

SUBSECT. V.—*Bawds, Philters, Causes.*

WHEN all other engines fail, that they can proceed no farther of themselves, their last refuge is to fly to bawds, panders, magical philters, and receipts; rather than fail, to the devil himself. *Flectere si nequeunt superos, Acheronta movebunt.* And by those indirect means many a man is overcome, and precipitated into this malady, if he take not good heed. For these bawds, first, they are everywhere so common, and so many, that, as he said of old Croton, ² *omnes hic aut captantur aut captant*, either inveigle or be inveigled, we may say of most of our cities, there be so many professed, cunning bawds in them. Besides, bawdry is become an art, or a liberal science, as Lucian calls it; and there be such tricks and subtleties, so many nurses, old women, panders, letter carriers, beggars, physicians, friars, confessors, employed about it, that *nullus tradere stilus sufficiat*, one saith,

³ “trecentis versibus
Suas impuritias traloqui nemo potest.”

Such occult notes, stenography, polygraphy, *Nuntius animatus*, or magnetical telling of their minds, which ⁴ Cabeus the Jesuit, by the way, counts fabulous and false; cunning conveyances in this kind, that neither Juno’s jealousy, nor Danaë’s custody, nor Argus’s vigilancy can keep them safe. ’Tis the last and common refuge to use an assistant, such as

¹ Lib. 3, mille vix anni sufficerent ad omnes illas machinationes, dolosque commemorandos, quos viri et mulieres ut se invicem circumveniant, excogitare solent.

² Petronius.

³ Plautus, Tritemius.

“Three hundred verses would not comprise their indecencies.” ⁴ De Magnet. Philos. lib. 4, cap. 10.

that Catanean Philippa was to Joan, Queen of Naples, a ¹bawd's help, an old woman in the business, as ²Myrrha did when she doated on Cinyras, and could not compass her desire, the old jade her nurse was ready at a pinch, *dic inquit, openque me sine ferre tibi—et in hâc mea (pone timorem) Sedulitas erit apta tibi*, fear it not, if it be possible to be done, I will effect it; *non est mulieri mulier insuperabilis*, ³Cœlestina said, let him or her be never so honest, watched and reserved, 'tis hard but one of these old women will get access; and scarce shall you find, as ⁴Austin observes, in a nunnery a maid alone, "if she cannot have egress, before her window you shall have an old woman, or some prating gossip, tell her some tales of this clerk, and that monk, describing or commending some young gentleman or other unto her." "As I was walking in the street (saith a good fellow in Petronius) to see the town served one evening, ⁵I spied an old woman in a corner selling of cabbages and roots (as our hucksters do plums, apples, and such like fruits); mother (quoth he) can you tell me where I can dwell? she, being well pleased with my foolish urbanity, replied, and why, sir, should I not tell? With that she rose up and went before me. I took her for a wise woman, and by and by she led me into a by-lane, and told me there I should dwell. I replied again, I knew not the house; but I perceived, on a sudden, by the naked queans, that I was now come into a bawdy-house, and then too late I began to curse the treachery of this old jade." Such tricks you shall have in many places, and amongst the rest it is ordinary in Venice, and in the island of Zante, for a man to be bawd to his own wife. No sooner shall you land or come on shore, but, as the Comical Poet hath it,

¹ Catul. eleg. 5, lib. 1. Venit in exitum callida lena meum. ² Ovid. 10, met. ³ Parabosc. Barthii. ⁴ De vit. Erem. c. 3, ad sororem vix aliquam reclusarum hujus temporis solam invenies, ante cujus fenestram non anus garrula, vel nugigerula mulier sedet, quæ eam fabulis occupet, rumoribus pascat, hujus vel illius monachi, &c. ⁵ Agreste olus

anus vendebat, et rogo inquam, mater, nunquid scis ubi ego habitem? delectata illa urbanitate tam stultâ, et quid nesciam inquit? consurrexitque et cepit me præcedere; divinam ego putabam, &c., nudas video meretrices et in lupanar me adductum, sero execratus aniculæ insidias

¹ “Morem hunc meretrices habent,
 Ad portum mittunt servulos, ancillulas,
 Si qua peregrina navis in portum aderit,
 Rogant cujatis sit, quod ei nomen siet,
 Post illæ extemplo sese adplicent.”

These white devils have their panders, bawds, and factors in every place to seek about, and bring in customers, to tempt and waylay novices, and silly travellers. And when they have them once within their clutches, as Ægidius Maserius in his comment upon Valerius Flaccus, describes them, ²“with promises and pleasant discourse, with gifts, tokens, and taking their opportunities, they lay nets which Lucretia cannot avoid, and baits that Hippolytus himself would swallow; they make such strong assaults and batteries, that the goddess of virginity cannot withstand them; give gifts and bribes to move Penelope, and with threats able to terrify Susanna. How many Proserpinas, with those catchpoles, doth Pluto take? These art the sleepy rods with which their souls touched descend to hell; this the glue or lime with which the wings of the mind once taken cannot fly away; the devil’s ministers to allure, entice,” &c. Many young men and maids, without all question, are inveigled by these Eumenides and their associates. But these are trivial and well known. The most sly, dangerous, and cunning bawds, are your knavish physicians, empirics, mass-priests, monks, ³jesuits, and friars. Though it be against Hippocrates’s oath, some of them will give a dram, promise to restore maidenheads, and do it without danger, make an abortion if need be, keep down their paps, hinder conception, procure lust, make them able with Satyrions, and now and then step in themselves. No monastery so close, house so private, or prison so well kept,

¹ Plautus, Menech. “These harlots send little maidens down to the quays to ascertain the name and nation of every ship that arrives, after which they themselves hasten to address the new-comers.” ² Promissis everberant, molliunt dulciloquiis, et opportunum tempus aucupantes laqueos ingerunt

quos vix Lucretia vitare; escam parant quam vel satur Hippolytus sumeret, &c. Hæ sanè sunt virgæ soporiferæ quibus contactæ animæ ad Orcum descendunt; hoc gluten quo compactæ mentium alæ evolare nequeunt, dæmonis ancillæ, quæ sollicitant, &c. ³ See the practices of the Jesuits, Anglice, edit. 1630.

but these honest men are admitted to censure and ask questions, to feel their pulse beat at their bedside, and all under pretence of giving physic. Now as for monks, confessors, and friars, as he said,

¹ "Non audet Stygius Pluto tentare quod audet
Effrenis monachus, plenaque fraudis anus;"

"That Stygian Pluto dares not tempt or do,
What an old hag or monk will undergo;"

either for himself to satisfy his own lust, for another if he be hired thereto, or both at once, having such excellent means. For under colour of visitation, auricular confession, comfort and penance, they have free egress and regress, and corrupt, God knows how many. They can such trades, some of them, practise physic, use exorcisms, &c.,

² *That whereas was wont to walk an Elf,
There now walks the Limiter himself,
In every bush and under every tree,
There needs no other Incubus but he.*

³ In the mountains between Dauphiné and Savoy, the friars persuaded the good wives to counterfeit themselves possessed, that their husbands might give them free access, and were so familiar in those days with some of them, that, as one ⁴ observes, "wenches could not sleep in their beds for necromantic friars; and the good abbess in Boccaccio may in some sort witness, that rising betimes, mistook and put on the friar's breeches instead of her veil or hat." You have heard the story, I presume, of ⁵ Paulina, a chaste matron in Ægesippus, whom one of Isis's priests did prostitute to Mundus, a young knight, and made her believe it was their god Anubis. Many such pranks are played by our jesuits, sometimes in their own habits, sometimes in others, like soldiers, courtiers, citizens, scholars, gallants, and women themselves. Proteus-like, in all forms and disguises, that go abroad in the night, to inescate and beguile young women or to have their pleas-

¹ Æn. Sylv. of Bath's tale. ² Chaucer, in the Wife of Bath's tale. ³ H. Stephanus, Apol. ⁴ Idem Josephus, lib. 18, cap. 4. ⁵ Idem Josephus, lib. 18, cap. 4.

ure of other men's wives; and, if we may believe ¹ some relations, they have wardrobes of several suits in the colleges for that purpose. Howsoever in public they pretend much zeal, seem to be very holy men, and bitterly preach against adultery, fornication, there are no verier bawds or whore-masters in a country; ² "whose soul they should gain to God, they sacrifice to the devil." But I spare these men for the present.

The last battering engines are philters, amulets, spells, charms, images, and such unlawful means; if they cannot prevail of themselves by the help of bawds, panders, and their adherents, they will fly for succour to the devil himself. I know there be those that deny the devil can do any such thing, (*Crato epist. 2, lib. med.*) and many divines, there is no other fascination than that which comes by the eyes, of which I have formerly spoken; and if you desire to be better informed, read Camerarius, *oper. subcis. cent. 2, c. 5*. It was given out of old, that a Thessalian wench had bewitched King Philip to dote upon her, and by philters enforced his love; but when Olympia, the Queen, saw the maid of an excellent beauty, well brought up, and qualified—these, quoth she, were the philters which inveigled King Philip; those the true charms, as Henry to Rosamond,

³ "One accent from thy lips the blood more warms
Than all their philters, exorcisms, and charms."

With this alone Lucretia brags in ⁴ Aretine, she could do more than all philosophers, astrologers, alchymists, necromancers, witches, and the rest of the crew. As for herbs and philters, I could never skill of them, "The sole philter that ever I used was kissing and embracing, by which alone I made men rave like beasts stupefied, and compelled them to worship me like an idol." In our times it is a common thing, saith Erastus, in his book *de Lamiis*, for witches to

¹ Liber edit. Augustæ Vindelicorum, An. 1608. ² Quarum animas lucrari debent Deo, sacrificant diabolo. ³ M. Drayton, *Her. epist.* ⁴ Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Latin. fact. a Gasp. Barthio.

Plus possum quam omnes philosophi, astrologi, necromantici, &c., solâ salivâ inungens, I amplexu et basiis tam furiose furere, tam bestialiter obstupefieri coegi, ut instar idoli me adorârint.

take upon them the making of these philters,¹ “to force men and women to love and hate whom they will, to cause tempests, diseases,” &c., by charms, spells, characters, knots.—²*hic Thessala vendit Philtra*. St. Hierome proves that they can do it (as in Hilarius’s life, *epist. lib.* 3); he hath a story of a young man, that with a philter made a maid mad for the love of him, which maid was after cured by Hilarian. Such instances I find in John Nider, *Fornicar. lib.* 5, *cap.* 5. Plutarch records of Lucullus that he died of a philter; and that Cleopatra used philters to inveigle Antony, amongst other allurements. Eusebius reports as much of Lucretius the poet. Panormitan. *lib.* 4, *de gest. Alphonsi*, hath a story of one Stephan, a Neapolitan knight, that by a philter was forced to run mad for love. But of all others, that which³ Petrarch, *epist. famil. lib.* 1, *ep.* 5, relates of Charles the Great (Charlemagne), is most memorable. He foolishly doted upon a woman of mean favour and condition, many years together, wholly delighting in her company, to the great grief and indignation of his friends and followers. When she was dead, he did embrace her corpse, as Apollo did the bay-tree for his Daphne, and caused her coffin (richly embalmed and decked with jewels) to be carried about with him over which he still lamented. At last a venerable bishop, that followed his court, prayed earnestly to God (commiserating his lord and master’s case) to know the true cause of this mad passion, and whence it proceeded; it was revealed to him, in fine, “that the cause of the emperor’s mad love lay under the dead woman’s tongue.” The bishop went hastily to the carcass, and took a small ring thence; upon the removal the emperor abhorred the corpse, and, instead⁴ of it fell as furiously in love with the bishop, he would not suffer him to be out of his presence; which when the bishop per-

¹ Sagæ omnes sibi arrogant notitiam, et facultatem in amorem alliciendi quos velint; odia inter conjuges serendi, tempestates excitandi, morbos infligendi, &c.
² Juvenalis, Sat. ³ Idem refert Hen. Kornmannus, de mir. mort. lib. 1, cap. 14.

Perdite amavit mulierculam quandam, illius amplexibus acquiescens, summâ cum indignatione suorum et dolore.
⁴ Et inde totus in Episcopum furere, illum colere.

ceived, he flung the ring into the midst of a great lake, where the king then was. From that hour the emperor neglected all his other houses, dwelt at ¹ Ache, built a fair house in the midst of the marsh, to his infinite expense, and a ² temple by it, where after he was buried, and in which city all his posterity ever since used to be crowned. Marcus the heretic is accused by Irenæus to have inveigled a young maid by this means; and some writers speak hardly of the Lady Katherine Cobham, that by the same art she circumvented Humphrey Duke of Gloucester to be her husband. Sycinius Æmilianus summoned ³ Apuleius to come before Cneius Maximus, proconsul of Africa, that he being a poor fellow, "had bewitched by philters Pudentilla, an ancient rich matron to love him," and being worth so many thousand sesterces, to be his wife. Agrippa, *lib. 1, cap. 48, occult. philos.* attributes much in this kind to philters, amulets, images; and Salmutz, *com. in Pancirol. Tit. 10, de Horol.* Leo Afer, *lib. 3*, saith, 'tis an ordinary practice at Fez in Africa, *Præstigiatores ibi plures, qui cogunt amores et concubitus*; as skilful all out as that Hyperborean magician, of whom Cleodemus, in ⁴ Lucian, tells so many fine feats performed in this kind. But Erastus, Wierus, and others are against it; they grant indeed such things may be done, but (as Wierus discourseth, *lib. 3, de Lamiis, cap. 37*,) not by charms, incantations, philters, but the devil himself; *lib. 5, cap. 2*, he contends as much; so doth Frietagus, *noc. med. cap. 74*, Andreas Cisalpinus, *cap. 5*; and so much Sigismundus Schereccius, *cap. 9, de hirco nocturno*, proves at large.

⁵ "Unchaste women by the help of these witches, the devil's kitchen-maids, have their loves brought to them in the night, and carried back again by a phantasm flying in the air in the likeness of a goat. I have heard (saith he) divers confess,

¹ Aquisgranum, vulgo Aix. ² Im-

menso sumptu templum et ædes, &c.

³ Apolog. quod Pudentillam viduam ditem et provectoris ætatis foeminam cantaminibus in amorem sui pellexisset.

⁴ Philopseude, tom. 3.

⁵ Impudicæ

mulieres operâ veneficarum, diaboli co-
quarum, amatores suos ad se noctu du-
cunt et reducant ministerio hirci in
aëre volantis; multos novi qui hoc fassi
sunt, &c.

that they have been so carried on a goat's back to their sweet-hearts, many miles in a night." Others are of opinion that these feats, which most suppose to be done by charms and philters, are merely effected by natural causes, as by man's blood chemically prepared, which much avails, saith Ernestus Burgranius, in *Lucerna vitæ et mortis Indice, ad amorem conciliandum et odium* (so huntsmen make their dogs love them, and farmers their pullen), 'tis an excellent philter, as he holds, *sed vulgo prodere grande nefas*, but not fit to be made common; and so be *Mala insana*, mandrake roots, mandrake 'apples, precious stones, dead men's clothes, candles, *mala Bacchica, panis porcinus, Hippomanes*, a certain hair in a ² wolf's tail, &c., of which Rhasis, Dioscorides, Porta, Wecker, Rubeus, Mizaldus, Albertus, treat; a swallow's heart, dust of a dove's heart, *multum valent linguæ viperarum, cerebella asinorum, tela equina, palliola quibus infantes obvoluti nascuntur, funis strangulati hominis, lapis de nido Aquilæ*, &c. See more in Sckenkius, *observat. medicinal. lib.* 4, &c., which are as forcible, and of as much virtue as that fountain Salmacis in ³ Vitruvius, Ovid, Strabo, that made all such mad for love that drank of it, or that hot bath at ⁴ Aix in Germany, wherein Cupid once dipt his arrows, which ever since hath a peculiar virtue to make them lovers all that wash in it. But hear the poet's own description of it,

⁵ "Unde hic fervor aquis terrâ erumpentibus udâ?

Tela olim hic ludens ignea tinxit amor;

Et gaudens stridore novo, fervete perennes,

Inquit, et hæc pharetræ sint monumenta meæ.

Ex illo fervet, rarusque hic mergitur hospes,

Cui non titillet pectora blandus amor."

¹ Mandrake apples, Lemnius, lib. herb. bib. c. 2. ² Of which read Plin. lib. 8, cap. 22, et lib. 13, c. 25, et Quintilianum, lib. 7.

³ Lib. 11, c. 8. Venere implicat eos, qui ex eo bibunt. Idem Ov. Met. 4, Strabo. Geog. l. 14.

⁴ Lod. Guicciardine's descript. Aquisgrani in Ger. ⁵ Baltheus Veneris, in quo suavitas, et dulcia colloquia, benevolentia, et blanditiæ, suasiones, fraudes et veneficia inclu-

debantur. "Whence that heat to waters bubbling from the cold moist earth? Cupid, once upon a time, playfully dipt herein his arrows of steel, and delighted with the hissing sound, he said, boil on forever, and retain the memory of my quiver. From that time it is a thermal spring, in which few venture to bathe, but whosoever does, his heart is instantly touched with love."

These above-named remedies have happily as much power as that bath of Aix, or Venus's enchanted girdle, in which, saith Natales Comes, "Love-toys and dalliance, pleasantness, sweetness, persuasions, subtleties, gentle speeches, and all witchcraft to enforce love was contained." Read more of these in Agrippa, *de occult. Philos. lib. 1, cap. 50 et 45*. Malleus, *malefic. part. 1, quæst. 7*, Delrio, *tom. 2, quæst. 3, lib. 3*, Wierus, Pomponatius, *cap. 8, de incantat.* Ficinus, *lib. 13, Theol. Plat.* Calcagninus, &c.

MEMB. III.

Symptoms or Signs of Love-Melancholy, in Body, Mind, good, bad, &c.

SYMPTOMS are either of body or mind; of body, paleness, leanness, dryness, &c. ¹*Pallidus omnis amans, color hic est aptus amanti*, as the poet describes lovers: *facit amor maciem*, love causeth leanness. ²Avicenna, *de Ilishi, c. 33*, "makes hollow eyes, dryness, symptoms of this disease, to go smiling to themselves, or acting as if they saw or heard some delectable object." Valleriola, *lib. 3, observat. cap. 7*, Laurentius, *cap. 10*, Ælianus Montaltus, *de Her. amore*, Langius, *epist. 24, lib. 1, epist. med.* deliver as much, *corpus exangue pallet, corpus gracile, oculi cavi*, lean, pale——*ut nudis qui pressit calcibus anguem*, "as one who trod with naked foot upon a snake," hollow-eyed, their eyes are hidden in their heads,——³*Tenerque nitidi corporis cecidit decor*, they pine away, and look ill with waking, cares, sighs.

"Et qui tenebant signa Phœbeæ facis
Oculi, nihil gentile nec patrium micant."

"And eyes that once rivalled the locks of Phœbus, lose the

¹Ovid. Facit hunc amor ipse colorem. sæpe rident sibi, ac si quod delectabile
Met. 4. ²Signa ejus profunditas oculorum, privatio lachrymarum, suspiria, viderent, aut audirent. ³Seneca, Hip.

patrial and paternal lustre." With groans, griefs, sadness, dulness,

¹ "Nulla jam Cereris subit
Cura aut salutis "

want of appetite, &c. A reason of all this, ² Jason Pratensis gives, "because of the distraction of the spirits the liver doth not perform his part, nor turns the aliment into blood as it ought, and for that cause the members are weak for want of sustenance, they are lean and pine, as the herbs of my garden do this month of May, for want of rain." The green sickness therefore often happeneth to young women, a cachexia or an evil habit to men, besides their ordinary sighs, complaints, and lamentations, which are too frequent. As drops from a still,—*ut occluso stillat ab igne liquor*, doth Cupid's fire provoke tears from a true lover's eyes,

³ "The mighty Mars did oft for Venus shriek,
Privily moistening his horrid cheek
With womanish tears,"

⁴ "ignis distillat in undas,
Testis erit largus qui rigat ora liquor,"

with many such like passions. When Chariclea was enamoured of Theagines, as ⁵ Heliodorus sets her out, "she was half distracted, and spake she knew not what, sighed to herself, lay much awake, and was lean upon a sudden;" and when she was besotted on her son-in-law, ⁶ *pallor deformis, marcentes oculi*, &c., she had ugly paleness, hollow eyes, restless thoughts, short wind, &c. Euryalus, in an epistle sent to Lucretia, his mistress, complains amongst other grievances, *tu mihi et somni et cibi usum abstulisti*, thou hast taken my stomach and my sleep from me. So he describes it aright:

¹ Seneca, Hip. ² De morbis cerebri de erot. amore. Ob spirituum distractionem hepar officio suo non fungitur, nec vertit alimentum in sanguinem, ut debeat. Ergo membra debilia, et penuriâ alibilis succi marcescunt, squalentque ut herbæ in horto meo hoc mense Maio Zeriscæ, ob

imbrium defectum. ³ Faerie Queene, l. 3, cant. 11. ⁴ Amator Emblem. 3. ⁵ Lib. 4. Animo errat, et quidvis obvium loquitur, vigilias absque causâ sustinet, et succum corporis subito amisit. ⁶ Apuleius.

*His sleep, his meat, his drink, in him bereft,
That lean he waxeth, and dry as a shaft,
His eyes hollow and grisly to behold,
His hew pale and ashen to unfold,
And solitary he was ever alone,
And waking all the night making none.¹*

Theocritus, Edyl. 2, makes a fair maid of Delphos, in love with a young man of Minda, confess as much,

“ Ut vidi ut insanii, ut animus mihi male affectus est,
Misera mihi forma tabescebat, neque amplius pompam
Ullam curabam, aut quando domum redieram
Novi, sed me ardens quidam morbus consumebat,
Decubui in lecto dies decem, et noctes decem,
Defluebant capite capilli, ipsaque sola reliqua
Ossa et cutis ”

“ No sooner seen I had, than mad I was,
My beauty fail'd, and I no more did care
For any pomp, I knew not where I was,
But sick I was, and evil I did fare;
I lay upon my bed ten days and nights,
A skeleton I was in all men's sights.”

All these passions are well expressed by ² that heroical poet in the person of Dido :

“ At non infelix animi Phoenissa, nec unquam
Solvitur in somnos, oculisque ac pectore amores
Accipit; ingeminant curæ, rursusque resurgens
Sævit amor,” &c.

“ Unhappy Dido could not sleep at all,
But lies awake, and takes no rest:
And up she gets again, whilst care and grief,
And raging love torment her breast.”

Accius Sanazarius, *Egloga* 2, *de Galateâ*, in the same manner feigns his Lychoris ³ tormenting herself for want of sleep, sighing, sobbing, and lamenting; and Eustathius in his Ismenius much troubled, and, ⁴ “ panting at heart, at the sight of his mistress,” he could not sleep, his bed was thorns. ⁵ All

¹ Chaucer, in the Knight's Tale. ² Virg. *Æn.* 4. ³ Dum vaga passim viscera rumpit. ⁴ Saliebat crebro tepidum cor ad aspectum Ismenes. ⁵ Gordonus, c. 20, anitunt sæpe cibum, potum, et maceratur inde totum corpus.

make leanness, want of appetite, want of sleep ordinary symptoms, and by that means they are brought often so low, so much altered and changed, that as ¹ he jested in the comedy, "one scarce knows them to be the same men."

"Attenuant juvenum vigilatæ corpora noctes,
Curaque et immenso qui fit amore dolor."

Many such symptoms there are of the body to discern lovers by,—*quis enim bene celet amorem?* Can a man, saith Solomon, Prov. vi. 27, carry fire in his bosom and not burn? it will hardly be hid; though they do all they can to hide it, it must out, *plus quam mille notis*—it may be described, ²*quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis æstuat ignis.* 'Twas Antiphanes the comedian's observation of old, Love and drunkenness cannot be concealed, *Celare alia possis, hæc præter duo, vini potum, &c.*, words, looks, gestures, all will betray them; but two of the most notable signs are observed by the pulse and countenance. When Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, was sick for Stratonice, his mother-in-law, and would not confess his grief, or the cause of his disease, Erasistratus, the physician, found him by his pulse and countenance to be in love with her, ³"because that when she came in presence, or was named, his pulse varied, and he blushed besides." In this very sort was the love of Callicles, the son of Polycles, discovered by Panacæus the physician, as you may read the story at large in ⁴Aristænetus. By the same signs Galen brags that he found out Justa, Boethius the consul's wife, to dote on Pylades the player, because at his name still she both altered pulse and countenance, as ⁵Polyarchus did at the name of Argenis. Franciscus Valesius, *l.* 3, *controv.* 13, *med. contr.* denies there is any such *pulsus amatorius*, or that love may be so discerned; but Avicenna confirms this of

¹ Ter. Eunuch. Dii boni, quid hoc est, adeone homines mutari ex amore, ut non cognoscas eundem esse! ²Ovid. Met. 4. "The more it is concealed the more it struggles to break through its conceal-

ment." ³ Ad ejus nomen rubebat, et ad aspectum pulsus variebatur. Plutar. ⁴ Epist. 13. ⁵ Barck. lib. 1. Oculi medico tremore errabant.

Galen out of his experience, *lib.* 3, *Fen.* 1, and Gordonius, *cap.* 20. ¹ "Their pulse, he saith, is inordinate and swift, if she go by whom he loves," Langius, *epist.* 24, *lib.* 1, *med. epist.* Nevisanus, *lib.* 4, *numer.* 66, *syl. nuptialis*, Valescus de Taranta, Guianerius, *Tract.* 15. Valleriola sets down this for a symptom, ² "Difference of pulse, neglect of business, want of sleep, often sighs, blushings, when there is any speech of their mistress, are manifest signs." But amongst the rest, Josephus Struthius, that Polonian, in the fifth book, *cap.* 17, of his Doctrine of Pulses, holds that this and all other passions of the mind may be discovered by the pulse. ³ "And if you will know, saith he, whether the men suspected be such or such, touch their arteries," &c. And in his fourth book, fourteenth chapter, he speaks of this particular pulse, ⁴ "Love makes an unequal pulse," &c., he gives instance of a gentlewoman, ⁵ a patient of his, whom by this means he found to be much enamoured, and with whom: he named many persons, but at the last when his name came whom he suspected, ⁶ "her pulse began to vary, and to beat swifter, and so by often feeling her pulse, he perceived what the matter was." Apollonius, *Argonaut. lib.* 4, poetically setting down the meeting of Jason and Medea, makes them both to blush at one another's sight, and at the first they were not able to speak.

⁷ "totus Parmeno

Tremo, horreoque postquam aspexi hanc."

Phædrïa trembled at the sight of Thais, others sweat, blow short, *Crura tremunt ac poplites*,—are troubled with palpitation of heart upon the like occasion, *cor proximum ori*, saith ⁸ Aristænetus, their heart is at their mouth, leaps, these burn and freeze (for love is fire, ice, hot, cold, itch, fever,

¹ Pulsus eorum velox et inordinatus, si mulier quam amat fortè transeat. ² Signa sunt cessatio ab omni opere insueto, privatio somni, suspiria crebra, rubor cum sit sermo de re amatâ, et commotio pulsûs. ³ Si noscere vis an homines suspecti tales sint, tangito eorum arterias.

⁴ Amor facit inæquales, inordinatos.

⁵ In nobilis ejusdam uxore quum subol-facerem adulteri amore fuisse correptam et quam maritus, &c. ⁶ Coepit illico pulsus variari et ferri celerius et sic inveniri.

⁷ Eunuch. act. 2, scen. 2. ⁸ Epist. 7, lib. 2, Tener sudor et creber anhelitus, palpitatio cordis, &c.

frenzy, pleurisy, what not), they look pale, red, and commonly blush at their first congress; and sometimes through violent agitation of spirits bleed at nose, or when she is talked of; which very sign ¹Eustathius makes an argument of Ismene's affection, that when she met her sweetheart by chance, she changed her countenance to a maiden-blush. 'Tis a common thing amongst lovers, as ²Arnulphus, that merry-conceited bishop, hath well expressed in a facetious epigram of his,

“ Alterno facies sibi dat responsa rubore,
Et tener affectum prodit utrique pudor,” &c.

“ Their faces answer, and by blushing say,
How both affected are, they do betray.”

But the best conjectures are taken from such symptoms as appear when they are both present; all their³ speeches, amorous glances, actions, lascivious gestures will betray them; they cannot contain themselves, but that they will be still kissing. ⁴Stratocles, the physician, upon his wedding-day, when he was at dinner, *Nihil prius sorbillavit quam tria basia puellæ pangeret*, could not eat his meat for kissing the bride, &c. First a word, and then a kiss, then some other compliment, and then a kiss, then an idle question, then a kiss, and when he hath pumped his wits dry, can say no more, kissing and colling are never out of season, ⁵*Hoc non deficit incipit-que semper*, 'tis never at an end, ⁶another kiss, and then another, another, and another, &c.—*huc ades, O Thelayra*—Come kiss me, Corinna?

⁶ “ Centum basia centies,
Centum basia millies,
Mille basia millies,
Et tot millia millies,
Quot guttæ Siculo mari,
Quot sunt sidera cœlo,
Istis purpureis genis,

¹ Lib. I. ² Lexoviensis episcopus.

³ Theodorus Prodrômus, Amaranto dial. Gaulimo interpret.

⁴ Petron. Catal.

⁵ Sed unum ego usque et unum Petam a

tuis labellis, postque unum et unum et unum, dari rogabo. Lœchæus, Anacreon.

⁶ Jo. Secundus, bas. 7.

Istis turgidulis labris,
 Ocellisque loquaculis,
 Figam continuo impetu;
 O formosa Neæra. (As Catullus to Lesbia.)
 Da mihi basia mille, deinde centum,
 Dein mille altera, da secunda centum,
 Dein usque altera millia, deinde centum."

¹ "first give a hundred,
 Then a thousand, then another
 Hundred, then unto the other
 Add a thousand, and so more," &c.

Till you equal with the store, all the grass, &c. So Venus did by her Adonis, the moon with Endymion, they are still dallying and colling, as so many doves *Columbatimque labra conserentes labiis*, and that with alacrity and courage,

² "Affligunt avidè corpus, junguntque salivas
 Oris, et inspirant prensantes dentibus ora."

³ *Tam impresso ore ut vix inde labra detrahant, cervice reclinata*, "as Lamprias in Lucian kissed Thais, Philippus her ⁴ in Aristænetus," *amore lymphato tam furiosè adhæsit, ut vix labra solvere esset, totumque os mihi contrivit*; ⁵ Aretine's Lucretia, by a suitor of hers was so saluted, and 'tis their ordinary fashion.

"dentes illudunt sæpe labellis,
 Atque premunt arcetè adfigentes oscula"

They cannot, I say, contain themselves, they will be still not only joining hands, kissing, but embracing, treading on their toes, &c., diving into their bosoms, and that *libenter, et cum delectatione*, as ⁶ Philostratus confesseth to his mistress; and Lamprias in Lucian, *Mamillas premens, per sinum clam dextrâ*, &c., feeling their paps, and that scarce honestly sometimes; as the old man in the ⁷ Comedy well observed of his

¹ Translated or imitated by M. B. Johnson, our arch poet, in his 119 ep. ² Lucr. l. 4. ³ Lucian. dial. Tom. 4, Meret. sed et aperientes, &c. ⁴ Epist. 16. ⁵ Deducto ore longo me basio demulcet. ⁶ In deliciis mammas tuas tango, &c. ⁷ Terent.

son, *Non ego te videbam manum huic puellæ in sinum inserere?* Did not I see thee put thy hand into her bosom? go to, with many such love-tricks. ¹*Juno in Lucian deorum, tom. 3, dial. 3,* complains to Jupiter of Ixion, ²“he looked so attentively on her, and sometimes would sigh and weep in her company, and when I drank by chance, and gave Gany-mede the cup, he would desire to drink still in the very cup that I drank of, and in the same place where I drank, and would kiss the cup, and then look steadily on me, and sometimes sigh, and then again smile.” If it be so they cannot come near to dally, have not that opportunity, familiarity, or acquaintance to confer and talk together; yet if they be in presence, their eye will betray them: *Ubi amor ibi oculus*, as the common saying is, “where I look I like, and where I like I love;” but they will lose themselves in her looks

“Alter in alterius jactantes lumina vultus,
Quærebant taciti noster ubi esset amor.”

“They cannot look off whom they love,” they will *impregnare eam ipsis oculis*, deflower her with their eyes, be still gazing, staring, stealing faces, smiling, glancing at her, as ³Apollo on Leucothoë, the moon on her ⁴Endymion, when she stood still in Caria, and at Latmos caused her chariot to be stayed. They must all stand and admire, or if she go by, look after her as long as they can see her, she is *animæ auriga*, as Anacreon calls her, they cannot go by her door or window, but, as an adamant, she draws their eyes to it; though she be not there present, they must needs glance that way, and look back to it. Aristænetus of ⁵Exithemus, Lucian, in his *Imagin. of himself*, and Tatiſus of Clitophon, say as much, *Ille oculos de Leucippe* ⁶*nunquam dejiciebat*, and many lovers confess when they came in their mistress’s presence, they

¹ Tom. 4, meret. dial. ² Attentè adeo in me aspexit, et interdum ingemiscebat, et lachrymabatur. Et si quando bibens, &c. ³ Quique omnia cernere debes Leucothoën spectas, et virgine figis in unâ quos mundo debes oculos, Ovid.

Met. 4. ⁴ Lucian. tom. 3, quoties ad Cariam venis currum sistis, et desuper aspectas. ⁵ Ex quo te primum vidi Pythia aliò oculos vertere non fuit. ⁶ Lib. 4.

could not hold off their eyes, but looked wistfully and steadily on her, *inconnivo aspectu*, with much eagerness and greediness, as if they would look through, or should never have enough sight of her. *Fixis ardens obtutibus hæret*; so she will do by him, drink to him with her eyes, nay, drink him up, devour him, swallow him, as Martial's Mamurra is remembered to have done: *Inspexit molles pueros, oculisque comedit*, &c. There is a pleasant story to this purpose in *Navigat. Vertom. lib. 3, cap. 5*. The sultan of Sana's wife in Arabia, because Vertomannus was fair and white, could not look off him, from sunrising to sunsetting; she could not desist; she made him one day come into her chamber, *et geminæ horæ spatio intuebatur, non a me unquam aciem oculorum avertibat, me observans veluti Cupidinem quendam*, for two hours' space she still gazed on him. A young man in ¹ Lucian fell in love with Venus's picture; he came every morning to her temple, and there continued all day long ² from sunrising to sunset, unwilling to go home at night, sitting over against the goddess's picture, he did continually look upon her, and mutter to himself I know not what. If so be they cannot see them whom they love, they will still be walking and waiting about their mistresses' doors, taking all opportunity to see them, as in ³ Longus Soplhista, Daphnis and Chloe, two lovers, were still hovering at one another's gates, he sought all occasions to be in her company, to hunt in summer, and catch birds in the frost about her father's house in the winter, that she might see him, and he her. ⁴ "A king's palace was not so diligently attended," saith Aretine's Lucretia, "as my house was when I lay in Rome; the porch and street was ever full of some, walking or riding, on set purpose to see me; their eye was still upon my window; as they passed by, they could not choose but look back to my house when they were past, and sometimes hem or cough, or

¹ Dial. Amorum. ² Ad occasum solis ægrè domum rediens, atque totum diem ex adverso deæ sedens rectâ, in ipsam perpetuo oculorum ictus direxit, &c.

³ Lib. 3. ⁴ Regum palatium non tam diligenti custodiâ septum fuit, ac ædes meas stipabant, &c.

take some impertinent occasion to speak aloud, that I might look out and observe them." 'Tis so in other places, 'tis common to every lover, 'tis all his felicity to be with her, to talk with her; he is never well but in her company, and will walk ¹ "seven or eight times a day through the street where she dwells, and make sleeveless errands to see her;" plotting still where, when, and how to visit her,

² "Levesque sub nocte susurri,
Composita repetuntur hora."

And when he is gone, he thinks every minute an hour, every hour as long as a day, ten days a whole year, till he see her again. ³ *Tempora si numeres benè quæ numeramus amantes.* And if thou be in love, thou wilt say so too, *Et longum, formosa, vale*, farewell sweetheart, *vale, charissima Argenis*, &c. Farewell my dear Argenis, once more farewell, farewell. And though he is to meet her by compact, and that very shortly, perchance to-morrow, yet loath to depart, he'll take his leave again and again, and then come back again, look after, and shake his hand, wave his hat afar off. Now gone, he thinks it long till he see her again, and she him, the clocks are surely set back, the hour's past,

⁴ "Hospita, Demophoon, tua te Rhodopeia Phyllis
Ultra promissum tempus abesse queror."

She looks out at window still to see whether he come, ⁵ and by report Phyllis went nine times to the seaside that day, to see if her Demophoon were approaching, and ⁶ Troilus to the city gates to look for his Cresseide. She is ill at ease, and sick till she see him again, peevish in the mean time; discontent, heavy, sad, and why comes he not? where is he? why breaks he promise? why tarries he so long? sure he is not well; sure he hath some mischance; sure he forgets him-

¹ Uno et eodem die sexties vel septies ambulant per eandem plateam, ut vel unico amicæ suæ fruantur aspectu, lib. 8, Theat. Mundi. ² Hor. ³ Ovid. ⁴ Ovid. ⁵ Hyginus, fab. 59. Eo die dicitur nonies ad littus currisse. ⁶ Chaucer.

self and me; with infinite such. And then confident again, up she gets, out she looks, listens and inquires, hearkens, kens; every man afar off is sure he, every stirring in the street, now he is there, that's he, *malè auroræ, malè soli dicit juratque*, &c., the longest day that ever was, so she raves, restless and impatient; for *Amor non patitur moras*, love brooks no delays: the time's quickly gone that's spent in her company, the miles short, the way pleasant; all weather is good whilst he goes to her house, heat or cold; though his teeth chatter in his head, he moves not; wet or dry, 'tis all one; wet to the skin, he feels it not, cares not at least for it, but will easily endure it and much more, because it is done with alacrity, and for his mistress's sweet sake; let the burden be never so heavy, love makes it light. ¹ Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and it was quickly gone because he loved her. None so merry; if he may happily enjoy her company, he is in heaven for a time; and if he may not, dejected in an instant, solitary, silent, he deserts weeping, lamenting, sighing, complaining.

But the symptoms of the mind in lovers are almost infinite, and so diverse, that no art can comprehend them; though they be merry sometimes, and rapt beyond themselves for joy: yet most part love is a plague, a torture, a hell, a bitter sweet passion at last; ² *Amor melle et felle est fœcundissimus, gustum dat dulcem et amarum*. 'Tis *suavis amaricies, dolentia delectabilis, hilare tormentum*;

³ " Et me melle beant suaviora,
Et me felle necant amariora."

Like a summer fly or sphine's wings, or a rainbow of all colours,

" Quæ ad solis radios conversæ aureæ erant,
Adversus nubes ceruleæ, quale jubar iridis,"

fair, foul, and full of variation, though most part irksome and bad. For in a word, the Spanish Inquisition is not compar-

¹ Gen. xxix. 20. ² Plautus, Cistel. honey it pleases me, more bitter than
³ Stobæus e Græco. "Sweeter than gall it teases me."

able to it; "a torment" and ¹ "execution" as it is, as he calls it in the poet, an unquenchable fire, and what not? ² From it, saith Austin, arise "biting cares, perturbations, passions, sorrows, fears, suspicions, discontents, contentions, discords, wars, treacheries, enmities, flattery, cozening, riot, impudence, cruelty, knavery," &c.

³ "dolor, querelæ,
Lamentatio, lachrymæ perennes,
Languor, anxietas, amaritudo;
Aut si triste magis potest quid esse,
Hos tu das comites Neæra vitæ."

These be the companions of lovers, and the ordinary symptoms, as the poet repeats them.

⁴ "In amore hæc insunt vitia,
Suspiciones, inimicitia, audacia,
Bellum, pax rursum," &c.

⁵ "Insomnia, ærumna, error, terror, et fuga,
Excogitantia, excors immodestia,
Petulantia, cupiditas, et malevolentia;
Inhæret etiam aviditas, desidia, injuria,
Inopia, contumelia et dispendium," &c.

"In love these vices are; suspicions,
Peace, war, and impudence, detractions,
Dreams, cares, and errors, terrors and affrights,
Immodest pranks, devices, sleights and flights,
Heart-burnings, wants, neglects, desire of wrong,
Loss continual, expense, and hurt among."

Every poet is full of such catalogues of love symptoms; but fear and sorrow may justly challenge the chief place. Though Hercules de Saxoniâ, *cap. 3, Tract. de melanch.* will exclude fear from love-melancholy, yet I am otherwise persuaded. ⁶ *Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.* 'Tis full of fear, anxiety, doubt, care, peevishness, suspicion; it turns a man into a woman, which made Hesiod belike put Fear and Paleness Venus's daughters,

¹ Plautus: Credo ego ad hominis carnificinam amorem inventum esse. ² De civitat. lib. 22, cap. 20. Ex eo oriuntur mordaces curæ, perturbaciones, mœrores, formidines, insana gaudia, discordiæ, lites, bella, insidiæ, iracundiæ, inimicitia, fallaciæ, adulatio, fraus, furtum, nequitia, impudentia. ³ Marullus, l. 1. ⁴ Ter. Eunuch. ⁵ Plautus, Mercat. ⁶ Ovid.

" Marti clypeos atque arma secanti
Alma Venus peperit Pallorem, unaque Timorem : "

because fear and love are still linked together. Moreover they are apt to mistake, amplify, too credulous sometimes, too full of hope and confidence, and then again very jealous, unapt to believe or entertain any good news. The comical poet hath prettily painted out this passage amongst the rest in a ¹dialogue betwixt Mitio and Æschines, a gentle father and a lovesick son. " Be of good cheer, my son, thou shalt have her to wife. Æ. Ah father, do you mock me now? M. I mock thee, why? Æ. That which I so earnestly desire, I more suspect and fear. M. Get you home, and send for her to be your wife. Æ. What now a wife, now, father," &c. These doubts, anxieties, suspicions, are the least part of their torments; they break many times from passions to actions, speak fair, and flatter, now most obsequious and willing, by and by they are averse, wrangle, fight, swear, quarrel, laugh, weep, and he that doth not so by fits, ² Lucian holds, is not thoroughly touched with this loadstone of love. So their actions and passions are intermixed, but of all other passions, sorrow hath the greatest share; ³ love to many is bitterness itself; *rem amaram* Plato calls it, a bitter potion, an agony, a plague.

" Eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi;
Quæ mihi subrepens imos ut torpor in artus,
Expulit ex omni pectore lætities."

" O take away this plague, this mischief from me,
Which, as a numbness over all my body,
Expels my joys, and makes my soul so heavy."

Phædria had a true touch of this, when he cried out,

⁴ " O Thais, utinam esset mihi
Pars æqua amoris tecum, ac pariter fieret ut
Aut hoc tibi doleret itidem, ut mihi dolet."

" O Thais, would thou hadst of these my pains a part,
Or as it doth me now, so it would make thee smart."

¹ Adelphi. Act. 4. scen. 5. M. Bono animo es, duces uxorem hanc, Æschines.
Æ. Hem, pater, num tu ludis me nunc? M. Egone te, quamobrem? Æ. Quod tam misere cupio, &c. ² Tom. 4. dial. amorum. ³ Aristotle, 2. Rhet. puts love therefore in the irascible part. Ovid. ⁴ Ter. Eunuch. Act. 1, sc. 2.

So had that young man, when he roared again for discontent,

¹ "Jactor, crucior, agitor, stimulator,
Versor in amoris rotâ miser
Exanimor, feror, distrahor, deripior,
Ubi sum, ibi non sum; ubi non sum, ibi est animus."

"I am vext and toss'd, and rack'd on love's wheel;
Where not, I am; but where am, do not feel."

The moon in ² Lucian made her moan to Venus, that she was almost dead for love, *pereo equidem amore*, and after a long tale, she broke off abruptly and wept, ³ "O Venus, thou knowest my poor heart." Charmides, in ⁴ Lucian, was so impatient, that he sobbed and sighed, and tore his hair, and said he would hang himself. "I am undone, O sister Tryphena, I cannot endure these love pangs; what shall I do?"

Vos O dii Averrunci solvite me his curis, O ye gods, free me from these cares and miseries, out of the anguish of his soul, ⁵ Theocles prays. Shall I say, most part of a lover's life is full of agony, anxiety, fear and grief, complaints, sighs, suspicions, and cares (heigh-ho my heart is woe), full of silence and irksome solitariness?

"Frequenting shady bowers in discontent,
To the air his fruitless clamours he will vent,"

except at such times that he hath *lucida intervalla*, pleasant gales, or sudden alterations, as if his mistress smile upon him, give him a good look, a kiss, or that some comfortable message be brought him, his service is accepted, &c.

He is then too confident and rapt beyond himself, as if he had heard the nightingale in the spring before the cuckoo, or as ⁶ Calisto was at Melebæa's presence, *Quis unquam hâc mortali vitâ tam gloriosum corpus vidit? humanitatem transcendere videor*, &c., who ever saw so glorious a sight, what man ever enjoyed such delight? More content cannot be given of the gods, wished, had or hoped of any mortal man.

¹ Plautus. ² Tom. 3. ³ Scis quod posthac dicturus fuerim. ⁴ Tom. 4, dial. meret. Tryphena, amor me perdit, neque malum hoc amplius sustinere possum. ⁵ Aristænetus, lib. 2, epist. 8. ⁶ Cœlestinæ, act. 1. Sancti majore lætitiâ non fruuntur. Si mihi Deus omnium votorum mortalium summam concedat, non magis, &c.

There is no happiness in the world comparable to his, no content, no joy to this, no life to love, he is in paradise.

¹ “ Quis me uno vivit felicior? aut magis hâc est
Optandum vitâ dicere quis poterit? ”

“ Who lives so happy as myself? what bliss
In this our life may be compared to this? ”

He will not change fortune in that case with a prince,

² “ Donec gratus eram tibi,
Persarum vigui rege beator.”

The Persian kings are not so jovial as he is, *O³ festus dies hominis*, O happy day; so Chærea exclaims when he came from Pamphila his sweetheart well pleased,

“ Nunc est profectò interfici cum perpeti me possem,
Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aliquâ ægritudine.”

“He could find in his heart to be killed instantly, lest if he live longer, some sorrow or sickness should contaminate his joys.” A little after, he was so merrily set upon the same occasion, that he could not contain himself.

⁴ “ O populares, ecquis me vivit hodiè fortunatior?
Nemo hercule quisquam; nam in me dii planè potestatem
Suam omnem ostendere; ”

“Is’t possible (O my countrymen) for any living to be so happy as myself? No sure it cannot be, for the gods have shown all their power, all their goodness in me.” Yet by and by when this young gallant was crossed in his wench, he laments, and cries, and roars downright: *Occidi*——I am undone,

“ Neque virgo est usquam, neque ego, qui e conspectu illam amisi meo,
Ubi quæram, ubi investigem, quem percunctor, quam insistam viam? ”

“The virgin’s gone, and I am gone, she’s gone, she’s gone, and what shall I do? where shall I seek her, where shall I

¹ Catullus, de Lesbiâ. ² Hor. ode 9, lib. 3. ³ Act. 3, scen. 5, Eunuch. Ter.
⁴ Act. 5, scen. 9.

find her, whom shall I ask? what way, what course shall I take? what will become of me?"——¹*vitales auras invitatus agebat*, he was weary of his life, sick, mad, and desperate, ²*utinam mihi esset aliquid hic, quo nunc me præcipitem darem*. 'Tis not Chærea's case this alone, but his, and his, and every lover's in the like state. If he hear ill news, have bad success in his suit, she frown upon him, or that his mistress in his presence respect another more (as ³*Hædus* observes) "prefer another suitor, speak more familiarly to him, or use more kindly than himself, if by nod, smile, message, she discloseth herself to another, he is instantly tormented, none so dejected as he is," utterly undone, a castaway, ⁴*In quem fortuna omnia odiorum suorum crudelissima tela exonerat*, a dead man, the scorn of fortune, a monster of fortune, worse than nought, the loss of a kingdom had been less. ⁵*Aretine's* Lucretia made very good proof of this, as she relates it herself. "For when I made some of my suitors believe I would betake myself to a nunnery, they took on, as if they had lost father and mother, because they were forever after to want my company." *Omnes labores leves fuere*, all other labour was light; ⁶but this might not be endured. *Tui carendum quod erat*———"for I cannot be without thy company," mournful Amyntas, painful Amyntas, careful Amyntas; better a metropolitan city were sacked, a royal army overcome, an invincible armada sunk, and twenty thousand kings should perish, than her little finger ache, so zealous are they, and so tender of her good. They would all turn friars for my sake, as she follows it, in hope by that means to meet, or see me again, as my confessors, at stoolball, or at barleybrake: And so afterwards when an importunate suitor came, ⁷"If I had bid my maid say that I

¹ Mantuan.² Ter. Adelph. 3, 4.³ Lib. I, de contemn. amoribus. Si quem alium respexerit amica suavius, et familiarius, si quem alloquuta fuerit, si nutu, nuncio, &c., statim cruciatur. ⁴ Calisto in Coelestinâ. ⁵ Pornodidasc. dial. Ital. Patre et matre se singuli orbos censebant, quod meo contubernio caren-

dum esset.

⁶ Ter. tui carendum quod erat.⁷ Si responsum esset dominam occupatam esse alisque vacaret, ille statim vix hoc audito velut in marmor obrigit, alii se damnare, &c., at cui favebam, in campis Elysiis esse videbatur, &c.

was not at leisure, not within, busy, could not speak with him, he was instantly astonished, and stood like a pillar of marble; another went swearing, chafing, cursing, foaming." ¹ *Illā sibi vox ipsa Jovis violentior irā, cum tonat, &c.*, the voice of a mandrake had been sweeter music; "but he to whom I gave entertainment, was in the Elysian fields, ravished for joy, quite beyond himself." 'Tis the general humour of all lovers, she is their stern, polestar, and guide. ² *Deliciumque animi, deliquiumque sui.* As a tulipant to the sun (which our herbalists call Narcissus, when it shines, is *Admirandus flos ad radios solis se pandens*, a glorious flower exposing itself; ³ but when the sun sets, or a tempest comes, it hides itself, pines away, and hath no pleasure left (which Carolus Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in a cause not unlike, sometimes used for an impress), do all inamorates to their mistress; she is their sun, their *Primum mobile*, or *animi informans*; this ⁴ one hath elegantly expressed by a windmill, still moved by the wind, which otherwise hath no motion of itself. *Sic tuā ni spiret gratia, truncus ero.* "He is wholly animated from her breath," his soul lives in her body, ⁵ *sola claves habet interitūs et salutis*, she keeps the keys of his life; his fortune ebbs and flows with her favour, a gracious or bad aspect turns him up or down, *Mens mea lucescit Lucia luce tuā*. Howsoever his present state be pleasing or displeasing, 'tis continue so long as he ⁶ loves, he can do nothing, think of nothing but her; desire hath no rest, she is his cynosure, hesperus and vesper, his morning and evening star, his goddess, his mistress, his life, his soul, his everything; dreaming, waking, she is always in his mouth; his heart, his eyes, ears, and all his thoughts are full of her. His Laura, his Victorina, his Columbina, Flavia, Flaminia, Cælia, Delia, or Isabella, (call her how you will,) she is the sole object of his senses, the substance of his soul, *nidulus animæ suæ*, he magnifies her above measure, *totus in illā*, full of her, can breathe

¹ Mantuan. ² Lœchæus. ³ Sole se amat. 13. ⁵ Calisto de Melebræa.
occultante, aut tempestate veniente, sta- ⁶ Anima non est ubi animat, sed ubi
tim clauditur ac languescit. ⁴ Emblem. amat.

nothing but her. "I adore Melebæa," saith lovesick ¹ Calisto, "I believe in Melebæa, I honour, admire and love my Melebæa:" His soul was soused, imparadised, imprisoned in his lady. When ² Thais took her leave of Phædria,——
mi Phædria, et nunquid aliud vis? Sweetheart (she said) will you command me any further service? he readily replied, and gave in this charge,

"egone quid velim?

Dies noctesque ames me, me desideres,
 Me somnies, me expectes, me cogites,
 Me speres, me te oblectes, mecum tota sis,
 Meus fac postremò animus, quandò ego sum tuus."

"Dost ask (my dear) what service I will have?

To love me day and night is all I crave,
 To dream on me, to expect, to think on me,
 Depend and hope, still covet me to see,
 Delight thyself in me, be wholly mine,
 For know, my love, that I am wholly thine."

But all this needed not, you will say; if she affect once, she will be his, settle her love on him, on him alone,

³ "illum absens absentem
 Auditque videtque"

she can, she must think and dream of nought else but him, continually of him, as did Orpheus on his Eurydice,

"Te dulcis conjux, te solo in littore mecum,
 Te veniente die, te discedente canebar."

"On thee, sweet wife, was all my song,
 Morn, evening, and all along."

And Dido upon her Æneas;

"et quæ me insomnia terrent,
 Multa viri virtus, et plurima currit imago."

"And ever and anon she thinks upon the man
 That was so fine, so fair, so blithe, so debonair."

¹ Cœlestina, act. 1, credo in Melebæam, &c.
³ Virg. 4 Æn.

² Ter. Eunuch. act. 1, sc. 2.

Clitophon, in the first book of Achilles Tatius, complaineth how that his mistress Leucippe tormented him much more in the night than in the day. ¹“For all day long he had some object or other to distract his senses, but in the night all ran upon her. All night long he lay ²awake, and could think of nothing else but her, he could not get her out of his mind; towards morning, sleep took a little pity on him, he slumbered awhile, but all his dreams were of her.”

³ “te nocte sub atrâ
Alloquor, amplector, falsâque in imagine somni,
Gaudia sollicitam palpant evanida mentem.”

“In the dark night I speak, embrace, and find
That fading joys deceive my careful mind.”

The same complaint Euryalus makes to his Lucretia, ⁴“day and night I think of thee, I wish for thee, I talk of thee, call on thee, look for thee, hope for thee, delight myself in thee, day and night I love thee.”

⁵ “Nec mihi vespere
Surgente decedunt amores,
Nec rapidum fugiente solem.”

Morning, evening, all is alike with me, I have restless thoughts, ⁶“*Te vigilans oculis, animo te nocte requiro.*” Still I think on thee. *Anima non est ubi animat, sed ubi amat.* I live and breathe in thee, I wish for thee.

⁷ “O niveam quæ te poterit mihi reddere lucem,
O mihi felicem terque quaterque diem.”

“O happy day that shall restore thee to my sight.” In the mean time he raves on her; her sweet face, eyes, actions, gestures, hands, feet, speech, length, breadth, height, depth, and the rest of her dimensions, are so surveyed, measured,

¹ Interdiu oculi, et aures occupatæ
distrahunt animum, at noctu solus jac-
tor, ad auroram somnus paulum miser-
tus, nec tamen ex animo puella abiit, sed
omnia mihi de Leucippe somnia erant.

² Totâ hac nocte somnum hisce oculis

non vidi. Ter.

³ Buchanan. sylv.
⁴ Æn. Sylv. Te dies noctesque amo, te
cogito, te desidero, te voco, te expecto, te
spero, tecum oblecto me, totus in te sum.

⁵ Hor. lib. 2, ode 9.

⁷ Tibullus, l. 3, Eleg. 3.

⁶ Petronius.

and taken, by that Astrolabe of fantasy, and that so violently sometimes, with such earnestness and eagerness, such continuance, so strong an imagination, that at length he thinks he sees her indeed; he talks with her, he embraceth her, Ixion-like, *pro Junone nubem*, a cloud for Juno, as he said. *Nihil præter Leucippen cerno, Leucippe mihi perpetuò in oculis, et animo versatur*, I see and meditate of nought but Leucippe. Be she present or absent, all is one; ¹

¹ "Et quamvis aberat placidæ præsentia formæ,
Quem dederat præsens forma, manebat amor."

That impression of her beauty is still fixed in his mind——
² "*hærent infixi pectore vultus*;" as he that is bitten with a mad dog thinks all he sees dogs—dogs in his meat, dogs in his dish, dogs in his drink: his mistress is in his eyes, ears, heart, in all his senses. Valleriola had a merchant, his patient, in the same predicament; and ³Ulricus Molitor, out of Austin, hath a story of one, that through vehemency of his love passion, still thought he saw his mistress present with him, she talked with him, *Et commisceri cum eâ vigilans videbatur*, still embracing him.

Now if this passion of love can produce such effects, if it be pleasantly intended, what bitter torments shall it breed, when it is with fear and continual sorrow, suspicion, care, agony, as commonly it is, still accompanied, what an intolerable ⁴pain must it be?

"Non tam grandes
Gargara culmos, quot demerso
Pectore curas longâ nexas
Usque catenâ, vel quæ penitus
Crudelis amor vulnera miscet."

"Mount Gargarus hath not so many stems
As lover's breast hath grievous wounds,
And linked cares, which love compounds."

¹ Ovid. Fast. 2, ver. 775. "Although the presence of her fair form is wanting, the love which it kindled remains." ⁴ Juno, nec iræ deûm tantum, nec tela, nec hostis, quantum tute potis animis illapsus. Silius Ital. 15, bel. Punic. de amore.

² Virg. Æn. 4.

³ De Pythonissâ.

When the king of Babylon would have punished a courtier of his, for loving of a young lady of the royal blood, and far above his fortunes, ¹ Apollonius in presence by all means persuaded to let him alone; "For to love and not enjoy was a most unspeakable torment," no tyrant could invent the like punishment; as a gnat at a candle, in a short space he would consume himself. For love is a perpetual ² *flux, angor animi*, a warfare, *militat omni amans*, a grievous wound is love still, and a lover's heart is Cupid's quiver, a consuming ³ fire, ⁴ *accede ad hunc ignem*, &c., an inextinguishable fire.

⁵ " alitur et crescit malum,
Et ardet intus, qualis Ætnæo vapor
Exundat antro "

As Ætna rageth, so doth love, and more than Ætna or any material fire.

⁶ " Nam amor sæpe Lyparco
Vulcano ardentiorẽ flammam incendere solet."

Vulcan's flames are but smoke to this. For fire, saith ⁷ Xenophon, burns them alone that stand near it, or touch it; but this fire of love burneth and scorcth afar off, and is more hot and vehement than any material fire: ⁸ *Ignis in igne furit*, 'tis a fire in a fire, the quintessence of fire. For when Nero burnt Rome, as Calisto urgeth, he fired houses, consumed men's bodies and goods; but this fire devours the soul itself, "and ⁹ one soul is worth a hundred thousand bodies." No water can quench this wild fire.

¹⁰ " In pectus cæcos absorbuĩt ignes,
Ignes qui nec aquâ perimi potuere, nec imbre
Diminui, neque graminibus, magicisque susurris."

" A fire he took into his breast,
Which water could not quench,

¹ Philostratus, *vita ejus*. Maximum tormentum quod excogitare, vel docere te possum, est ipse amor. ² Ausonius, c. 35. ³ Et cæco carpitur igne; et mihi sese offert ultra meus ignis Amyntas. ⁴ Ter. Eunuc. ⁵ Sen. Hippol. ⁶ Theocritus, edyl. 2, Levibus cor est

violabile telis. ⁷ Ignis tangentes solum urit, at forma procul astantes inflammat. ⁸ Nonius. ⁹ Major illa flamma quæ consumit unam animam, quam quæ centum millia corporum. ¹⁰ Mant. egl. 2.

Nor herb, nor art, nor magic spells
Could quell, nor any drench."

Except it be tears and sighs, for so they may chance find a little ease.

¹ "Sic candentia colla, sic patens frons,
Sic me blanda tui Neæra ocelli,
Sic pares minio genæ perurunt,
Ut ni me lachrymæ rigent perennes,
Totus in tenues eam favillas."

"So thy white neck, Neæra, me poor soul
Doth scorch, thy cheeks, thy wanton eyes that roll:
Were it not for my dropping tears that hinder,
I should be quite burnt up forthwith to cinder."

This fire strikes like lightning, which made those old Grecians paint Cupid, in many of their ²temples, with Jupiter's thunderbolts in his hands; for it wounds and cannot be perceived how, whence it came, where it pierced. ³"*Urimur, et cæcum pectora vulnus habent,*" and can hardly be discerned at first,

⁴"*Est mollis flamma medullas,
Et tacitum insano vivit sub pectore vulnus.*"

"A gentle wound, an easy fire it was,
And sly at first, and secretly did pass."

But by and by it began to rage and burn amain;

⁵"*Pectus insanum vapor,
Amorque torret, intus sævus vorat
Penitus medullas, atque per venas meat
Visceribus ignis mersus, et venis latens,
Ut agilis altas flamma percurrit trabes.*"

"This fiery vapour rageth in the veins,
And scorceth entrails, as when fire burns
A house, it nimbly runs along the beams,
And at the last the whole it overturns."

Abraham Höffmannus, *lib.* 1, *amor conjugal.* cap. 2, p. 22, relates out of Plato, how that Empedocles, the philosopher,

¹ Marullus, Epig. lib. 1.
⁵ Seneca.

² Imagines deorum.

³ Ovid.

⁴ Æneid. 4.

was present at the cutting up of one that died for love, ¹ "his heart was combust, his liver smoky, his lungs dried up, inso-much that he verily believed his soul was either sodden or roasted through the vehemency of love's fire." Which belike made a modern writer of amorous emblems express love's fury by a pot hanging over the fire, and Cupid blowing the coals. As the heat consumes the water, ² "*Sic sua consumit viscera cæcus amor*," so doth love dry up his radical moisture. Another compares love to a melting torch, which stood too near the fire.

³ "Sic quo quis propior suæ puellæ est,
Hoc stultus propior suæ ruinæ est."

"The nearer he unto his mistress is,
The nearer he unto his ruin is."

So that to say truth, as ⁴ Castilio describes it, "The beginning, middle, end of love is nought else but sorrow, vexation, agony, torment, irksomeness, wearisomeness; so that to be squalid, ugly, miserable, solitary, discontent, dejected, to wish for death, to complain, rave, and to be peevish, are the certain signs and ordinary actions of a lovesick person." This continual pain and torture makes them forget themselves, if they be far gone with it, in doubt, despair of obtaining, or eagerly bent, to neglect all ordinary business.

⁵ "pendent opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes, æquataque machina cælo."

Lovesick Dido left her work undone, so did ⁶ Phædra,

"Palladis telæ vacant
Et inter ipsas pensa labuntur manus."

Faustus, in ⁷ Mantuan, took no pleasure in anything he did,

¹ Cor totum combustum, jecur suffumigatum, pulmo arefactus, ut credam miseram illam animam bis elixam aut combustam, ob maximum ardorem quem patiuntur ob ignem amoris. ² Embl. Amat. 4 et 5. ³ Grotius. ⁴ Lib. 4, nam istius amoris neque principia, neque media aliud habent quid, quam molestias, dolores, cruciatus, defatigationes, adeo ut miserum esse mœrore, gemitu,

solitudine torqueri, mortem optare, semperque debacchari, sint certa amantium signa et certæ actiones. ⁵ Virg. Æn. 4.

"The works are interrupted, promises of great walls, and scaffoldings rising towards the skies, are all suspended."

⁶ Seneca, Hip. act. "The shuttle stops, and the web hangs unfinished from her hands." ⁷ Eclog. 1. "No rest, no business pleased my lovesick breast, my facul-

"Nulla quies mihi dulcis erat, nullus labor ægro
Pectore, sensus iners, et mens torpore sepulta,
Carminis occiderat studium."

And 'tis the humour of them all, to be careless of their persons and their estates, as the shepherd in ¹Theocritus, *Et hæc barba inculta est, squalidique capilli*, their beards flag, and they have no more care of pranking themselves or of any business, they care not, as they say, which end goes forward.

² "Oblitusque greges, et rura domestica totus
³ Uritur, et noctes in luctum expendit amaras."
"Forgetting flocks of sheep and country farms,
The silly shepherd always mourns and burns."

Lovesick ⁴Chærea, when he came from Pamphila's house, and had not so good welcome as he did expect, was all amort, Parmeno meets him, *Quid tristis es?* Why art thou so sad man? *unde es?* whence comest, how doest? but he sadly replies, *Ego hercle nescio neque unde eam, neque quorsum eam, ita prorsus oblitus sum mei*, I have so forgotten myself, I neither know where I am, nor whence I come, nor whither I will, what I do. P. ⁵"How so?" Ch. "I am in love." *Prudens sciens.* "——" ⁶*vivus vidensque pereo, nec quid agam scio.*" ⁷"He that erst had his thoughts free (as Philostratus Lemnius, in an epistle of his, describes this fiery passion), and spent his time like a hard student, in those delightful philosophical precepts; he that with the sun and moon wandered all over the world, with stars themselves ranged about, and left no secret or small mystery in nature unsearched, since he was enamoured can do nothing now but think and meditate of love matters, day and night composeth himself how to please his mistress; all his study, endeavour,

ties became dormant, my mind torpid, and I lost my taste for poetry and song."

¹ Edyl. 14. ² Mant. Eclog. 2. ³ Ov. Met. 13, de Polyphemo: *uritur oblitus pecorum, antrorumque suorum; jamque tibi formæ, &c.* ⁴ Ter. Eunuch. ⁵ Qui quæso? Amo. ⁶ Ter. Eunuch.

⁷ Qui olim cogitabat quæ vellet, et pulcherrimis philosophiæ præceptis operam insumpsit, qui universi circuitiones cœlique naturam, &c., hanc unam intendit operam, de solâ cogitat, noctes et dies se componit ad hanc, et ad acerbam servitutem redactus animus, &c.

is to approve himself to his mistress, to win his mistress's favour, to compass his desire, to be counted her servant." When Peter Abelard, that great scholar of his age, ¹ "*Cui soli patuit scibile quicquid erat*" ("whose faculties were equal to any difficulty in learning"), was now in love with Heloise, he had no mind to visit or frequent schools and scholars any more, *Tædiosum mihi valde fuit* (as ² he confesseth) *ad scholas procedere, vel in iis morari*, all his mind was on his new mistress.

Now to this end and purpose, if there be any hope of obtaining his suit, to prosecute his cause, he will spend himself, goods, fortunes for her, and though he lose and alienate all his friends, be threatened, be cast off, and disinherited; for as the poet saith, ³ *Amori quis legem det?* though he be utterly undone by it, disgraced, go a begging, yet for her sweet sake, to enjoy her, he will willingly beg, hazard all he hath, goods, lands, shame, scandal, fame, and life itself.

"Non recedam neque quiescam, noctu et interdiu,
Prius profecto quam aut ipsam, aut mortem investigavero."

"I'll never rest or cease my suit
'Till she or death do make me mute."

Parthenis in ⁴ Aristænetus was fully resolved to do as much. "I may have better matches, I confess, but farewell shame, farewell honour, farewell honesty, farewell friends and fortunes, &c. O, Harpedona, keep my counsel, I will leave all for his sweet sake, I will have him say no more, *contra gentes*, I am resolved, I will have him." ⁵ Gobrias, the captain, when he had espied Rhodanthe, the fair captive maid, fell upon his knees before Mystilus, the general, with tears, vows, and all the rhetoric he could, by the scars he had formerly received, the good service he had done, or whatsoever else was dear unto him besought his governor he might have

¹ Pars epitaphii ejus. ² Epist. prima. Amor Mystili genibus obvolutus, ubertimque lachrimans, &c. Nihil ex totâ prædâ præter Rhodanthen virginem accipiam.
³ Boethius, l. 3. Met. ult. ⁴ Epist. lib. 6. Valeat pudor, valeat honestas, valeat honor. ⁵ Theodor. Prodromus, lib. 3.

the captive virgin to be his wife, *virtutis suæ spoliū*, as a reward of his worth and service; and, moreover, he would forgive him the money which was owing, and all reckonings besides due unto him, "I ask no more, no part of booty, no portion, but Rhodanthe to be my wife." And when as he could not compass her by fair means, he fell to treachery, force and villany, and set his life at stake at last to accomplish his desire. 'Tis a common humour this, a general passion of all lovers to be so affected, and which Æmilia told Aratine, a courtier in Castilio's discourse, ¹ "surely Aratine, if thou werst not so indeed, thou didst not love; ingenuously confess, for if thou hadst been thoroughly enamoured, thou wouldst have desired nothing more than to please thy mistress. For that is the law of love, to will and nill the same."

² "*Tantum velle et nolle, velit nolit quod amica.*"

Undoubtedly this may be pronounced of them all, they are very slaves, drudges for the time, madmen, fools, dizzards, ³ *atrabilarii*, beside themselves, and as blind as beetles. Their ⁴ dotage is most eminent, *Amare simul et sapere ipsi Jovi non datur*, as Seneca holds, Jupiter himself cannot love and be wise both together; the very best of them, if once they be overtaken with this passion, the most staid, discreet, grave, generous and wise, otherwise able to govern themselves, in this commit many absurdities, many indecorums, unbecfitting their gravity and persons.

⁵ "Quisquis amat servit, sequitur captivus amantem,
Fert domitâ cervice jugum"

"Samson, David, Solomon, Hercules, Socrates," &c., are justly taxed of indiscretion in this point; the middle sort are between hawk and buzzard; and although they do perceive

¹ Lib. 2, Certe vix credam, et bonâ fide fateare Aratine, te non amâsse adeo vehementer; si enim vere amâsses, nihil prius aut potius optâsses, quam amata mulieri placere. Ea enim amoris lex est idem velle et nolle. ² Stroza, fil. Epig.

³ Quippe hæc omnia ex atrâ bile et amore

proveniunt. Jason Pratensis.

⁴ Im-

mensus amor ipse stultitia est. Cardan.

lib. 1, de sapientiâ. ⁵ Mantuan.

"Whoever is in love is in slavery, he follows his sweetheart as a captive his captor, and wears a yoke on his submissive neck."

and acknowledge their own dotage, weakness, fury, yet they cannot withstand it; as well may witness those expostulations and confessions of Dido in Virgil:

¹ "Incipit effari mediâque in voce resistit."—*Phædra in Seneca.*

² "Quod ratio poscit, vincit ac regnat furor,
Potensque totâ mente dominatur deus."—*Myrrha in* ³ *Ovid.*

"Illa quidem sentit fœdoque repugnat amori,
Et secum quâ mente feror, quid molior, inquit,
Dii precor, et pietas," &c.

"She sees and knows her fault, and doth resist,
Against her filthy lust she doth contend.
And whither go I, what am I about?
And God forbid! yet doth it in the end."

Again

"Pervigil igne
Carpitur indomito, furiosaque vota retractat,
Et modo desperat, modo vult tentare, pudetque
Et cupit, et quid agat, non invenit," &c.

"With raging lust she burns, and now recalls
Her vow, and then despairs, and when 'tis past,
Her former thoughts she'll prosecute in haste,
And what to do she knows not at the last."

She will and will not, abhors; and yet as *Medæa* did, doth it,

"Trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido,
Mens aliud suadet; video mēlora proboque,
Deteriora sequor."

"Reason pulls one way, burning lust another,
She sees and knows what's good, but she doth neither."

⁴ "O fraus, amorque, et mentis emotæ furor,
Quo me abstulistis?"

The major part of lovers are carried headlong like so many brute beasts, reason counsels one way, thy friends, fortunes, shame, disgrace, danger, and an ocean of cares that will certainly follow; yet this furious lust precipitates, counterpoiseth, weighs down on the other; though it be their

¹ Virg. *Æn.* 4. "She began to speak, but stopped in the middle of her discourse."
² Seneca, *Hippol.* "What reason requires raging love forbids."

³ Met. 10. ⁴ Buchanan. "Oh fraud, and love, and distraction of mind, whither have you led me?"

utter undoing, perpetual infamy, loss, yet they will do it, and become at last *insensati*, void of sense; degenerate into dogs, hogs, asses, brutes; as Jupiter into a bull, Apuleius an ass, Lycaon a wolf, Tereus a lapwing, ¹ Calisto a bear, Elpenor and Grillus into swine by Circe. For what else may we think those ingenious poets to have shadowed in their witty fictions and poems but that a man once given over to his lust (as ² Fulgentius interprets that of Apuleius, *Alciat. of Tereus*) “is no better than a beast.”

3 “Rex fueram, sic crista docet, sed sordida vita
Immundam e tanto culmine fecit avem.”

“I was a king, my crown my witness is,
But by my filthiness am come to this.”

Their blindness is all out as great, as manifest as their weakness and dotage, or rather an inseparable companion, an ordinary sign of it, ⁴ love is blind, as the saying is, Cupid's blind, and so are all his followers. *Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam.* Every lover admires his mistress, though she be very deformed of herself, ill-favoured, wrinkled, pimpled, pale, red, yellow, tanned, tallow-faced, have a swollen juggler's platter face, or a thin, lean, chitty face, have clouds in her face, be crooked, dry, bald, goggle-eyed, blear-eyed, or with staring eyes, she looks like a squis'd cat, hold her head still awry, heavy, dull, hollow-eyed, black or yellow about the eyes, or squint-eyed, sparrow-mouthed, Persian hook-nosed, have a sharp fox nose, a red nose, China flat, great nose *nare simo patuloque*, a nose like a promontory, gubber-tushed, rotten teeth, black, uneven, brown teeth, beetle-browed, a witch's beard, her breath stink all over the room, her nose drop winter and summer, with a Bavarian poke under her chin, a sharp chin, lave-eared, with a long crane's neck, which stands awry too, *pendulis mammis*, “her dugs

¹ An immodest woman is like a bear.

² Feram induit dum rosas comedat, idem ad se redeat.

³ Alciatus, de upupâ Embl. Animal immundum upupa ster-

cora amans; ave hæc nihil fædus, nihil libidinosius. Sabin. in Ovid. Met. ⁴ Love is like a false glass, which represents everything fairer than it is.

like two double jugs," or else no dugs, in that other extreme, bloody fallen fingers, she have filthy, long unpared nails, scabbed hands or wrists, a tanned skin, a rotten carcass, crooked back, she stoops, is lame, splay-footed, "as slender in the middle as a cow in the waist," gouty legs, her ankles hang over her shoes, her feet stink, she breed lice, a mere changeling, a very monster, an oaf imperfect, her whole complexion savours, a harsh voice, incondite gestures, vile gait, a vast virago, or an ugly tit, a slug, a fat fustilugs, a truss, a long lean rawbone, a skeleton, a sneaker (*si qua latent meliora puta*), and to thy judgment looks like a merd in a lantern, whom thou couldst not fancy for a world, but hatest, loathest, and wouldst have spit in her face, or blow thy nose in her bosom, *remedium amoris* to another man, a dowdy, a slut, a scold, a nasty, rank, rammy, filthy, beastly quean, dishonest peradventure, obscene, base, beggarly, rude, foolish, untaught, peevish, Irus's daughter, Thersites's sister, Grobian's scholar, if he love her once, he admires her for all this, he takes no notice of any such errors, or imperfections of body and mind, ¹*Ipsa hæc—delectant, veluti Balbinum Polyplus Agnæ*; he had rather have her than any woman in the world. If he were a king, she alone should be his queen, his empress. O that he had but the wealth and treasure of both the Indies to endow her with, a carrack of diamonds, a chain of pearl, a cascanet of jewels (a pair of calfskin gloves of four pence a pair were fitter), or some such toy, to send her for a token, she should have it with all his heart; he would spend myriads of crowns for her sake. Venus herself, Panthea, Cleopatra, Tarquin's Tanaquil, Herod's Mariamne, or ²Mary of Burgundy, if she were alive, would not match her.

³ ("Vincit vultus hæc Tyndarios,
Qui moverunt horrida bella.")

¹ Hor. ser. lib. 1, sat. 3. "These very things please him, as the wen of Agnæ did Balbinus." ² The daughter and heir of Carolus Pugnax. ³ Seneca, in

Octavia. "Her beauty excels the Tyndarian Helen's, which caused such dreadful wars."

Let Paris himself be judge) renowned Helen comes short, that Rhodopeian Phyllis, Larissean Coronis, Babylonian Thisbe, Polyxena, Laura, Lesbia, &c., your counterfeit ladies were never so fair as she is.

¹ "Quicquid erit placidi, lepidi, grati, atque faceti,
Vivida cunctorum retines Pandora deorum."

"Whate'er is pretty, pleasant, facete, well,
Whate'er Pandora had, she doth excel."

² *Dicebam Triviæ formam nihil esse Dianæ.* Diana was not to be compared to her, nor Juno, nor Minerva, nor any goddess. Thetis's feet were as bright as silver, the ankles of Hebe clearer than crystal, the arms of Aurora as ruddy as the rose, Juno's breasts as white as snow, Minerva wise, Venus fair; but what of this? Dainty come thou to me: She is all in all,

³ "Cælia ridens
Est Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens."

⁴ "Fairest of fair, that fairness doth excel."

Ephemerus in Aristænetus, so far admireth his mistress's good parts, that he makes proclamation of them, and challengeth all comers in her behalf. ⁵ "Whoever saw the beauties of the east, or of the west, let them come from all quarters, all, and tell truth, if ever they saw such an excellent feature as this is." A good fellow in Petronius cries out, no tongue can ⁶ tell his lady's fine feature, or express it, *quicquid dixeris minùs erit*, &c.

"No tongue can her perfections tell,
In whose each part, all tongues may dwell."

Most of your lovers are of his humour and opinion. She is *nulli secunda*, a rare creature, a phoenix, the sole command-

¹ Lœchæus. ² Mantuan. Egl. 1. ³ Angerianus. ⁴ Faërie Queene, Cant. 1. ⁵ Epist. 12. ⁶ Nulla vox formam ejus possit comprehendere.

ress of his thoughts, queen of his desires, his only delight: as ¹ Triton now feelingly sings, that lovesick sea-god :

“ Candida Leucothoë placet, et placet atra Melæne,
Sed Galatea placet longè magis omnibus una.”

“ Fair Leucothoë, black Melæne please me well,
But Galatea doth by odds the rest excel.”

All the gracious eulogies, metaphors, hyperbolical comparisons of the best things in the world, the most glorious names; whatsoever, I say, is pleasant, amiable, sweet, grateful, and delicious, are too little for her.

“ Phœbo pulchrior et sorore Phœbi.”

“ His Phœbe is so fair, she is so bright,
She dims the sun's lustre, and the moon's light.”

Stars, sun, moons, metals, sweet-smelling flowers, odours, perfumes, colours, gold, silver, ivory, pearls, precious stones, snow, painted birds, doves, honey, sugar, spice, cannot express her, ² so soft, so tender, so radiant, sweet, so fair is she.——

Mollior cuniculi capillo, &c.

³ “ Lydia bella, puella candida,
Quæ benè superas lac, et lilium,
Albamque simul rosam et rubicundam,
Et expositum ebur Indicum.”

“ Fine Lydia, my mistress, white and fair,
The milk, the lily do not thee come near;
The rose so white, the rose so red to see,
And Indian ivory comes short of thee.”

Such a description our English Homer makes of a fair lady :

⁴ *That Emilia that was fairer to seen,
Then is lily upon the stalk green :
And fresher then May with flowers new,
For with the rose-colour strove her hue,
I no't which was the fairer of the two.*

¹ Calcagnini dial. Galat. the Knight's Tale.

² Catullus.

³ Petronii Catalect.

⁴ Chaucer, in

In this very phrase ¹ Polyphemus courts Galatea :

“Candidior folio nivei Galatea ligustri,
Floridior prato, longâ procerior alno,
Splendidior vitro, tenero lascivior hædo, &c.
Mollior et cygni plumis, et lacte coacto.”

“Whiter Galet than the white withie-wind,
Fresher than a field, higher than a tree,
Brighter than glass, more wanton than a kid,
Softer than swan's-down, or aught that may be.”

So she admires him again, in that conceited dialogue of Lucian, which John Secundus, an elegant Dutch modern poet, hath translated into verse. When Doris and those other sea-nymphs upbraided her with her ugly, misshapen lover, Polyphemus; she replies, they speak out of envy and malice,

² “Et planè invidia huc mera vos stimulare videtur,
Quòd non vos itidem ut me Polyphemus amet:”

Say what they could, he was a proper man. And as Heloise writ to her sweetheart Peter Abelard, *Si me Augustus orbis imperator uxorem expeteret, mallem tua esse meretrix quam orbis imperatrix*; she had rather be his vassal, his quean, than the world's empress or queen,—*non si me Jupiter ipse forte velit*,—she would not change her love for Jupiter himself.

To thy thinking she is a most loathsome creature; and as when a country fellow discommended once that exquisite picture of Helen, made by Zeuxis, ³ for he saw no such beauty in it; Nichomachus, a lovesick spectator, replied, *Sume tibi meos oculos et deam existimabis*, take mine eyes, and thou wilt think she is a goddess, dote on her forthwith, count all her vices virtues; her imperfections, infirmities, absolute and perfect; if she be flat-nosed, she is lovely; if hook-nosed, kingly; if dwarfish and little, pretty; if tall, proper and manlike, our brave British Boadicea; if crooked, wise; if monstrous,

¹ Ovid. Met. 13. ² “It is envy evidently that prompts you, because Polyphemus does not love you as he does me.”

³ Plutarch. sibi dixit tam pulehram non videri, &c.

comely; her defects are no defects at all, she hath no deformities. *Immo nec ipsum amicæ stercus fætet*, though she be nasty, fulsome, as Sostratus's bitch, or Parmeno's sow; thou hadst as lief have a snake in thy bosom, a toad in thy dish, and callest her witch, devil, hag, with all the filthy names thou canst invent; he admires her on the other side, she is his idol, lady, mistress, ¹ venerilla, queen, the quintessence of beauty, an angel, a star, a goddess.

"Thou art my Vesta, thou my goddess art,
Thy hallowed temple only is my heart."

The fragrance of a thousand courtesans is in her face: ² *Nec pulchræ effigies, hæc Cypridis aut Stratonices*; 'tis not Venus's picture that, nor the Spanish infanta's, as you suppose (good sir), no princess, or king's daughter; no, no, but his divine mistress, forsooth, his dainty Dulcinea, his dear Antiphila, to whose service he is wholly consecrate, whom he alone adores.

³ "Cui comparatus indecens erit pavo,
Inamabilis sciurus, et frequens Phoenix."

"To whom conferr'd a peacock's indecent,
A squirrel's harsh, a phoenix too frequent."

All the graces, veneries, elegancies, pleasures, attend her. He prefers her before a myriad of court ladies.

⁴ "He that commends Philis or Neræa,
Or Amarillis, or Galatea,
Tityrus or Melibea, by your leave,
Let him be mute, his love the praises have."

Nay, before all the gods and goddesses themselves. So ⁵ Quintus Catullus admired his squint-eyed friend Roscius.

"Pace mihi liceat (Cœlestes) dicere vestra,
Mortalis visus pulchrior esse Deo."

"By your leave, gentle Gods, this I'll say true,
There's none of you that have so fair a hue."

¹ Quanto quam Lucifer aurea Phoebe, ³ Martial. l. 5, Epig. 38. ⁴ Ariosto.
tanto virginibus conspectior omnibus ⁵ Tully, lib. 1, de nat. deor. pulchrior
Herce. Ovid. ² M. D. Son. 30. deo, et tamen erat oculis perversissimis.

All the bombast epithets, pathetic adjuncts, incomparably fair, curiously neat, divine, sweet, dainty, delicious, &c., pretty diminutives, *corculum*, *suaviolum*, &c., pleasant names may be invented, bird, mouse, lamb, puss, pigeon, pigsney, kid, honey, love, dove, chicken, &c., he puts on her.

¹ "Meum mel, mea suavitas, meum cor,
Meum suaviolum, mei lepores,"

"my life, my light, my jewel, my glory," ² *Margareta speciosa, cujus respectu omnia mundi pretiosa sordent*, my sweet Margaret, my sole delight and darling. And as ³ Rhodomant courted Isabella :

"By all kind words and gestures that he might,
He calls her his dear heart, his sole beloved,
His joyful comfort, and his sweet delight.
His mistress, and his goddess, and such names,
As loving knights apply to lovely dames."

Every cloth she wears, every fashion pleaseth him above measure ; her hand, *O quales digitos, quos habet illa manus !* pretty foot, pretty coronets, her sweet carriage, sweet voice, tone, O that pretty tone, her divine and lovely looks, her everything, lovely, sweet, amiable, and pretty, pretty, pretty. Her very name (let it be what it will) is a most pretty, pleasing name ; I believe now there is some secret power and virtue in names, every action, sight, habit, gesture ; he admires, whether she play, sing, or dance, in what tires soever she goeth, how excellent it was, how well it became her, never the like seen or heard. ⁴ *Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet*. Let her wear what she will, do what she will, say what she will, ⁵ *Quicquid enim dicit, seu facit, omne decet*. He applauds and admires everything she wears, saith or doth,

⁶ "Illam quicquid agit, quòque vestigia vertit,
Composuit furtim subsequiturque decor ;
Seu solvit crines, fuis decet esse capillis,
Seu compsit, comptis est reverenda comis."

¹ Marullus ad Negeram, epig. 1 lib. ² Barthius. ³ Ariosto, lib. 29, hist. 8.
⁴ Tibullus. ⁵ Marul. lib. 2. ⁶ Tibullus, l. 4, de Sulpicia.

“Whate’er she doth, or whither e’er she go,
A sweet and pleasing grace attends forsooth;
Or loose or bind her hair, or comb it up,
She’s to be honoured in what she doth.”

¹ *Vestem induitur, formosa est: exuitur, tota forma est*, let her be dressed or undressed, all is one, she is excellent still, beautiful, fair, and lovely to behold. Women do as much by men; nay more, far fonder, weaker, and that by many parangs. “Come to me my dear Lycias” (saith Musæus in ² Aristænetus), “come quickly, sweetheart, all other men are satyrs, mere clowns, blockheads to thee, nobody to thee.” Thy looks, words, gestures, actions, &c., “are incomparably beyond all others.” Venus was never so much besotted on her Adonis, Phædra so delighted in Hippolytus, Ariadne in Theseus, Thisbe in her Pyramus, as she is enamoured on her Mopsus.

“Be thou the marigold, and I will be the sun,
Be thou the friar, and I will be the nun.”

I could repeat centuries of such. Now tell me what greater dotage or blindness can there be than this in both sexes? and yet their “slavery” is more eminent, a greater sign of their folly than the rest.

They are commonly slaves, captives, voluntary servants, *Amator amicæ mancipium*, as ³ Castilio terms him, his mistress’s servant, her drudge, prisoner, bondman, what not? “He composeth himself wholly to her affections to please her, and as Æmilia said, makes himself her lackey. All his cares, actions, all his thoughts, are subordinate to her will and commandment;” her most devote, obsequious, affectionate servant and vassal. “For love” (as ⁴ Cyrus in Xenophon well observed) “is a mere tyranny, worse than any disease, and they that are troubled with it desire to be free and

¹ Aristænetus, Epist. 1. ² Epist. 24, veni cito, charissime Lycia, cito veni; præte Satyri omnes videntur non homines, nullo loco solus es, &c. ³ Lib. 8, de amico, alterius affectui se totum componit, totus placere studet, et ipsius animam amatæ pedissequam facit. ⁴ Cy-

ropæd. l. 5, amor servitus, et qui amant optant eo liberari non secus ac alio quovis morbo, neque liberari tamen possunt, sed validiori necessitate ligati sunt quam si in ferrea vincula coniecti forent.

cannot, but are harder bound than if they were in iron chains." What greater captivity or slavery can there be (as ¹ Tully expostulates) than to be in love? "Is he a free man over whom a woman domineers, to whom she prescribes laws, commands, forbids what she will herself; that dares deny nothing she demands; she asks, he gives; she calls, he comes; she threatens, he fears; *Nequissimum hunc servum puto*, I account this man a very drudge." And as he follows it, ² "Is this no small servitude for an enamourite to be every hour combing his head, stiffening his beard, perfuming his hair, washing his face with sweet water, painting, curling, and not to come abroad but sprucely crowned, decked, and apparelled?" Yet these are but toys in respect, to go to the barber, baths, theatres, &c., he must attend upon her wherever she goes, run along the streets by her doors and windows to see her, take all opportunities, sleeveless errands, disguise, counterfeit shapes, and as many forms as Jupiter himself ever took; and come every day to her house (as he will surely do if he be truly enamoured) and offer her service, and follow her up and down from room to room, as Lucretia's suitors did, he cannot contain himself but he will do it, he must and will be where she is, sit next her, still talking with her. ³ "If I did but let my glove fall by chance" (as the said Aretine's Lucretia brags), "I had one of my suitors, nay two or three at once ready to stoop and pick it up, and kiss it, and with a low *congé* deliver it unto me; if I would walk, another was ready to sustain me by the arm. A third to provide fruits, pears, plums, cherries, or whatsoever I would eat or drink." All this and much more he doth in her presence, and when he comes home, as Troilus to his Cressida, 'tis all his meditation to recount with himself his actions, words, gestures, what entertainment he had, how kindly she

¹ In paradoxis, An ille mihi liber videtur cui mulier imperat? Cui leges imponit, præscribit, jubet, vetat quod videtur. Qui nihil imperanti negat, nihil audet, &c., poscit? dandum; vocat? veniendum; minatur? extimiscendum.

² Illane parva est servitus amatorum

singulis fere horis pectine capillum, calamistroque barbam componere, faciem aquis redolentibus diluere, &c. ³ Si quando in pavementum incautius quid mihi excidisset, elevare idem quam promptissime, nec nisi osculo compacto mihi commendare, &c.

used him in such a place, how she smiled, how she graced him, and that infinitely pleased him; and then he breaks out, O sweet Areusa, O my dearest Antiphila, O most divine looks, O lovely graces, and thereupon instantly he makes an epigram, or a sonnet to five or seven tunes, in her commendation, or else he ruminates how she rejected his service, denied him a kiss, disgraced him, &c., and that as effectually torments him. And these are his exercises between comb and glass, madrigals, elegies, &c., these his cogitations till he see her again. But all this is easy and gentle, and the least part of his labour and bondage, no hunter will take such pains for his game, fowler for his sport, or soldier to sack a city, as he will for his mistress's favour.

¹ "Ipsa comes veniam, neque me salebrosa movebunt
Saxa, nec obliquo dente timendus aper."

As Phædra to Hippolytus. No danger shall affright, for if that be true the poets feign, Love is the son of Mars and Venus; as he hath delights, pleasures, elegancies from his mother, so hath he hardness, valour, and boldness from his father. And 'tis true that Bernard hath; *Amore nihil mollius, nihil violentius*, nothing so boisterous, nothing so tender as love. If once, therefore, enamoured, he will go, run, ride many a mile to meet her, day and night, in a very dark night, endure scorching heat, cold, wait in frost and snow, rain, tempest, till his teeth chatter in his head, those northern winds and showers cannot cool or quench his flame of love. *Intempestâ nocte non deterretur*, he will, take my word, sustain hunger, thirst, *Penetrabit omnia, perrumpet omnia*, "love will find out a way," through thick and thin he will to her, *Expeditissimi montes videntur annes tranabiles*, he will swim through an ocean, ride post over the Alps, Apennines, or Pyrenean hills,

² "Ignem marisque fluctus, atque turbines
Venti paratus est transire,"

though it rain daggers with their points downward, light or

¹ "Nor will the rude rocks affright me, shall not visit my mistress in pleasant nor the crooked tusked-boar, so that I mood." ² Plutarchus, amat. dial.

dark, all is one :—(*Roscida per tenebras Faunus ad antra venit*,) for her sweet sake he will undertake Hercules's twelve labours, endure, hazard, &c., he feels it not. ¹“What shall I say,” saith Hædus, “of their great dangers they undergo, single combats they undertake, how they will venture their lives, creep in at windows, gutters, climb over walls to come to their sweethearts,” (anointing the doors and hinges with oil, because they should not creak, tread soft, swim, wade, watch, &c.,) “and if they be surprised, leap out at windows, cast themselves headlong down, bruising or breaking their legs or arms, and sometimes losing life itself,” as Calisto did for his lovely Melibæa. Hear some of their own confessions, protestations, complaints, proffers, expostulations, wishes, brutish attempts, labours in this kind. Hercules served Omphale, put on an apron, took a distaff and spun; Thraso the soldier was so submissive to Thais, that he was resolved to do whatever she enjoined. ²*Ego me Thaidi dedam, et faciam quod jubet*, I am at her service. Philostratus in an epistle to his mistress, ³“I am ready to die, sweetheart, if it be thy will; allay his thirst whom thy star hath scorched and undone, the fountains and rivers deny no man drink that comes; the fountain doth not say thou shalt not drink, nor the apple thou shalt not eat, nor the fair meadow walk not in me, but thou alone wilt not let me come near thee, or see thee, contemned and despised I die for grief.” Polienus, when his mistress Circe did but frown upon him in Petronius, drew his sword, and bade her ⁴kill, stab, or whip him to death, he would strip himself naked, and not resist. Another will take a journey to Japan, *Longæ navigationis molestis non curans*; a third (if she say it) will not speak a word for a twelvemonth's space, her command shall be most inviolably kept; a fourth will take Hercules's

¹ Lib. 1, de contem. amor. quid referam eorum pericula et clades, qui in amicarum ædes per fenestras ingressi stillicidum aque egressi indeque deturbati, sed aut præcipites, membra frangunt, collidunt, aut animam amittunt. ² Ter. Eunuch. Act. 5, Scen. 8. ³ Paratus sum ad

obeundum mortem, si tu jubeas; hanc sitim æstuantis sedit, quem tuum sidus perdidit, aquæ et fontes non negant, &c. ⁴ Si occidere placet, ferrum meum vides, si verberibus contenta es, curro nudus ad pœnam.

club from him, and with that centurion in the Spanish ¹ Cœlestina, will kill ten men for his mistress Areusa, for a word of her mouth he will cut bucklers in two like pippins, and flap down men like flies, *Elige quo mortis genere illum occidi cupis*. ² Galeatus of Mantua did a little more : for when he was almost mad for love of a fair maid in the city, she, to try him belike what he would do for her sake, bade him in jest leap into the river Po if he loved her ; he forthwith did leap headlong off the bridge and was drowned. Another at Ficinum in like passion, when his mistress by chance (thinking no harm I dare swear) bade him go hang, the next night at her doors hanged himself. ³ “Money (saith Xenophon) is a very acceptable and welcome guest, yet I had rather give it my dear Clinia than take it of others, I had rather serve him than command others, I had rather be his drudge than take my ease, undergo any danger for his sake than live in security. For I had rather see Clinia than all the world besides, and had rather want the sight of all other things than him alone ; I am angry with the night and sleep that I may not see him, and thank the light and sun because they show me my Clinia ; I will run into the fire for his sake, and if you did but see him, I know that you likewise would run with me.” So Philostratus to his mistress, ⁴ “Command me what you will, I will do it ; bid me go to sea, I am gone in an instant, take so many stripes, I am ready, run through the fire, and lay down my life and soul at thy feet, ’tis done.” So did Æolus to Juno.

“Tuus ô regina quod optas
Explorare labor, mihi jussa capessere fas est.”

“O queen it is thy pains to enjoy me still,
And I am bound to execute thy will.”

¹ Act. 15, 18. Impera mihi; occidam decem viros, &c. ² Gasper Ens. puellam miserè deperiens, per jocum ab eâ in Padum desilire jussus statim e ponte se præcipitavit. Alius Ficino insano amore ardens ab amicâ jussus se suspendere, illico fecit. ³ Intelligo pecuniam rem esse jucundissimam, meam tamen libentius darem Clinia quam ab aliis accipere; libentius huic servirem, quam aliis

imperarem, &c. Noctem et somnum acuso, quod illum non videam, luci autem et soli gratiam habeo quod mihi Cliniam ostendant. Ego etiam cum Clinia in ignem currerem; et scio vos quoque mecum ingressuros si videretis. ⁴ Impera quidvis; navigare jube, navem conscendo; plagas accipere, plector; animam profundere, in ignem currere, non recuso, lubens facio.

And Phædra to Hippolytus,

"Me vel sororem Hippolytę aut famulam voca,
Famulamque potius, omne servitium feram."

"O call me sister, call me servant, choose,
Or rather servant, I am thine to use."

¹ "Non me per altas ire si jubeas nives,
Pigeat gelatis ingredi Pindi jugis,
Non si per ignes ire aut infesta agmina
Cuncter, paratus ² ensibus pectus dare,
Te tunc jubere, me decet jussa exequi."

"It shall not grieve me to the snowy hills,
Or frozen Pindus's tops forthwith to climb,
Or run through fire, or through an army,
Say but the word, for I am always thine."

Callicratides in ³ Lucian breaks out into this passionate speech, "O God of Heaven, grant me this life forever to sit over against my mistress, and to hear her sweet voice, to go in and out with her, to have every other business common with her; I would labour when she labours; sail when she sails; he that hates her should hate me; and if a tyrant kill her, he should kill me; if she should die, I would not live, and one grave should hold us both." ⁴*Finiet illa meos moriens morientis amores.* Abrocomus in ⁵ Aristænetus makes the like petition for his Delphia,—⁶*Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam lubens.* "I desire to live with thee, and I am ready to die with thee." 'Tis the same strain which Theagines used to his Chariclea, "so that I may but enjoy thy love, let me die presently;" Leander to his Hero, when he besought the sea waves to let him go quietly to his love, and kill him coming back. ⁷*Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo.* "Spare me whilst I go, drown me as I return." 'Tis the common

¹ Seneca, in Hipp. act. 2. ² Hujus ero vivus, mortuus hujus ero. Propert. lib. 2, vivam si vivat; si cadat illa, cadam. Id. ³ Dial. Amorum. Mihi ô dii cælestes ultra sit vita hæc perpetua ex adverso amicæ sedere, et suave loquentem audire, &c., si moriatur, vivere non sus-

tinebo, et idem erit sepulchrum utrisque. ⁴ Buchanan. "When she dies my love shall also be at rest in the tomb." ⁵ Epist. 21. Sit hoc votum a diis amare Delphidem, ab eâ amari, adloqui pulchram et loquentem audire. ⁶ Hor. ⁷ Mart.

humour of them all, to condemn death, to wish for death, to confront death in this case, *Quippe quæ nec fera, nec ignis, neque præcipitium, nec fretum, nec ensis, neque laqueus gravia videntur*; "'Tis their desire" (saith Tyrius) "to die."

"Haud timet mortem, cupit ire in ipsos
obvius enses."

"He does not fear death, he desireth such upon the very swords." Though a thousand dragons or devils keep the gates, Cerberus himself, Scyron and Procrustes lay in wait, and the way as dangerous, as inaccessible as hell, through fiery flames and over burning coulters, he will adventure for all this. And as ¹Peter Abelard lost his testicles for his Heloise, he will I say not venture an incision, but life itself. For how many gallants offered to lose their lives for a night's lodging with Cleopatra in those days! and in the hour or moment of death, 'tis their sole comfort to remember their dear mistress, as ²Zerbino slain in France, and Brandimart in Barbary; as Arcite did his Emily.

³ "when he felt death,
Dusked been his eyes, and faded is his breath,
But on his lady yet casteth he his eye,
His last word was, mercy Emily.
His spirit changed, and out went there,
Whither I cannot tell, ne where.

⁴ When Captain Gobrius by an unlucky accident had received his death's wound, *heu me miserum exclamat*, miserable man that I am, (instead of other devotions,) he cries out, shall I die before I see my sweetheart Rodanthe? *Sic amor mortem* (saith mine author) *aut quicquid humanitus accidit, aspernatur*, so love triumphs, contemns, insults over death itself. Thirteen proper young men lost their lives for that fair Hippodamias's sake, the daughter of Onomaus, king of Elis; when

¹ Lege Calamitates Pet. Abelhardi Prodromus, Amorum, lib. 6. Interpret. Epist. prima. ² Ariosto. ³ Chaucer, in the Knight's Tale. ⁴ Theodorus Gaulmino.

that hard condition was proposed of death or victory, they made no account of it, but courageously for love died, till Pelops at last won her by a sleight. ¹ As many gallants desperately adventured their dearest blood for Atalanta, the daughter of Schenius, in hope of marriage, all vanquished and overcame, till Hippomenes by a few golden apples happily obtained his suit. Perseus, of old, fought with a sea-monster for Andromeda's sake; and our St. George freed the king's daughter of Sabea (the golden legend is mine author) that was exposed to a dragon, by a terrible combat. Our knights-errant, and the Sir Lancelots of these days, I hope will adventure as much for ladies' favours as the Squire of Dames, Knight of the Sun, Sir Bevis of Southampton, or that renowned peer,

² " Orlando, who long time had loved dear
Angelica the fair, and for her sake
About the world in nations far and near,
Did high attempts perform and undertake."

he is a very dastard, a coward, a block and a beast, that will not do as much, but they will sure, they will; for it is an ordinary thing for these inamoratos of our time to say and do more, to stab their arms, carouse in blood, ³ or as that Thessalian Thero, that bit off his own thumb, *provocans rivallem ad hoc æmulandum*, to make his corrival do as much. 'Tis frequent with them to challenge the field for their lady and mistress's sake, to run a tilt,

⁴ " That either bears (so furiously they meet)
The other down under the horses' feet,"

and then up and to it again,

" And with their axes both so sorely pour,
That neither plate nor mail sustain'd the stour,
But riveld wreak like rotten wood asunder,
And fire did flash like lightning after thunder;"

¹ Ovid. 10 Met. Higinius, c. 185. dial. amor. ⁴ Faerie Queene, cant. 1,
² Ariost. lib. 1, Cant. 1, staff. 5. ³ Plut. lib. 4, et cant. 3, lib. 4.

and in her quarrel, to fight so long ¹ "till their headpiece, bucklers be all broken, and swords hacked like so many saws," for they must not see her abused in any sort, 'tis blasphemy to speak against her, a dishonour without all good respect to name her. 'Tis common with these creatures, to drink ² healths upon their bare knees, though it were a mile to the bottom, no matter of what mixture, off it comes. If she bid them they will go barefoot to Jerusalem, to the great Cham's court, ³ to the East Indies to fetch her a bird to wear in her hat; and with Drake and Cavendish sail round about the world for her sweet sake, *adversis ventis*, serve twice seven years as Jacob did for Rachel; do as much as ⁴ Gessmunda, the daughter of Tancredus, prince of Salerna, did for Guisardus, her true love, eat his heart when he died; or as Artemesia drank her husband's bones beaten to powder, and so bury him in herself, and endure more torments than Theseus or Paris. *Et his colitur Venus magis quam thure, et victimis*, with such sacrifices as these (as ⁵ Aristænetus holds) Venus is well pleased. Generally they undertake any pain, any labour, any toil, for their mistress's sake, love and admire a servant, not to her alone, but to all her friends and followers, they hug and embrace them for her sake; her dog, picture, and everything she wears, they adore it as a relic. If any man come from her, they feast him, reward him, will not be out of his company, do him all offices, still remembering, still talking of her:

⁶ "Nam si abest quod ames, presto simulacra tamen sunt Illius, et nomen dulce observatur ad aures."

The very carrier, that comes from him to her is a most welcome guest; and if he bring a letter, she will read it twenty times over, and as ⁷ Lucretia did by Euryalus, "kiss

¹ Dum cassis pertusa, ensis instar Serre excisus, scutum, &c. Barthius, Cœlestina. ² Lesbia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur. ³ As Xanthus for the love of Eurippe, omnem Europam peragravit. Parthenius, Erot. cap. 8.

⁴ Beroaldus, e Boccaccio. ⁵ Epist. 17, l. 2.

⁶ Lucretius. "For if the object of your love be absent, her image is present, and her sweet name is still familiar in my ears."

⁷ Æneas Sylvius: Lucretia quum accepit Euryali literas hilaris sta

the letter a thousand times together, and then read it ;” And
¹ Chelidonia by Philonius, after many sweet kisses, put the
 letter in her bosom,

“ And kiss again, and often look thereon,
 And stay the messenger that would be gone : ”

And ask many pretty questions, over and over again, as how
 he looked, what he did, and what he said ? In a word,

² “ Vult placere sese amicæ, vult mihi, vult pedissequæ,
 Vult famulis, vult etiam ancillis, et catulo meo.”

“ He strives to please his mistress, and her maid,
 Her servants, and her dog, and ’s well apaid.”

If he get any remnant of hers, a busk-point, a feather of her
 fan, a shoetie, a lace, a ring, a bracelet of hair,

³ “ Pignusque direptum lacertis;
 Aut digito malè pertinaci,”

he wears it for a favour on his arm, in his hat, finger, or next
 his heart. Her picture he adores twice a day, and for two
 hours together will not look off it ; as Laodamia did by Pro-
 tesilaus, when he went to war, ⁴ “ ‘ sit at home with his pic-
 ture before her : ’ a garter or a bracelet of hers is more
 precious than any saint’s relic,” he lays it up in his casket
 (O blessed relic), and every day will kiss it ; if in her pres-
 ence, his eye is never off her, and drink he will where she
 drank, if it be possible, in that very place, &c. If absent,
 he will walk in the walk, sit under that tree where she did
 use to sit, in that bower, in that very seat,—*et foribus miser*
oscula figit,⁵ many years after sometimes, though she be far
 distant and dwell many miles off, he loves yet to walk that
 way still, to have his chamber window look that way ; to walk

tim milliesque papium basiavit. ¹ Me-
 diis inseruit papillis litteram ejus, mille
 prius pangens suavia. Arist. 2, epist. 13.
² Plautus, Asinar. ³ Hor. ⁴ “ Some
 token snatched from her arm or her

gently resisting finger.” ⁴ Illa domi
 sedens imaginem ejus fixis oculis assidue
 conspicata. ⁵ “ And distracted will
 imprint kisses on the doors.”

by that river's side, which (though far away) runs by the house where she dwells, he loves the wind blows to that coast.

¹ "O quoties dixi Zephyris properantibus illuc,
Felices pulchram visuri Amaryllida venti."

"O happy western winds that blow that way,
For you shall see my love's fair face to-day."

He will send a message to her by the wind,

² "Vos auræ Alpinæ, placidis de montibus auræ,
Hæc illi portate,"

³ he desires to confer with some of her acquaintance, for his heart is still with her, ⁴ to talk of her, admiring and commending her, lamenting, moaning, wishing himself anything for her sake, to have opportunity to see her, O that he might but enjoy her presence! So did Philostratus to his mistress, ⁵ "O happy ground on which she treads, and happy were I if she would tread upon me. I think her countenance would make the rivers stand, and when she comes abroad, birds will sing and come about her."

"Ridebunt valles, ridebunt obvia Tempe,
In florem viridis protinus ibit humus."

"The fields will laugh, the pleasant valleys burn,
And all the grass will into flowers turn."

Omnis Ambrosiam spirabit aura. ⁶ "When she is in the meadow, she is fairer than any flower, for that lasts but for a day, the river is pleasing, but it vanisheth on a sudden, but thy flower doth not fade, thy stream is greater than the sea. If I look upon the heaven, methinks I see the sun fallen down to shine below, and thee to shine in his place, whom I desire. If I look upon the night, methinks I see two more glorious stars, Hesperus and thyself." A little after he thus

¹ Buchanan, Sylva. ² Fracastorius Naugerio. "Ye alpine winds, ye mountain breezes, bear these gifts to her."

³ Happy servants that serve her, happy men that are in her company. ⁴ Non ipsos solum sed ipsorum memoriam

amant. Lucian. ⁵ Epist. O ter

felix solum! beatus ego, si me calcaveris; vultus tuus amnes sistere potest, &c. ; ⁶ Idem epist. in prato cum sit, flores superat; illi pulchri sed unius tantum diei; fluvius gratus sed evanescit, at tuus fluvius mari major. Si cælum aspicio, solem existimo cecidisse, et

courts his mistress, ¹“ If thou goest forth of the city, the protecting gods that keep the town will run after to gaze upon thee ; if thou sail upon the seas, as so many small boats, they will follow thee ; what river would not run into the sea ? ”

Another, he sighs and sobs, swears he hath *Cor scissum*, a heart bruised to powder, dissolved and melted within him, or quite gone from him, to his mistress's bosom belike, he is in an oven, a salamander in the fire, so scorched with love's heat ; he wisheth himself a saddle for her to sit on, a posy for her to smell to, and it would not grieve him to be hanged, if he might be strangled in her garters ; he would willingly die to-morrow, so that she might kill him with her own hands.

² Ovid would be a flea, a gnat, a ring, Catullus a sparrow,

* “ O si tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem,
Et tristes animi levare curas.”

³ Anacreon a glass, a gown, a chain, anything,

“ Sed speculum ego ipse fiam,
Ut me tuum usque cernas,
Et vestis ipse fiam,
Ut me tuum usque gestes.
Mutari et opto in undam,
Lavem tuos ut artus,
Nardus puella fiam,
Ut ego teipsam inungam,
Sim fascia in papillis,
Tuo et monile collo,
Fiamque calceus, me
Saltem ut pede usque calces.”

⁴ “ But I a looking-glass would be,
Still to be look'd upon by thee,
Or I, my love, would be thy gown,
By thee to be worn up and down ;
Or a pure well full to the brims,
That I might wash thy purer limbs :
Or, I'd be precious balm to 'noint,

in terrâ ambulare, &c. ¹ Si civitate egrederis, sequentur te dii custodes, spectaculo commoti ; si naviges, sequentur ; quis fluvius salum tuum non rigaret ? ² El. 15, 2. * “ Oh, if I might

only dally with thee, and alleviate the wasting sorrows of my mind.” ³ Carm. 30. ⁴ Englished by M. B. Holliday, in his Technog. act. 1, scen. 7.

With choicest care each choicest joint;
 Or, if I might, I would be fain
 About thy neck thy happy chain,
 Or would it were my blessed hap
 To be the lawn o'er thy fair pap.
 Or would I were thy shoe, to be
 Daily trod upon by thee."

O thrice happy man that shall enjoy her: as they that saw
 Hero in Musæus, and ¹ Salmacis to Hermaphroditus,

² "Felices mater, &c., felix nutrix.——
 Sed longè cunctis, longèque beatior ille,
 Quem fructu sponsi et socii dignabere lecti."

The same passion made her break out in the comedy, ³ *Næ illæ fortunatæ sunt quæ cum illo cubant*, "happy are his bed-fellows;" and as she said of Cyprus, ⁴ *Beata quæ illi uxor futura esset*, blessed is that woman that shall be his wife, nay, thrice happy she that shall enjoy him but a night. ⁵ *Una nox Jovis sceptro æquiparanda*, such a night's lodging is worth Jupiter's sceptre.

⁶ "Qualis nox erit illa, dii, deæque,
 Quam mollis thorus?"

"O what a blissful night would it be, how soft, how sweet a bed!" She will adventure all her estate for such a night, for a nectarean, a balsam kiss alone.

"Qui te videt beatus est,
 Beatior qui te audiet,
 Qui te potitur est Deus." ⁷

The sultan of Sana's wife in Arabia, when she had seen Vertomannus, that comely traveller, lamented to herself in this manner, ⁸ "O God, thou hast made this man whiter than the

¹ Ovid. Met. lib. 4. ² Xenophon, Cyropæd. lib. 5. ³ Plautus, de milite.
⁴ Lucian. ⁵ E Græco Ruf. ⁶ Petronius.
⁷ "He is happy who sees thee, more happy who hears, a god who enjoys thee."
⁸ Lod. Vertomannus, navig. lib. 2, c. 5, O deus, hunc creâsti sole candidiorem, e diverso me, et conjugem meum, et natos meos omnes nigricantes. Utinam hic, &c. Ibit Gazella, Tegeia, Galzerana, et promissis oneravit, et donis, &c.

sun, but me, mine husband, and all my children black ; I would to God he were my husband, or that I had such a son ;” she fell a weeping, and so impatient for love at last, that (as Potiphar’s wife did by Joseph) she would have had him gone in with her, she sent away Gazella, Tegeia, Galzerana, her waiting-maids, loaded him with fair promises and gifts, and wooed him with all the rhetoric she could——*extremum hoc miseræ da munus amanti*, “grant this last request to a wretched lover.” But when he gave not consent, she would have gone with him, and left all, to be his page, his servant, or his lackey, *Certa sequi charum corpus ut umbra solet*, so that she might enjoy him, threatening moreover to kill herself, &c. Men will do as much and more for women, spend goods, lands, lives, fortunes ; kings will leave their crowns, as King John for Matilda the nun at Dunmow.

1 “ But kings in this yet privileg’d may be,
I’ll be a monk so I may live with thee.”

The very gods will endure any shame, (*atque aliquis de diis non tristibus inquit*, &c.,) be a spectacle as Mars and Venus were, to all the rest ; so did Lucian’s Mercury wish, and per-adventure so dost thou. They will adventure their lives with alacrity——²——*pro quâ non metuum mori*——nay more, *pro quâ non metuum bis mori*, I will die twice, nay, twenty times for her. If she die, there’s no remedy, they must die with her, they cannot help it. A lover in Calcagninus, wrote this on his darling’s tomb,

“ Quincia obiit, sed non Quincia sola obiit,
Quincia obiit, sed cum Quinciâ et ipse obii ;
Risus obit, obit gratia, lusus obit,
Nec mea nunc anima in pectore, at in tumulto est.”

“ Quincia my dear is dead, but not alone,
For I am dead, and with her I am gone :
Sweet smiles, mirth, graces, all with her do rest,
And my soul too, for ’tis not in my breast.”

1 M. D. 2 Hor. Ode 9, lib. 3.

How many doting lovers upon the like occasion might say the same? But these are toys in respect, they will hazard their very soul for their mistress's sake.

"Atque aliquis inter juvenes miratus est, et verbum dixit,
Non ego in cœlo cuperem Deus esse,
Nostram uxorem habens domi Hero."

"One said, to heaven would I not
desire at all to go,
If that at mine own house I had
such a fine wife as Hero."

Venus forsook heaven for Adonis's sake——¹ *cœlo præfertur Adonis*. Old Janivere, in Chaucer, thought when he had his fair May he should never go to heaven, he should live so merrily here on earth; had I such a mistress, he protests,

² "Cœlum diis ego non suum inviderem,
Sed sortem mihi dii meam inviderent."

"I would not envy their prosperity,
The gods should envy my felicity."

Another as earnestly desires to behold his sweetheart, he will adventure and leave all this, and more than this to see her alone.

³ "Omnia quæ patior mala si pensare velit fors,
Unâ aliquâ nobis prosperitate, dii,
Hoc precor, ut faciant, faciant me cernere coram,
Cor mihi captivum quæ tenet hocce, deam."

"If all my mischiefs were recompensed,
And God would give me what I requested,
I would my mistress's presence only seek,
Which doth mine heart in prison captive keep."

But who can reckon upon the dotage, madness, servitude, and blindness, the foolish phantasms and vanities of lovers, their torments, wishes, idle attempts?

Yet for all this, amongst so many irksome, absurd, trouble-

¹ Ov. Met. 10.

² Buchanan. Hendecasyll.

³ Petrarch.

some symptoms, inconveniences, fantastical fits and passions which are usually incident to such persons, there be some good and graceful qualities in lovers, which this affection causeth. "As it makes wise men fools, so many times it makes fools become wise; ¹it makes base fellows become generous, cowards courageous," as Cardan notes out of Plutarch; "covetous, liberal and magnificent; clowns, civil; cruel, gentle; wicked profane persons to become religious; slovens, neat; churls, merciful; and dumb dogs, eloquent; your lazy drones, quick and nimble." *Feras mentes domat cupido*, that fierce, cruel, and rude Cyclops Polyphemus sighed, and shed many a salt tear for Galatea's sake. No passion causeth greater alterations, or more vehement of joy or discontent. Plutarch. *Sympos. lib. 5, quæst. 1*, ²saith, "that the soul of a man in love is full of perfumes and sweet odours, and all manner of pleasing tones and tunes, insomuch that it is hard to say (as he adds) whether love do mortal men more harm than good." It adds spirits and makes them, otherwise soft and silly, generous and courageous, ³*Audacem faciebat amor*. Ariadne's love made Theseus so adventurous, and Medea's beauty Jason so victorious; *expectorat amor timorem*. ⁴Plato is of the opinion that the love of Venus made Mars so valorous. "A young man will be much abashed to commit any foul offence that shall come to the hearing or sight of his mistress." As ⁵he that desired of his enemy now dying, to lay him with his face upward, *ne amasius videret eum a tergo vulneratum*, lest his sweetheart should say he was a coward, "And if it were ⁶possible to have an army consist of lovers, such as love, or are beloved, they would be extraordinary valiant and wise in their government, modesty would detain them from doing amiss, emulation incite them to do that

¹ Cardan. lib. 2, de sap. ex villibus generosos efficere solet, ex timidis audaces, ex avaris splendidos, ex agrestibus civiles, ex crudelibus mansuetos, ex impiis religiosos, ex sordidis nitidos atque cultos, ex duris misericordes, ex mutis eloquentes.
² Anima hominis amore capti tota referta suffitibus et odoribus: I æanes resonat, &c.

³ Ovid. ⁴ In Convivio: amor Veneris Martem detinet, et fortem facit; adolescentem maxime erubescere ceruimus quum amatrix eum turpe quid committentem offendit. ⁵ Plutarch. Amator. dial. ⁶ Si quo pacto fieri civitas aut exercitus posset partim ex his qui amant, partim ex his, &c.

which is good and honest, and a few of them would overcome a great company of others." There is no man so pusillanimous, so very a dastard, whom love would not incense, make of a divine temper, and an heroical spirit. As he said in like case, ¹*Tota ruat cæli moles, non terreor*, &c. Nothing can terrify, nothing can dismay them. But as Sir Blandimor and Paridel, those two brave fairy knights, fought for the love of fair Florimel in presence—

²" And drawing both their swords with rage anew,
Like two mad mastives each other slew,
And shields did share, and males did rash, and helms did hew:
So furiously each other did assail,
As if their souls at once they would have rent,
Out of their breasts, that streams of blood did trail
Adown as if their springs of life were spent,
That all the ground with purple blood was sprent,
And all their armour stained with bloody gore,
Yet scarcely once to breathe would they relent.
So mortal was their malice and so sore,
That both resolved (than yield) to die before."

Every base swain in love will dare to do as much for his dear mistress's sake. He will fight and fetch ³*Argivum Clypeum*, that famous buckler of Argos, to do her service, adventure at all, undertake any enterprise. And as Serranus the Spaniard, then Governor of Sluys, made answer to Marquis Spinola, if the enemy brought 50,000 devils against him he would keep it. The nine worthies, Oliver and Rowland, and forty dozen of peers are all in him, he is all mettle, armour of proof, more than a man, and in this case improved beyond himself. For as ⁴*Agatho* contends, a true lover is wise, just, temperate, and valiant. ⁵"I doubt not, therefore, but if a man had such an army of lovers (as Castilio supposeth) he might soon conquer all the world, except by chance he met with such another army of inamoratos to oppose it." ⁶For so perhaps they might fight as that fatal dog and fatal hare in

¹ Angerianus. ² Faerie Qu. lib. 4, cant. 2. ³ Zened. preverb. cont. 6.
⁴ Plat. Conviv. ⁵ Lib. 3, de Aulico, non dubito quin is qui talem exercitum haberet, totius orbis statim victor esset,

nisi forte cum aliquo exercitu configendum esset in quo omnes amatores essent. ⁶ Hyginus, de cane et lepore cœlesti, et decinator.

the heavens, course one another round, and never make an end. Castilio thinks Ferdinand King of Spain would never have conquered Granada, had not Queen Isabel and her ladies been present at the siege: ¹“It cannot be expressed what courage the Spanish knights took when the ladies were present, a few Spaniards overcame a multitude of Moors.” They will undergo any danger whatsoever, as Sir Walter Manny in Edward the Third’s time, stuck full of ladies’ favours, fought like a dragon. For *solī amantes*, as ² Plato holds, *pro amicis mori appetunt*, only lovers will die for their friends, and in their mistress’s quarrel. And for that cause he would have women follow the camp, to be spectators and encouragers of noble actions; upon such an occasion, the ³ Squire of Dames himself, Sir Lancelot or Sir Tristram, Cæsar, or Alexander, shall not be more resolute or go beyond them.

Not courage only doth love add, but as I said, subtlety, wit, and many pretty devices, ⁴*Namque dolos inspirat amor, fraudesque ministrat*, ⁵Jupiter in love with Leda, and not knowing how to compass his desire, turned himself into a swan, and got Venus to pursue him in the likeness of an eagle; which she doing, for shelter, he fled to Leda’s lap, *et in ejus gremio se collocavit*, Leda embraced him, and so fell fast asleep, *sed dormientem Jupiter compressit*, by which means Jupiter had his will. Infinite such tricks love can devise, such fine feasts in abundance, with wisdom and wariness, ⁶*quis fallere possit amantem*. All manner of civility, decency, compliment and good behaviour, *plus salis et leporis*, polite graces and merry conceits. Boccaccio hath a pleasant tale to this purpose, which he borrowed from the Greeks, and which Beroaldus hath turned into Latin, Bebelius in verse, of Cymon and Iphigenia. This Cymon was a fool, a proper man of person, and the governor of Cyprus’s son, but a very ass, insomuch that his father being ashamed of him, sent him

¹ Vix dici potest quantam inde audaciam assumerent Hispani, inde pauci infuitas Maurorum copias superarunt.

² Lib. 5, de legibus. ³ Spenser’s Faerie Queene, 3 book, cant. 8. ⁴ Hyginus,

1. 2. “For love both inspires us with stratagems, and suggests to us frauds.”

⁵ Aratus, in Phœnom. ⁶ Virg. “Who can deceive a lover.”

to a farm-house he had in the country, to be brought up. Where by chance, as his manner was, walking alone, he espied a gallant young gentlewoman, named Iphigenia, a burgomaster's daughter of Cyprus, with her maid, by a brook side in a little thicket, fast asleep in her smock, where she had newly bathed herself; "When ¹Cymon saw her, he stood leaning on his staff, gaping on her immovable, and in amaze;" at last he fell so far in love with the glorious object, that he began to rouse himself up, to bethink what he was, would needs follow her to the city, and for her sake began to be civil, to learn to sing and dance, to play on instruments, and got all those gentlemanlike qualities and compliments in a short space, which his friends were most glad of. In brief he became, from an idiot and a clown, to be one of the most complete gentlemen in Cyprus, did many valorous exploits, and all for the love of mistress Iphigenia. In a word, I may say thus much of them all, let them be never so clownish, rude and horrid, Grobians and sluts, if once they be in love they will be most neat and spruce; for, ²*Omnibus rebus, et nitidis nitoribus antevenit amor*, they will follow the fashion, begin to trick up, and to have a good opinion of themselves, *venustatum enim mater Venus*; a ship is not so long a rigging as a young gentlewoman a trimming up herself against her sweetheart comes. A painter's shop, a flowery meadow, no so gracious aspect in nature's storehouse as a young maid, *nubilis puella*, a Novitsa or Venetian bride, that looks for a husband, or a young man that is her suitor; composed looks, composed gait, clothes, gestures, actions, all composed; all the graces, elegances in the world are in her face. Their best robes, ribbons, chains, jewels, lawns, linens, laces, spangles, must come on, ³*præter quam res patitur student elegantiaë*, they are beyond all measure coy, nice, and too curious on a sudden; 'tis all their study, all their business, how to wear their clothes neat, to be polite and terse, and to set out them-

¹ Hanc ubi conspicatus est Cymon, abundus, &c. ² Plautus, Casina, act. baculo innixus, immobilis stetit. et mir- 2, sc. 4. ³ Plautus.

selves. No sooner doth a young man see his sweetheart coming, but he smugs up himself, pulls up his cloak now fallen about his shoulders, ties his garters, points, sets his band, cuffs, slicks his hair, twires his beard, &c. When Mercury was to come before his mistress,

¹ "Chlamydemque ut pendeat aptè
Collocat, ut limbus totumque appareat aurum."

"He puts his cloak in order, that the lace,
And hem, and gold-work all might have his grace."

Salmacis would not be seen of Hermaphroditus, till she had spruced up herself first.

² "Nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire,
Quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus,
Et finxit vultum, et meruit formosa videri."

"Nor did she come, although 'twas her desire,
Till she composed herself, and trimm'd her tire,
And set her looks to make him to admire."

Venus had so ordered the matter, that when her son
³ Æneas was to appear before Queen Dido, he was

"Os humerosque deo similis (namque ipsa decoram
Cæsariem nato genetrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum et lætos oculis afflarat honores.)"

like a god, for she was the tirewoman herself, to set him out with all natural and artificial impostures. As mother Mamea did her son Heliogabalus, new chosen emperor, when he was to be seen of the people first. When the hirsute Cyclophical Polyphemus courted Galatea ;

⁴ "Jamque tibi formæ, jamque est tibi cura placendi,
Jam rigidos pectis rastris Polypheme capillos,
Jam libet hirsutam tibi falce recidere barbam,
Et spectare feros in aquâ et componere vultus."

¹ Ovid. Met. 2. ² Ovid. Met. 4. stowed upon him the lovely bloom of
³ Virg. 1 Æn. "He resembled a god as youth, and given the happiest lustre to
to his head and shoulders, for his mother his eyes." ⁴ Ovid. Met. 13.
had made his hair seem beautiful, be-

“ And then he did begin to prank himself,
To plait and comb his head, and beard to shave,
And look his face i’ th’ water as a glass,
And to compose himself for to be brave.”

He was upon a sudden now spruce and keen, as a new-ground hatchet. He now began to have a good opinion of his own features and good parts, now to be a gallant.

“ Jam Galatea veni, nec munera despice nostra,
Certè ego me novi, liquidaque in imagine vidi
Nuper aquæ, placuitque mihi mea forma videnti.”

“ Come now, my Galatea, scorn me not,
Nor my poor presents; for but yesterday
I saw myself i’ th’ water, and methought
Full fair I was, then scorn me not I say.”

¹ “ Non sum adeo informis, nuper me in littore vidi,
Cum placidum ventis staret mare.”

’Tis the common humour of all suitors to trick up themselves, to be prodigal in apparel, *purè lotus*, neat, combed, and curled, with powdered hair, *comptus et calamistratus*, with a long love-lock, a flower in his ear, perfumed gloves, rings, scarfs, feathers, points, &c., as if he were a prince’s Ganymede, with every day new suits, as the fashion varies; going as if he trod upon eggs, and as Heinsius writ to Primicerus, ² “ if once he be besotten on a wench, he must lie awake at nights, renounce his book, sigh and lament, now and then weep for his hard hap, and mark above all things what hats, bands, doublets, breeches, are in fashion, how to cut his beard, and wear his locks, to turn up his mustachios, and curl his head, prune his pickitivant, or if he wear it abroad, that the east side be correspondent to the west; ” he may be scoffed at otherwise, as Julian that apostate emperor was for wearing a long hirsute goatish beard, fit to make ropes with, as in his Myso-

¹ Virg. Egl. 2. “ I am not so deformed, I lately saw myself in the tranquil glassy sea, as I stood upon the shore.” ² Epist. An uxor literato sit ducenda. Noctes insomnes traducendæ, literis renuncian- dum, sæpe gemendum, nonnunquam et

illacrymandum sorti et conditioni tuæ. Videndum quæ vestes, quis cultus te deceat, quis in usu sit, utrum latus barbæ, &c. Cum curâ loquendum, incedendum, bibendum et cum curâ insaniendum.

pogone, or that apologetical oration he made at Antioch to excuse himself, he doth ironically confess, it hindered his kissing, *nam non licuit inde pura puris, eoque suavioribus labra labris adjungere*, but he did not much esteem it, as it seems by the sequel, *de accipiendis dandisve osculis non laboro*, yet (to follow mine author) it may much concern a young lover, he must be more respectful in his behalf, "he must be in league with an excellent tailor, barber,"

¹ "Tonsorem puerum sed arte talem,
Qualis nec Thalamis fuit Neronis;"

"have neat shoeties, points, garters, speak in print, walk in print, eat and drink in print, and that which is all in all, he must be mad in print."

Amongst other good qualities an amorous fellow is endowed with, he must learn to sing and dance, play upon some instrument or other, as without all doubt he will, if he be truly touched with this loadstone of love. For as ² Erasmus hath it, *Musicam docet amor et Poesin*, love will make them musicians, and to compose ditties, madrigals, elegies, love sonnets, and sing them to several pretty tunes, to get all good qualities may be had. ³ Jupiter perceived Mercury to be in love with Philologia, because he learned languages, polite speech (for Suadela herself was Venus's daughter, as some write), arts and sciences, *quo virgini placeret*, all to ingratiate himself, and please his mistress. 'Tis their chiefest study to sing, dance; and without question, so many gentlemen and gentlewomen would not be so well qualified in this kind, if love did not incite them. ⁴ "Who," saith Castilio, "would learn to play, or give his mind to music, learn to dance, or make so many rhymes, lovesongs, as most do, but for women's sake, because they hope by that means to purchase their good-

¹ Mart. Epig. 5. ² Chil. 4, cent. 5, pro. 16. ³ Martianus Capella, lib. 1, de nupt. philol. Jam illum sentio amore teneri, ejusque studio plures habere comparatas in famulitio disciplinas, &c. ⁴ Lib. 3, de aulico. Quis choreis insu-

daret, nisi foeminarum causâ? Quis musicæ tantam navaret operam nisi quod illius dulcedine permulcere speret? Quis tot carmina componeret, nisi ut inde affectus suos in mulieres explicaret?

wills, and win their favour?" We see this daily verified in our young women and wives, they that being maids took so much pains to sing, play, and dance, with such cost and charge to their parents, to get those graceful qualities, now being married will scarce touch an instrument, they care not for it. Constantine, *agricult. lib. 11, cap. 18*, makes Cupid himself to be a great dancer; by the same token that he was capering amongst the gods, ¹"he flung down a bowl of nectar, which distilling upon the white rose, ever since made it red;" and Callistratus, by the help of Dædalus, about Cupid's statue, ²made a many of young wenches still a dancing, to signify belike that Cupid was much affected with it, as without all doubt he was. For at his and Psyche's wedding, the gods being present to grace the feast, Ganymede filled nectar in abundance (as ³Apuleius describes it), Vulcan was the cook, the Hours made all fine with roses and flowers, Apollo played on the harp, the Muses sang to it, *sed suavi Musicæ super ingressa Venus saltavit*, but his mother Venus danced to his and their sweet content. Witty ⁴Lucian in that pathetical love passage, or pleasant description of Jupiter's stealing of Europa, and swimming from Phœnicia to Crete, makes the sea calm, the winds hush, Neptune and Amphitrite riding in their chariot to break the waves before them, the tritons dancing round about, with every one a torch, the sea-nymphs half-naked, keeping time on dolphins' backs, and singing Hymeneus, Cupid nimbly tripping on the top of the waters, and Venus herself coming after in a shell, strewing roses and flowers on their heads. Praxiteles, in all his pictures of love, feigns Cupid ever smiling and looking upon dancers; and in Saint Mark's in Rome (whose work I know not), one of the most delicious pieces, is a many of ⁵satyrs dancing about a wench asleep. So that dancing still is as it were a necessary appendix to love mat-

¹ Craterem nectaris evertit saltans apud Deos, qui in terram cadens, rosam prius albam rubore infecit. ² Puellas choreantes circa juvenilem Cupidinis statuam fecit. Philostrat. Imag. lib. 3, de statu-
 1

Exercitium amoris aptissimum. ³ Lib. 6, Met. ⁴ Tom. 4. ⁵ Kornman. de cur. mort. part. 5, cap. 28, Sat. puellæ dormienti insultantium, &c.

ters. Young lasses are never better pleased than when as upon a holiday, after even-song, they may meet their sweethearts, and dance about a may-pole, or in a town-green under a shady elm. Nothing so familiar in ¹ France, as for citizens' wives and maids to dance a round in the streets, and often too, for want of better instruments, to make good music of their own voices, and dance after it. Yea many times this love will make old men and women that have more toes than teeth, dance,—"John, come kiss me now," mask and mum; for Comus and Hymen love masks, and all such merriments above measure, will allow men to put on women's apparel in some cases, and promiscuously to dance, young and old, rich and poor, generous and base, of all sorts. Paulus Jovius taxeth Augustine Niphus the philosopher, ² "for that being an old man and a public professor, a father of many children, he was so mad for the love of a young maid (that which many of his friends were ashamed to see), an old gouty fellow, yet would dance after fiddlers." Many laughed him to scorn for it, but this omnipotent love would have it so.

³ "Hyacinthino bacillo
Properans amor, me adegit
Violentèr ad sequendum."

"Love hasty with his purple staff did make
Me follow and the dance to undertake."

And 'tis no news this, no indecorum; for why? a good reason may be given of it. Cupid and Death met both in an inn; and being merrily disposed, they did exchange some arrows from either quiver; ever since young men die, and oftentimes old men dote—⁴ *Sic moritur Juvenis, sic moribundus amat.* And who can then withstand it? If once we be in love, young or old, though our teeth shake in our heads like virginal jacks, or stand parallel asunder like the arches of a

¹ View of Fr. ² Vita ejus. Puellæ amore septuagenarius senex usque ad insaniam correptus, multis liberis susceptis: multi non sine pudore conspexerunt senem et philosophum podagricum,

non sine risu saltantem ad tibie modos. ³ Anacreon, Carm. 7. ⁴ Joach. Bellius, Epig. "Thus youth dies, thus in death he loves."

bridge, there is no remedy, we must dance trenchmore for a need, over tables, chairs, and stools, &c. And Princum Prancum is a fine dance. Plutarch, *Sympos.* 1, *quæst.* 5, doth in some sort excuse it, and telleth us moreover in what sense, *Musicam docet amor, licet prius fuerit rudis*, how love makes them that had no skill before learn to sing and dance; he concludes, 'tis only that power and prerogative love hath over us. ¹“Love (as he holds) will make a silent man speak, a modest man most officious; dull, quick; slow, nimble; and that which is most to be admired, a hard, base, untractable churl, as fire doth iron in a smith's forge, free, facile, gentle and easy to be entreated.” Nay, 'twill make him prodigal in the other extreme, and give a ²hundred sesterces for a night's lodging, as they did of old to Lais of Corinth, or ³*ducenta drachmarum millia pro unicâ nocte*, as Mundus to Paulina, spend all his fortunes (as too many do in like case) to obtain his suit. For which cause many compare love to wine, which makes men jovial and merry, frolic and sad, whine, sing, dance, and what not.

But above all the other symptoms of lovers, this is not lightly to be overpassed, that likely of what condition soever, if once they be in love, they turn to their ability, rhymers, ballad-makers and poets. For as Plutarch saith, ⁴“They will be witnesses and trumpeters of their paramours' good parts, bedecking them with verses and commendatory songs, as we do statues with gold, that they may be remembered and admired of all.” Ancient men will dote in this kind sometimes as well as the rest; the heat of love will thaw their frozen affections, dissolve the ice of age, and so far enable them, though they be sixty years of age above the girdle, to be scarce thirty beneath. Jovianus Pontanus makes an old fool rhyme, and turn Poetaster to please his mistress.

¹ De taciturno loquacem facit, et de verecundo officiosum reddit, de negligente industrium, de socorde impigrum.

² Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 18, cap. 4.

³ Gellius, l. 1, cap. 8. Pretium noctis centum sestertia

suarum amasiarum pulchritudinis præcones ac testes esse, eas laudibus, et cantilenis et versibus exornare, ut auro statuas, ut memorentur, et ab omnibus admirentur.

⁴ Ipsi enim volunt

¹ "Ne ringas, Mariana, meos ne despice canos,
De sene nam juvenem dia referre potes," &c.

"Sweet Marian do not mine age disdain,
For thou canst make an old man young again."

They will be still singing amorous songs and ditties (if young especially), and cannot abstain though it be when they go to, or should be at church. We have a pretty story to this purpose in ² Westmonasteriensis an old writer of ours (if you will believe it) An. Dom. 1012, at Colewiz in Saxony, on Christmas eve a company of young men and maids, whilst the priest was at mass in the church, were singing catches and lovesongs in the churchyard, he sent to them to make less noise, but they sung on still; and if you will, you shall have the very song itself.

"Equitabat homo per sylvam frondosam,
Ducebatque secum Meswinden formosam,
Quid stamus, cur non imus?"

"A fellow rid by the greenwood side,
And fair Meswinde was his bride,
Why stand we so, and do not go?"

This they sung, he chaft, till at length, impatient as he was, he prayed to St. Magnus, patron of the church, they might all three sing and dance till that time twelvemonth, and so ³ they did without meat and drink, wearisomeness or giving over, till at year's end they ceased singing, and were absolved by Herebertus, archbishop of Cologne. They will in all places be doing thus, young folks especially, reading love stories, talking of this or that young man, such a fair maid, singing, telling or hearing lascivious tales, scurrilous tunes, such objects are their sole delight, their continual meditation, and as Guastavinus adds, *Com. in 4 Sect. 27 Prob. Arist. ob seminis abundantiam crebræ cogitationes, veneris frequens recordatio et pruriens voluptas, &c.*, an earnest longing comes hence, *pruriens corpus, pruriens anima*, amorous conceits,

¹ Tom. 2. Ant. Dialogo. ² Flores, non frigus, non calor, non sitis, nec lascivitas. fol. 298. ³ Per totum annum situdo illos affecit, &c.
cantârunt, pluvia super illos non cecidit;

tickling thoughts, sweet and pleasant thoughts; hence it is, they can think, discourse willingly, or speak almost of no other subject. 'Tis their only desire, if it may be done by art, to see their husband's picture in a glass, they'll give anything to know when they shall be married, how many husbands they shall have, by *cromnyomantia*, a kind of divination with ¹onions laid on the altar on Christmas eve, or by fasting on St. Anne's eve or night, to know who shall be their first husband, or by *amphitomantia*, by beans in a cake, &c., to burn the same. This love is the cause of all good conceits, ²neatness, exornations, plays, elegancies, delights, pleasant expressions, sweet motions, and gestures, joys, comforts, exultancies, and all the sweetness of our life, ³*qualis jam vita foret, aut quid jucundi sine aureâ Venere?* ⁴*Emoriar cum ista non amplius mihi cura fuerit*, let me live no longer than I may love, saith a mad, merry fellow in *Mimnermus*. This love is that salt that seasoneth our harsh and dull labours, and gives a pleasant relish to our other unsavoury proceedings, ⁵*Absit amor, surgunt tenebræ, torpedo, veternum, pestis*, &c. All our feasts almost, masks, mumblings, banquets, merrymeetings, weddings, pleasing songs, fine tunes, poems, love stories, plays, comedies, atellans, jigs, fescennines, elegies, odes, &c., proceed hence. ⁶*Danaus*, the son of *Belus*, at his daughter's wedding at *Argos*, instituted the first plays (some say) that ever were heard of, symbols, emblems, impresses, devices, if we shall believe *Jovius*, *Con tiles*, *Paradine*, *Camillus de Camillis*, may be ascribed to it. Most of our arts and sciences, painting amongst the rest, was first invented, saith ⁷*Patritius*, *ex amoris beneficio*, for love's sake. For when the daughter of ⁸*Deburiades* the *Sycionian*, was to take leave of her sweetheart now going to wars, *ut desiderio ejus minus tabesceret*, to comfort herself in his absence, she took his picture with coal upon a wall, as the

¹ His eorum nomina inscribuntur de quibus quærent. ² Huic munditias, ornatum, leporem, delicias, ludos, elegantiam, omnem denique vitæ suavitatem

debemus.

³ Hyginus, cap. 272. ⁴ E Græco. ⁵ Angerianus. ⁶ Lib. 4, tit. 11, de prin. instit. ⁷ Plin. lib. 35, cap. 12. ⁸ Gerbellius, l. 6, descript. Gr.

candle gave the shadow, which her father admiring, perfected afterwards, and it was the first picture by report that ever was made. And long after, Sycion for painting, carving, statuary, music, and philosophy, was preferred before all the cities in Greece. ¹ Apollo was the first inventor of physic, divination, oracles; Minerva found out weaving, Vulcan curious iron-work, Mercury letters, but who prompted all this into their heads? Love, *Nunquam talia invenissent, nisi talia adamâssent*, they loved such things, or some party, for whose sake they were undertaken at first. 'Tis true, Vulcan made a most admirable brooch or necklace, which long after Axion and Temenus, Phegius's sons, for the singular worth of it, consecrated to Apollo, at Delphos, but Pharyllus the tyrant stole it away, and presented it to Ariston's wife, on whom he miserably doted (Parthenius tells the story out of Phylarchus); but why did Vulcan make this excellent Ouch? to give Hermione Cadmus's wife, whom he dearly loved. All our tilts and tournaments, orders of the garter, golden fleece, &c.,—*Nobilitas sub amore jacet*—owe their beginnings to love, and many of our histories. By this means, saith Jovius, they would express their loving minds to their mistress, and to the beholders. 'Tis the sole subject almost of poetry, all our invention tends to it, all our songs, whatever those old Anacreons (and therefore Hesiod makes the Muses and Graces still follow Cupid, and as Plutarch holds, Menander and the rest of the poets were love's priests); all our Greek and Latin epigrammatists, love writers. Antony Diogens the most ancient, whose epitome we find in Phocius Bibliotheca, Longus Sophista, Eustathius, Achilles Tatius, Aristænetus, Heliodorus, Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, Parthenius, Theodorus Prodromus, Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, &c. Our new Ariostos, Boyards, Authors of Arcadia, Urania, Faerie Queene, &c., Marullus, Leotichius, Angerianus, Stroza, Secundus, Capellanus, &c., with the rest of those facete modern

¹ Fransus, l. 3. de symbolis: qui primus symbolum excogitavit voluit nimis evolvere, eumque vel dominæ vel aliis intuentibus ostendere.
rum hâc ratione implicatum animum

poets, have written in this kind, are but as so many symptoms of love. Their whole books are a synopsis or breviary of love, the portuous of love, legends of lovers' lives and deaths, and of their memorable adventures, nay more, *quod leguntur, quod laudantur amori debent*, as ¹ Nevisanus the lawyer holds, "there never was any excellent poet that invented good fables, or made laudable verses, which was not in love himself;" had he not taken a quill from Cupid's wings, he could never have written so amorously as he did.

² "Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti,
Ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris habet.
Fama est arguti Nemesis formosa Tibulli,
Lesbia dictavit, docte Catulle, tibi.
Non me Pelignus, nec spernet Mantua vatem,
Si qua Corinna mihi, si quis Alexis erit."

"Wanton Propertius and witty Gallus,
Subtile Tibullus, and learned Catullus,
It was Cynthia, Lesbia, Lychoris,
That made you poets all; and if Alexis,
Or Corinna chance my paramour to be,
Virgil and Ovid shall not despise me."

³ "Non me carminibus vincet nec Thraceus Orpheus,
Nec Linus."

Petrarch's Laura made him so famous, Astrophel's Stella, and Jovianus Pontanus's mistress was the cause of his roses, violets, lilies, nequitia, blanditia, joci, decor, nardus, ver, corolla, thus, Mars, Pallas, Venus, Charis, crocum, Laurus, unguentum, costum, lachrymæ, myrrha, musæ, &c., and the rest of his poems; why are Italians at this day generally so good poets and painters? Because every man of any fashion amongst them hath his mistress. The very rustics and hog-rubbers, Menalcas and Corydon, *qui fætent de stercore equino*, those fulsome knaves, if once they taste of this love liquor, are inspired in an instant. Instead of those accurate em-

¹ Lib. 4, num. 102, sylvæ nuptialis, poetæ non inveniunt fabulas, aut versus laudatos faciunt, nisi qui ab amore fuerint excitati. ² Martial. ep. 73, lib. 9.

³ Virg. Eclog. 4. "None shall excel me in poetry, neither the Thracian Orpheus, nor Apollo."

blems, curious impresses, gaudy masks, tilts, tournaments, &c., they have their wakes, Whitsun-ales, shepherd's feasts, meetings on holidays, country dances, roundelays, writing their names on ¹ trees, true lover's knots, pretty gifts.

"With tokens, hearts divided, and half rings,
Shepherds in their loves are as coy as kings."

Choosing lords, ladies, kings, queens, and valentines, &c., they go by couples,

"Corydon's Phillis, Nysa and Mopsus,
With dainty Dousibel and Sir Tophus."

Instead of odes, epigrams and elegies, &c., they have their ballads, country tunes, "O the broom, the bonny, bonny broom," ditties and songs, "Bess a belle, she doth excel,"—they must write likewise and indite all in rhyme.

² "Thou honeysuckle of the hawthorn hedge,
Vouchsafe in Cupid's cup my heart to pledge;
My heart's dear blood, sweet Cis, is thy carouse
Worth all the ale in Gammer Gubbin's house.
I say no more, affairs call me away,
My father's horse for provender doth stay.
Be thou the Lady Cressetlight to me,
Sir Trolly Lolly will I prove to thee.
Written in haste, farewell my cowslip sweet,
Pray let's a Sunday at the alehouse meet."

Your most grim stoics and severe philosophers will melt away with this passion, and if ³ Athenæus belie them not, Aristippus, Apollodorus, Antiphanes, &c., have made lovesongs and commentaries of their mistress's praises, ⁴ orators write epistles, princes give titles, honours, what not? ⁵ Xerxes gave to Themistocles Lampsacus to find him wine, Magnesia for bread, and Myunte for the rest of his diet. The ⁶ Persian kings allotted whole cities to like use, *hæc civitas mulieri*

¹ Teneris arboribus amicarum nomina
inscribentes ut simul crescant. Hæd.
² S. R. 1600. ³ Lib. 13, cap. Dipnoso-
phist. ⁴ See Putean. epist. 33, de sua

Margaretâ, Beroaldus, &c.
Steph. apol. pro Herod.
4, Verr.

⁵ Hen.
⁶ Tully, orat.

redimiculum præbeat, hæc in collum, hæc in crines, one whole city served to dress her hair, another her neck, a third her hood. Ahasuerus would ¹ have given Esther half his empire, and ² Herod bid Herodias “ask what she would, she should have it.” Caligula gave 100,000 sesterces to his courtesan at first word, to buy her pins, and yet when he was solicited by the senate to bestow something to repair the decayed walls of Rome for the commonwealth’s good, he would give but 6,000 sesterces at most. ³ Dionysius, that Sicilian tyrant, rejected all his privy councillors, and was so besotted on Mirrha, his favourite and mistress, that he would bestow no office, or in the most weightiest business of the kingdom do aught without her especial advice, prefer, depose, send, entertain no man, though worthy and well-deserving, but by her consent; and he again whom she commended, howsoever unfit, unworthy, was as highly approved. Kings and emperors, instead of poems, build cities; Adrian built Antinoa in Egypt, besides constellations, temples, altars, statues, images, &c., in the honour of his Antinous. Alexander bestowed infinite sums to set out his Hephæstion to all eternity. ⁴ Socrates professeth himself love’s servant, ignorant in all arts and sciences, a doctor alone in love matters, *et quum alienarum rerum omnium scientiam diffiteretur*, saith ⁵ Maximus Tyrius, *his sectator, hujus negotii professor*, &c., and this he spake openly, at home and abroad, at public feasts, in the academy, *in Pyræo, Lycæo, sub Platano*, &c., the very bloodhound of beauty, as he is styled by others. But I conclude there is no end of love’s symptoms, ’tis a bottomless pit. Love is subject to no dimensions; not to be surveyed by any art or engine; and besides, I am of ⁶ Hædus’s mind, “no man can discourse of love matters, or judge of them aright, that hath not made trial in his own person,” or as Æneas Sylvius ⁷ adds, “hath not a little doted, been mad or love-

¹ Esth. v. ² Mat. xiv. 7. ³ Gravis-
simis regui negotiis nihil sine amasiæ
suzæ consensu fecit, omnesque actiones
suas scortillo communicavit, &c. Nich.
Bellus, discours. 26, de amat. ⁴ Amo-
ris famulus omnem scientiam diffitetur,
amandi tamen se scientissimum doctorem
agnoscit. ⁵ Serm. 8. ⁶ Quis horum
scribere molestias potest, nisi qui et is
aliquantum insanit? ⁷ Lib. 1, de con-

sick himself." I confess I am but a novice, a contemplator only, *Nescio quid sit amor nec amo*¹—I have a tincture; for why should I lie, dissemble or excuse it, yet *homo sum*, &c., not altogether inexperienced in this subject, *non sum præceptor amandi*, and what I say is merely reading, *ex aliorum forsitan ineptiis*, by mine own observation, and others' relation.

MEMB. IV.

Prognostics of Love-Melancholy.

WHAT fires, torments, cares, jealousies, suspicions, fears, griefs, anxieties, accompany such as are in love, I have sufficiently said; the next question is, what will be the event of such miseries, what they foretell. Some are of opinion that this love cannot be cured, *Nullis amor est medicabilis herbis*, it accompanies them to the ²last, *Idem amor exitio est pecori pecorisque magistro*. "The same passion consumes both the sheep and the shepherd," and is so continue, that by no persuasion almost it may be relieved. ³ "Bid me not love," said Euryalus, "bid the mountains come down into the plains, bid the rivers run back to their fountains; I can as soon leave to love, as the sun leave his course;"

⁴ "Et prius æquoribus pisces, et montibus umbræ,
Et volucres deerunt sylvis, et murmura ventis,
Quam mihi discedent formosæ Amaryllidis ignes."

"First seas shall want their fish, the mountains shade,
Woods singing birds, the wind's murmur shall fade,
Than my fair Amaryllis's love allay'd."

Bid me not love, bid a deaf man hear, a blind man see, a

temnendis amoribus; opinor hæc de re neminem aut disceptare rectè posse aut judicare qui non in eâ versatur, aut magnum fecerit periculum. ¹ "I am not in love, nor do I know what love may be." ² Semper moritur, nunquam mortuus est qui amat. Æn. Sylv.

³ Euryal. ep. ad Lucretiam, apud Æneam Sylvium: Rogas ut amare deficiam? roga montes ut in planum deveniant, ut fontes flumina repetant: tam possum te non amare ac suum Phœbus relinquere cursum. ⁴ Buchanan, Syl.

dumb speak, lame run, counsel can do no good, a sick man cannot relish, no physic can ease me. *Non prosunt domino quæ prosunt omnibus artes.* As Apollo confessed, and Jupiter himself could not be cured.

¹ “ Omnes humanos curat medicina dolores,
Solus amor morbi non habet artificem.”

“ Physic can soon cure every disease,

² Excepting love, that can it not appease.”

But whether love may be cured or no, and by what means, shall be explained in his place ; in the mean time, if it take his course, and be not otherwise eased or amended, it breaks out into outrageous often and prodigious events. *Amor et Liber violenti dii sunt*, as ³ Tatius observes, *et eousque animum incendunt, ut pudoris oblivisci cogant*, Love and Bacchus are so violent gods, so furiously rage in our minds, that they make us forget all honesty, shame, and common civility. For such men ordinarily, as are thoroughly possessed with this humour, become *insensati et insani*, for it is ⁴ *amor insanus*, as the poet calls it, beside themselves, and as I have proved, no better than beasts, irrational, stupid, headstrong, void of fear of God or men, they frequently forswear themselves, spend, steal, commit incests, rapes, adulteries, murders, depopulate towns, cities, countries, to satisfy their lust.

⁵ “ A devil ’tis, and mischief such doth work,
As never yet did Pagan, Jew, or Turk.”

The wars of Troy may be a sufficient witness ; and as Ap-
pian, *lib. 5, hist.* saith of Antony and Cleopatra, ⁶ “ Their love brought themselves and all Egypt into extreme and miserable calamities,” “ the end of her is as bitter as wormwood, and as sharp as a twoedged sword,” Prov. v. 4, 5. “ Her feet go down to death, her steps lead on to hell. She is more bitter than death, (Eccles. vii. 28,) and the sinner shall be taken

¹ Propert. lib. 2, eleg. 1. ² Est orcus ³ R. T. ⁴ Qui quidem amor utrosque
illa vis, est immedicabilis, est rabies in- et totam Egyptum extremis calamitati-
sana. ⁵ Lib. 2. ⁶ Virg. Ecl. 3. bus involvit.

by her." ¹ *Qui in amore præcipitavit, pejus perit quam qui saxo salit.* ² "He that runs headlong from the top of a rock is not in so bad a case as he that falls into this gulf of love." "For hence," saith ³ Platina, "comes repentance, dotage, they lose themselves, their wits, and make shipwreck of their fortunes altogether;" madness, to make away themselves and others, violent death. *Prognosticatio est talis*, saith Gordonius, ⁴ *si non succurratur iis, aut in maniam cadunt, aut moriuntur*; the prognostication is, they will either run mad, or die. "For if this passion continue," saith ⁵ Ælian Montaltus, "it makes the blood hot, thick, and black; and if the inflammation get into the brain, with continual meditation and waking, it so dries it up, that madness follows, or else they make away themselves," ⁶ *O Corydon, Corydon, quæ te dementia cepit?* Now, as Arnoldus adds, it will speedily work these effects, if it be not presently helped; ⁷ "They will pine away, run mad, and die upon a sudden;" *Facile incidunt in maniam*, saith Valescus, quickly mad, *nisi succurratur*, if good order be not taken,

⁸ "Eheu triste jugum quisquis amoris habet,
Is prius ac nôrit se perlisce perit."

"Oh heavy yoke of love, which whoso bears,
Is quite undone, and that at unawares."

So she confessed of herself in the poet,

⁹ "Insaniam priusquam quis sentiat,
Vix pili intervallo a furore absum."

"I shall be mad before it be perceived,
A hairbreadth off scarce am I, now distracted."

¹ Plautus. ² Ut corpus pondere, sic animus amore præcipitatur. Austin. l. 2, de civ. dei, c. 28. ³ Dial. hinc oritur poenitentia, desperatio, et non vident ingenium se cum re simul amisisse. ⁴ Idem Savanarola, et plures alii, &c. Rabidam facturus Orexin. Juven. ⁵ Cap. de Heroico Amore. Hæc passio durans sanguinem torridum et atrabiliarium reddit; hic vero ad cerebrum dela-

tus insaniam parat, vigiliâ et crebro desiderio exsiccans. ⁶ Virg. Ecl. 2. "Oh Corydon, Corydon! what madness possesses you?" ⁷ Insani fiunt aut sibi ipsis desperantes mortem afferunt. Languentes cito mortem aut maniam patiuntur. ⁸ Calcagninus. ⁹ Lucian, Imag. So for Lucian's mistress, all that saw her and could not enjoy her, ran mad, or hanged themselves.

As mad as Orlando for his Angelica, or Hercules for his Hylas,

"At ille ruebat quò pedes ducebant, furibundus,
Nam illi sævus Deus intus jecur laniabat."

"He went he car'd not whither, mad he was,
The cruel God so tortur'd him, alas!"

At the sight of Hero I cannot tell how many ran mad,

¹ "Alius vulnus celans insanit pulchritudine puellæ."

"And whilst he doth conceal his grief,
Madness comes on him like a thief."

Go to Bedlam for examples. It is so well known in every village, how many have either died for love, or voluntary made away themselves, that I need not much labour to prove it: ² *Nec modus aut requies nisi mors reperitur amoris*: death is the common catastrophe to such persons.

³ "Mori mihi contingat, non enim alia
Liberatio ab ærumnis fuerit ullo pacto istis."

"Would I were dead! for nought, God knows,
But death can rid me of these woes."

As soon as Euryalus departed from Senes, Lucretia, his par-amour, ⁴ "never looked up, no jest could exhilarate her sad mind, no joys comfort her wounded and distressed soul, but a little after she fell sick and died." But this is a gentle end, a natural death, such persons commonly make away themselves.

"proprioque in sanguine lætus,
Indignantem animam vacuas effudit in auras;"

so did Dido; *Sed moriamur, ait, sic, sic juvat ire per umbras*; ⁵ Pyramus and Thisbe, Medea, ⁶ Coresus and Callirhoë,

¹ Musæus. ² Ovid, Met. 10. ³ Anacreon. ⁴ Æneas Sylvius. Ad ejus decessum nunquam visa Lucretia ridere, nullis faciliis, jocis, nullo gaudio potuit ad lætitiā renovari, mox in ægritudinem

incidit, et sic brevi contabuit. ⁵ "But let me die, she says, thus; thus it is better to descend to the shades." ⁶ Pausanias, Achaïcis, l. 7.

¹ Theagines the philosopher, and many myriads besides, and so will ever do,

² “et mihi fortis
Est manus, est et amor, dabit hic in vulnera vires.”

“Whoever heard a story of more woe,
Than that of Juliet and her Romeo?”

Read Parthenium, in *Eroticis*, and Plutarch's *amatorias narrationes*, or love stories, all tending almost to this purpose. Valleriola, *lib.* 2, *observ.* 7, hath a lamentable narration of a merchant, his patient, ³ “that raving through impatience of love, had he not been watched, would every while have offered violence to himself.” Amatus Lucitanus, *cent.* 3, *car.* 56, hath such ⁴ another story, and Felix Plater, *med. observ. lib.* 1, a third of a young ⁵ gentleman that studied physic, and for the love of a doctor's daughter, having no hope to compass his desire, poisoned himself. ⁶ Anno 1615, a barber in Frankfort, because his wench was betrothed to another, cut his own throat. ⁷ At Neoburg, the same year, a young man, because he could not get her parents' consent, killed his sweetheart, and afterwards himself, desiring this of the magistrate, as he gave up the ghost, that they might be buried in one grave, *Quodque rogis superest unâ requiescat in urnâ*, which ⁸ Gismunda besought of Tancredus, her father, that she might be in like sort buried with Guiscardus, her lover, that so their bodies might lie together in the grave, as their souls wander about ⁹ *Campos lugentes* in the Elysian fields, ——— *quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit*,¹⁰ in a myrtle grove

¹¹ “et myrtea circum
Sylva tegit: curæ non ipsâ in morte relinquunt.”

You have not yet heard the worst, they do not offer violence

¹ Megarensis amore flagrans, Lucian. Tom. 4. ² Ovid. 3 Met. ³ Furibundus putavit se videre imaginem puellæ, et coram loqui blandiens illi, &c. ⁴ Juven. Hebræus. ⁵ Juvenis Medicinæ operam dans doctoris filiam deperibat, &c. ⁶ Gotardus Arthus Gallobelgicus, nund. vernal. 1615, collum novaculâ aperuit, et inde expiravit. ⁷ Cum renu-

ente parente utroque et ipsâ virgine frui non posset, ipsum et ipsam interfecit, hoc a magistratu petens, ut in eodem sepulchro sepeliri possent. ⁸ Boccaccio. ⁹ Sedes eorum qui pro amoris impatientiâ pereunt, Virg. 6 Æneid. ¹⁰ “Whom cruel love with its wasting power destroyed.” ¹¹ “And a myrtle grove overshadow thee: nor do cares relinquish

to themselves in this rage of lust but unto others, their nearest and dearest friends. ¹ Catiline killed his only son, *misitque ad orci pallida, lethi obnubila, obsita tenebris loca*, for the love of Aurelia Oristella, *quòd ejus nuptias vivo filio recusaret*. ² Laodice, the sister of Mithridates, poisoned her husband, to give consent to a base fellow whom she loved. ³ Alexander, to please Thais, a concubine of his, set Persepolis on fire. ⁴ Nereus's wife, a widow, and lady of Athens, for the love of a Venetian gentleman, betrayed the city; and he for her sake, murdered his wife, the daughter of a nobleman in Venice. ⁵ Constantine Despota made away Catherine, his wife, turned his son Michael and his other children out of doors, for the love of a base scrivener's daughter in Thessalonica, with whose beauty he was enamoured. ⁶ Leucophria betrayed the city where she dwelt, for her sweetheart's sake, that was in the enemies' camp. ⁷ Pithidice, the governor's daughter of Methinia, for the love of Achilles, betrayed the whole island to him, her father's enemy. ⁸ Diognetus did as much in the city where he dwelt, for the love of Policrita, Medea for the love of Jason, she taught him how to tame the fire-breathing brass-footed bulls, and kill the mighty dragon that kept the golden fleece, and tore her little brother Absyrtus in pieces, that her father Æetes might have something to detain him, while she ran away with her beloved Jason, &c. Such acts and scenes hath this tragicomedy of love.

thee even in death itself." ¹ Sal. Val.

² Sabel. lib. 3, En. 6.

³ Curtius, lib. 5.

⁴ Chalcondylas, de reb. Turcicis, lib. 9.

⁵ Nerei uxor Athenarum domina, &c.

⁶ Nicephorus Greg. hist. lib. 8. Uxorem occidit liberos et Michaellem filium videre

abhorruit. Thessalonicae amore captus pronotaril filie, &c.

⁷ Idem, ca. 21. Erot. lib. cap. 5.

⁸ Idem, cap. 9. Gubernatoris filia Achillis amore capta civitatem prodidit.

MEMB. V.

SUBJECT. I.—*Cure of Love-Melancholy, by Labour, Diet, Physic, Fasting, &c.*

ALTHOUGH it be controverted by some, whether love-melancholy may be cured, because it is so irresistible and violent a passion ; for as you know,

1 “facilis descensus Averni;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras;
Hic labor, hoc opus est.”

“It is an easy passage down to hell,
But to come back, once there, you cannot well.”

Yet without question, if it be taken in time, it may be helped, and by many good remedies amended. Avicenna, *lib.* 3, *Fen. cap.* 23 et 24, sets down seven compendious ways how this malady may be eased, altered, and expelled. Savanarola nine principal observations, Jason Pratensis prescribes eight rules besides physic, how this passion may be tamed, Laurentius two main precepts, Arnoldus, Valleriola, Montaltus, Hildesheim, Langius, and others inform us otherwise, and yet all tending to the same purpose. The sum of which I will briefly epitomize (for I light my candle from their torches), and enlarge again upon occasion, as shall seem best to me, and that after mine own method. The first rule to be observed in this stubborn and unbridled passion, is exercise and diet. It is an old and well-known sentence, *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* (love grows cool without bread and wine). As an ² idle sedentary life, liberal feeding, are great causes of it, so the opposite, labour, slender and sparing diet, with continual business, are the best and most ordinary means to prevent it.

“Otia si tollas periêre Cupidinis artes,
Contemptæque jacent, et sine luce faces.”

¹ Virg. *Æn.* 6. ² Otium naufragium castitatis. Austin.

“ Take idleness away, and put to flight
Are Cupid’s arts, his torches give no light.”

Minerva, Diana, Vesta, and the nine Muses were not enamoured at all, because they never were idle.

1“ Frustra blanditiæ appulstis ad has,
Frustra nequitiae venistis ad has,
Frustra deliciae obsidebitis has,
Frustra has illecebræ, et procacitates,
Et suspiria, et oscula, et susurri,
Et quisquis male sana corda amantum
Blandis ebria fascinat venenis.”

“ In vain are all your flatteries,
In vain are all your knaveries,
Delights, deceits, procacities,
Sighs, kisses, and conspiracies,
And whate’er is done by art,
To bewitch a lover’s heart.”

’Tis in vain to set upon those that are busy. ’Tis Savanarola’s third rule, *Occupari in multis et magnis negotiis*, and Avicenna’s precept, *cap. 24. 2 Cedit amor rebus; res age, tutus eris*. To be busy still, and, as ³ Guianerius enjoins, about matters of great moment, if it may be. ⁴ Magninus adds, “ Never to be idle but at the hours of sleep.”

5“ et ni
Poscas ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
Intendas animum studiis, et rebus honestis,
Invidia vel amore miser torquebere.”

“ For if thou dost not ply thy book,
By candlelight to study bent,
Employ’d about some honest thing,
Envy or love shall thee torment.”

No better physic than to be always occupied, seriously intent.

6“ Cur in penates rariùs tenues subit,
Hæc delicatas eligens pestis domus,
Mediumque sanos vulgus affectus tenet?” &c.

1 Buchanan, Hendecasyll. 2 Ovid. 4 Part. 2, c. 23, reg. San. His præter lib. 1, remed. “ Love yields to business; horam somni, nulla per otium transeat. be employed, and you’ll be safe.” 5 Hor. lib. 1, epist. 2. 6 Seneca.
3 Cap. 16, circa res arduas exerceri.

“Why dost thou ask, poor folks are often free,
And dainty places still molested be?”

Because poor people fare coarsely, work hard, go wolward and bare. ¹ *Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem.* ² Guianerius therefore prescribes his patient “to go with hair-cloth next his skin, to go barefooted, and barelegged in cold weather, to whip himself now and then, as monks do, but above all to fast. Not with sweet wine, mutton and pottage, as many of those tender-bellies do, howsoever they put on Lenten faces, and whatsoever they pretend, but from all manner of meat. Fasting is an all-sufficient remedy of itself; for, as Jason Pratensis holds, the bodies of such persons that feed liberally, and live at ease, ³ “are full of bad spirits and devils, devilish thoughts; no better physic for such parties, than to fast.” Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2, to this of hunger, adds, ⁴ “often baths, much exercise and sweat,” but hunger and fasting he prescribes before the rest. And ’tis indeed our Saviour’s oracle, “This kind of devil is not cast out but by fasting and prayer,” which makes the fathers so immoderate in commendation of fasting. As “hunger,” saith ⁵ Ambrose, “is a friend of virginity, so is it an enemy to lasciviousness, but fulness overthrows chastity, and fostereth all manner of provocations.” If thine horse be too lusty, Hierome adviseth thee to take away some of his provender; by this means those Pauls, Hilaries, Antonies, and famous anchorites, subdued the lusts of the flesh; by this means Hilarion “made his ass, as he called his own body, leave kicking (so ⁶ Hierome relates of him in his life), when the devil tempted him to any such foul offence.” By this means those ⁷ Indian

¹ “Poverty has not the means of feeding her passion.” ² Tract. 16, cap. 18,

sæpe nudâ carne cilicium portent tempore frigido sine caligis, et nudis pedibus incedant, in pane et aquâ jejument, sæpius se verberibus cædant, &c. ³ Dæmonibus referta sunt corpora nostra, illorum præcipue qui delicatis vescuntur eduliis, advolitant, et corporibus inhærent; hanc ob rem jejunium impendio probatur ad pudicitiam. ⁴ Victus sit at-

tenuatus, balnei frequens usus et sudationes, cold baths, not hot, saith Magnus, part. 3. ca. 23, to dive over head and ears in a cold river, &c. ⁵ Ser. de gulâ; fames amica virginitati est, inimica lasciviæ; saturitas vero castitatem perdit, et nutrit illecebras. ⁶ Vita Hilarionis, lib. 3, epist. cum tentasset eum dæmon titillatione inter cætera, Ego inquit, aselle, ad corpus suum, faciam, &c.

⁷ Strabo, l. 15, Geog. sub pellibus cu-

Brahmins kept themselves continent: they lay upon the ground covered with skins, as the redshanks do on heather, and dieted themselves sparingly on one dish, which Guianerius would have all young men put in practice, and if that will not serve, ¹ Gordonius “would have them soundly whipped, or, to cool their courage, kept in prison,” and there fed with bread and water till they acknowledge their error, and become of another mind. If imprisonment and hunger will not take them down, according to the directions of that ² Theban Crates, “time must wear it out; if time will not, the last refuge is a halter.” But this, you will say, is comically spoken. Howsoever, fasting, by all means, must be still used; and as they must refrain from such meats formerly mentioned, which cause venery, or provoke lust, so they must use an opposite diet. ³ Wine must be altogether avoided of the younger sort. So ⁴ Plato prescribes, and would have the magistrates themselves abstain from it, for example’s sake, highly commending the Carthaginians for their temperance in this kind. And ’twas a good edict, a commendable thing, so that it were not done for some sinister respect, as those old Egyptians abstained from wine, because some fabulous poets had given out, wine sprang first from the blood of the giants, or out of superstition, as our modern Turks, but for temperance, it being *animæ virus et vitiorum fomes*, a plague itself, if immoderately taken. Women of old for that cause, ⁵ in hot countries, were forbid the use of it; as severely punished for drinking of wine as for adultery; and young folks, as Leonicius hath recorded, Var. *hist. l. 3, cap. 87, 88*, out of Athenæus and others, and is still practised in Italy, and some other countries of Europe and Asia, as Claudius Minoes hath well illustrated in his Comment on the 23 Emblem of Alciat. So choice is to be made of other diet.

bant, &c. ¹ Cap. 2, part. 2. Si sit juvenis, et non vult obedire, flagelletur frequenter et fortiter, dum incipiat fœtere. ² Laertius, lib. 6, cap. 5. amori medetur fames; sin aliter, tempus; sin

non hoc, laqueus. ³ Vini parant animos Veneri, &c.

⁴ 3, de Legibus.

⁵ Non minus si vinum bibissent ac si adulterium admisissent, Gellius, lib. 10, c. 23.

"Nec minus erucas aptum est vitare salaces,
Et quicquid veneri corpora nostra parat."

"Eringoes are not good for to be taken,
And all lascivious meats must be forsaken."

Those opposite meats which ought to be used are cucumbers, melons, purslain, water-lilies, rue, woodbine, ammi, lettuce, which Lemnius so much commends, *lib. 2, cap. 42*, and Mizaldus, *hort. med.* to this purpose; vitex, or agnus castus before the rest, which, saith ¹ Magninus, hath a wonderful virtue in it. Those Athenian women, in their solemn feasts called Thesmopheries, were to abstain nine days from the company of men, during which time, saith Ælian, they laid a certain herb, named hanea, in their beds, which assuaged those ardent flames of love, and freed them from the torments of that violent passion. See more in Porta, Matthiolus, Crescentius, *lib. 5, &c.*, and what every herbalist almost and physician hath written, *cap. de Satyriasi et Priapismo*; Rhasis amongst the rest. In some cases again, if they be much dejected, and brought low in body, and now ready to despair through anguish, grief, and too sensible a feeling of their misery, a cup of wine and full diet is not amiss, and as Valescus adviseth, *cum aliâ honestâ venerem sæpè exercendo*, which Langius, *epist. med. lib. 1, epist. 24*, approves out of Rhasis (*ad assiduationem coitûs invitât*) and Guianerius seconds it, *cap. 16, tract. 16*, as a ² very profitable remedy.

³ "tument tibi quum inguina, cum si
Ancilla, aut verna præsto est, tentigine rumpi
Malis? non ego namque," &c.

⁴ Jason Pratensis subscribes to this counsel of the poet, *Excretio enim aut tollit prorsus aut lenit ægritudinem*. As it did the raging lust of Ahasuerus, ⁵ *qui ad impatientiam amoris leniendam, per singulas fere noctes novas puellas devirginavit*. And to be drunk too by fits; but this is mad

¹ Reg. San. part. 3, cap. 23, Mirabilem vim habet. ² Cum muliere aliquâ gratiosâ sæpe coire erit utilissimum. Idem

Laurentius, cap. 11. 29, de morb. cerebr. de amore.

³ Hor.

⁴ Cap.

⁵ Beroaldus, orat.

physic, if it be at all to be permitted. If not, yet some pleasure is to be allowed, as that which Vives speaks of, *lib. 3, de animâ.* ¹ “A lover that hath as it were lost himself through impotency, impatience, must be called home as a traveller, by music, feasting, good wine, if need be to drunkenness itself, which many so much commend for the easing of the mind, all kinds of sports and merriments, to see fair pictures, hangings, buildings, pleasant fields, orchards, gardens, groves, ponds, pools, rivers, fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, to hear merry tales, and pleasant discourse, reading, to use exercise till he sweat, that new spirits may succeed, or by some vehement affection or contrary passion to be diverted till he be fully weaned from anger, suspicion, cares, fears, &c., and habituated into another course.” *Semper tecum sit* (as ² Sempronius adviseth Calisto his lovesick master) *qui sermones jocularis moveat, conciones ridiculas, dicteria falsa, suaves historias, fabulas venustas recenseat, coram ludat, &c.,* still have a pleasant companion to sing and tell merry tales, songs and facete histories, sweet discourse, &c. And as the melody of music, merriment, singing, dancing, doth augment the passion of some lovers, as ³ Avicenna notes, so it expelleth it in others, and doth very much good. These things must be warily applied, as the parties’ symptoms vary, and as they shall stand variously affected.

If there be any need of physic, that the humours be altered or any new matter aggregated, they must be cured as melancholy men. Carolus à Lorme, amongst other questions discussed for his degree at Montpellier in France, hath this, *An amantes et amentes iisdem remediis curentur?* Whether lovers and madmen be cured by the same remedies? he affirms it; for love extended is mere madness. Such physic then as is prescribed, is either inward or outward, as hath been formerly handled in the precedent partition in the cure

¹ Amatori, cujus est pro impotentiâ mens amota, opus est ut paulatim animus velut a peregrinatione domum revocetur per musicam, convivia, &c. Per aucupium, fabulas, et festivas narratio-

nes, laborem usque ad sudorem, &c.

² Coelestinæ, Act. 2, Barthio interpret.

³ Cap. de Ilisi. Multos hoc affectu sanat cantilena, lætitia, musica; et quidam sunt quos hæc angunt.

of melancholy. Consult with Valleriola, *observat. lib. 2, observ. 7*, Lod. Mercatus, *lib. 2, cap. 4, de mulier. affect.* Daniel Sennertus, *lib. 1, part. 2, cap. 10*, ¹Jacobus Ferrandus the Frenchman, in his Tract *de amore Erotique*, Forestus, *lib. 10, observ. 29 and 30*, Jason Pratensis and others for peculiar receipts. ²Amatus Lucitanus cured a young Jew, that was almost mad for love, with the syrup of hellebore, and such other evacuations and purges which are usually prescribed to black choler; ³Avicenna confirms as much if need require, and ⁴"bloodletting above the rest," which makes *amantes ne sint amentes*, lovers to come to themselves, and keep in their right minds. 'Tis the same which Schola Salernitana, Jason Pratensis, Hildesheim, &c., prescribe bloodletting to be used as a principal remedy. Those old Scythians had a trick to cure all appetite of burning lust, by ⁵letting themselves blood under the ears, and to make both men and women barren, as Sabellicus in his *Æneades* relates of them. Which Salmuth. *Tit. 10, de Horol. comment. in Pancirol. de nov. repert.* Mercurialis, *var. lec. lib. 3, cap. 7*, out of Hippocrates and Benzo say still is in use amongst the Indians, a reason of which Langius gives, *lib. 1, epist. 10*.

Huc faciunt medicamenta venerem sopientia, *ut camphora pudendis alligata, et in brachâ gestata (quidam ait) membrum flaccidum reddit. Laboravit hoc morbo virgo nobilis, cui inter cætera præscripsit medicus, ut laminam plumbeam multis foraminibus pertusam ad dies viginti portaret in dorso; ad exsiccandum vero sperma jussit eam quam parcissime cibari, et manducare frequenter coriandrum præparatum, et semen lactuæ et acetosæ, et sic eam a morbo liberavit. Porro impediunt et remittunt coitum folia salicis trita et epota, et si frequentius usurpentur ipsa in totum auferunt. Idem præstat Topatius annulo gestatus, dexterum lupi testiculum attritum, et oleo vel aquâ rosatâ exhibitum veneris tedium in-*

¹ This author came to my hands since the third edition of this book. ² Cent. 8, curat. 56. Syrupo helleborato et aliis quæ ad atram bilem pertinent. ³ Purgetur si ejus dispositio venerit ad adust.

humoris, et phlebotomizetur. ⁴ Amantium morbus ut pruritus solvitur, venæ sectione et cucurbitulis. ⁵ Cura a venæ sectione per aures, unde semper steriles.

ducere scribit Alexander Benedictus : lac butyri commestum et semen canabis, et camphora exhibita idem præstant. Verbenæ herba gestata libidinem extinguit, pulvis queranæ decollatæ et exsiccata. Ad extinguendum coitum, ungantur membra genitalia, et renes et pecten aquâ in quâ opium Thebaicum sit dissolutum; libidini maxime contraria camphora est, et coriandrum siccum frangit coitum, et erectionem virgæ impedit; idem efficit synapium ebibitum. *Da verbenam in potu et non erigetur virga sex diebus; utere menthâ siccâ cum aceto, genitalia illinita succo hyoscyami aut cicutæ, coitus appetitum sedant, &c., R seminis lactuc. portulac. coriandri, ana 3j. menthæ siccæ 3 ss. sacchari albiss. 3iij. pulveriscentur omnia subtiliter, et post ea simul misce aqua nenupharis, f. confec. solida in morsulis. Ex his sumat mane unum quum surgat.* Innumera fere his similia petas ab Hildesheimio loco prædicto, Mizaldo, Porta, cæterisque.

SUBJECT. II.—*Withstand the Beginnings, avoid Occasions, change his Place; fair and foul Means, contrary Passions, with witty Inventions; to bring in another and commend the former.*

OTHER good rules and precepts are enjoined by our physicians, which, if not alone, yet certainly conjoined, may do much; the first of which is *obstare principiis*, to withstand the beginning, ¹*Quisquis in primo obstitit, pepulitque amorem tutus ac victor fuit*, he that will but resist at first, may easily be a conqueror at the last. Balthasar Castilio, l. 4, urgeth this prescript above the rest, ²“when he shall chance (saith he) to light upon a woman that hath good behaviour joined with her excellent person, and shall perceive his eyes with a kind of greediness to pull unto them this image of beauty, and carry it to the heart; shall observe himself to be somewhat incensed with this influence, which moveth within; when he shall discern those subtle spirits sparkling in her

¹ Seneca. ² Cum in mulierem incidet, quæ cum formâ morum suavitatem conjunctam habet, et jam oculos persen-

serit formæ ad se imaginem cum aviditate quâdam rapere cum eadem, &c.

eyes, to administer more fuel to the fire, he must wisely withstand the beginnings, rouse up reason, stupefied almost, fortify his heart by all means, and shut up all those passages, by which it may have entrance." 'Tis a precept which all concur upon,

¹ "Opprime dum nova sunt subiti mala semina morbi,
Dum licet, in primo lumine siste pedem."

"Thy quick disease, whilst it is fresh to-day,
By all means crush, thy feet at first step stay."

Which cannot speedier be done, than if he confess his grief and passion to some judicious friend ² (*qui tacitus ardet magis uritur*, the more he conceals, the greater is his pain) that by his good advice may happily ease him on a sudden; and withal to avoid occasions, or any circumstance that may aggravate his disease, to remove the object by all means; for who can stand by a fire and not burn?

³ "Sussilite obsecro et mittite istanc foras,
Quæ misero mihi amanti ebibit sanguinem."

'Tis good therefore to keep quite out of her company, which Hierom so much labours to Paula, to Nepotian; Chrysost. so much inculcates *in ser. in contubern.* Cyprian, and many other fathers of the church, Siracides in his ninth chapter, Jason Pratensis, Savanarola, Arnoldus, Valleriola, &c., and every physician that treats of this subject. Not only to avoid, as ⁴ Gregory Tholosanus exhorts, "kissing, dalliance, all speeches, tokens, love-letters, and the like," or as Castilio, *lib.* 4, to converse with them, hear them speak, or sing, (*tolerabilius est audire basiliscum sibilantem*, thou hadst better hear, saith ⁵ Cyprian, a serpent hiss,) ⁶ "those amiable smiles, admirable graces, and sweet gestures," which their presence affords,

¹ Ovid. de rem. lib. 1. ² Æneas Sylvius. ³ Plautus, gurg. "Remove and throw her quite out of doors, she who has drank my lovesick blood." ⁴ Tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. 10, Syntag. med. ⁵ Lib. de Singul. Cler. ⁶ Tam admirabilem splendorem declinet, gratiam, scintillas, amabiles risus, gestus suavissimos, &c.

¹ "Neu capita liment solitis morsiunculis,
Et his papillarum oppressiunculis
Abstineant:"

but all talk, name, mention, or cogitation of them, and of any other women, persons, circumstance, amorous book or tale that may administer any occasion of remembrance. ² Prosper adviseth young men not to read the Canticles, and some parts of Genesis at other times; but for such as are enamoured they forbid, as before, the name mentioned, &c., especially all sight, they must not so much as come near, or look upon them.

³ "Et fugitare decet simulacra et pabula amoris,
Abstinerere sibi atque alio convertere mentem."

"Gaze not on a maid," saith Siracides, "turn away thine eyes from a beautiful woman," *c. 9, v. 5, 7, 8, averte oculos*, saith David, or if thou dost see them as Ficinus adviseth, let not thine eye be *intentus ad libidinem*, do not intend her more than the rest; for as ⁴ Propertius holds, *Ipse alimenta sibi maxima præbet amor*, love as a snowball enlargeth itself by sight; but as Hierome to Nepotian, *aut æqualiter ama, aut æqualiter ignora*, either see all alike, or let all alone; make a league with thine eyes, as ⁵ Job did, and that is the safest course, let all alone, see none of them. Nothing sooner revives, ⁶ "or waxeth sore again," as Petrarch holds, "than love doth by sight." "As pomp renews ambition; the sight of gold, covetousness; a beauteous object sets on fire this burning lust." *Et multum saliens incitat unda sitim*. The sight of drink makes one dry, and the sight of meat increaseth appetite. 'Tis dangerous therefore to see. A ⁷ young gentleman in merriment would needs put on his mistress's clothes, and walk abroad alone, which some of her suitors

¹ Lipsius, hort. leg. lib. 3, antiq. lec.

² Lib. 3, de vit. cœlitus compar. cap. 6.

³ Lucretius. "It is best to shun the semblance and the food of love, to abstain from it, and totally avert the mind from the object." ⁴ Lib. 3, eleg. 10.

⁵ Job xxxi. *Pepigi fœdus cum oculis*

meis ne cogitarem de virgine. ⁶ Dial. 3, de contemptu mundi; nihil facilius re-crudescit quam amor; ut pompa visa renovat ambitionem, auri species avaritiam, spectata corporis forma incendit luxuriam. ⁷ Seneca, cont. lib. 2, cont. 9.

espying, stole him away for her that he represented. So much can sight enforce. Especially if he have been formerly enamoured, the sight of his mistress strikes him into a new fit, and makes him rave many days after.

¹ "Infirmis causa pusilla nocet,
Ut pene extinctum cinerem si sulphure tangas,
Vivet, et ex minimo maximus ignis erit:
Sic nisi vitabis quicquid renovabit amorem,
Flamma recrudescet, quæ modo nulla fuit."

"A sickly man a little thing offends,
As brimstone doth a fire decayed renew,
And make it burn afresh, doth love's dead flames,
If that the former object it review."

Or, as the poet compares it to embers in ashes, which the wind blows, ²*ut solet a ventis*, &c., a scaldhead (as the saying is) is soon broken, dry wood quickly kindles, and when they have been formerly wounded with sight, how can they by seeing but be inflamed? Ismenius acknowledgeth as much of himself, when he had been long absent, and almost forgotten his mistress, ³"at the first sight of her, as straw in a fire, I burned afresh, and more than ever I did before." ⁴"Chariclea was as much moved at the sight of her dear Theagines, after he had been a great stranger." ⁵"Mertila, in Aristænetus, swore she would never love Pamphilus again, and did moderate her passion, so long as he was absent; but the next time he came in presence, she could not contain, *effuse amplexa attrectari se sinit*, &c., she broke her vow, and did profusely embrace him. Hermotinus, a young man (in the said ⁶author) is all out as unstaidd, he had forgot his mistress quite, and by his friends was well weaned from her love; but seeing her by chance, *agnovit veteris vestigia flammæ*, he raved amain, *Illa tamen emergens veluti lucida stella*

¹ Ovid. ² Met. 7, *ut solet a ventis alimenta resumere, quæque parva sub inducta latuit scintilla favilla crescere et in veteres agitata resurgere flammæ.*
³ Eustathii, l. 3, *aspectus amorem incendit, ut marcescentem in paleâ ignem*

ventus; ardebam interea majore concepto incendio. ⁴ Heliodorus, l. 4, *inflammavit mentem novus aspectus, perinde ac ignis materiæ admotus, Chariclea, &c.*
⁵ Epist. 15, l. 2. ⁶ Epist. 4, l. 2.

cepit elucere, &c., she did appear as a blazing star, or an angel to his sight. And it is the common passion of all lovers to be overcome in this sort. For that cause belike Alexander discerning this inconvenience and danger that comes by seeing, ¹“when he heard Darius’s wife so much commended for her beauty, would scarce admit her to come in his sight,” foreknowing belike that of Plutarch, *formosam videre periculosissimum*, how full of danger it is to see a proper woman, and though he was intemperate in other things, yet in this *superbè se gessit*, he carried himself bravely. And so when as Araspus, in Xenophon, had so much magnified that divine face of Panthea to Cyrus, ²“by how much she was fairer than ordinary, by so much he was the more unwilling to see her.” Scipio, a young man of twenty-three years of age, and the most beautiful of the Romans, equal in person to that Grecian Charinus, or Homer’s Nireus, at the siege of a city in Spain, when as a noble and most fair young gentlewoman was brought unto him, ³“and he had heard she was betrothed to a lord, rewarded her, and sent her back to her sweetheart.” St. Austin, as ⁴Gregory reports of him, *ne cum sorore quidem suâ putavit habitandum*, would not live in the house with his own sister. Xenocrates lay with Lais of Corinth all night, and would not touch her. Socrates, though all the city of Athens supposed him to dote upon fair Alcibiades, yet when he had an opportunity ⁵*solus cum solo* to lie in the chamber with, and was wooed by him besides, as the said Alcibiades ⁶publicly confessed, *formam sprexit et superbè contempsit*, he scornfully rejected him. Petrarch, that had so magnified his Laura in several poems, when by the pope’s means she was offered unto him, would not accept of her. ⁷“It is a good happiness to be free from

¹ Curtius, lib. 3, cum uxorem Darii laudatam audivisset, tantum cupiditati suæ frænum iniecit, ut illam vix vellet intueri.

² Cyropædia, cum Pantheæ formam evexisset Araspus, tanto magis, inquit Cyrus, abstinere oportet, quanto pulchrior est. ³ Livius, cum eam regulo cuidam desponsatam audivisset, muni-

bus cumulatam remisit. ⁴ Ep. 39, lib. 7.

⁵ Et ea loqui posset quæ soli amatores loqui solent. ⁶ Platonis Convivio.

⁷ Heliodorus, lib. 4, expertem esse amoris beatitudo est; at quum captus sis, ad moderationem revocare animum prudentia singularis.

this passion of love, and great discretion it argues in such a man that he can so contain himself; but when thou art once in love, to moderate thyself (as he saith) is a singular point of wisdom.

¹ “ Nam vitare plagas in amoris ne jaciatur
Non ita difficile est, quam captum retibus ipsis
Exire, et validos Veneris perrumpere nodos.”

“ To avoid such nets is no such mastery,
But ta'en, escape is all the victory.”

But, forasmuch as few men are free, so discreet lovers, or that can contain themselves, and moderate their passions, to curb their senses as not to see them, not to look lasciviously, not to confer with them, such is the fury of this headstrong passion of raging lust, and their weakness, *ferox ille ardor a naturâ insitus*, ² as he terms it, “ such a furious desire nature hath inscribed, such unspeakable delight,”

“ Sic Divæ Veneris furor,
Insanis adeo mentibus incubat,”

which neither reason, counsel, poverty, pain, misery, drudgery, *partûs dolor*, &c., can deter them from; we must use some speedy means to correct and prevent that, and all other inconveniences, which come by conference and the like. The best, readiest, surest way, and which all approve, is *Loci mutatio*, to send them several ways, that they may neither hear of, see, nor have an opportunity to send to one another again, or live together, *soli cum sola*, as so many Gilbertines. *Elongatio a patriâ*, 'tis Savanarola's fourth rule, and Gordonius's precept, *distrahatur ad longinquas regiones*, send him to travel. 'Tis that which most run upon, as so many hounds with full cry, poets, divines, philosophers, physicians, all, *mutet patriam*: Valesius; ³ as a sick man he must be cured with change of air, Tully, 4 *Tuscul*. The best remedy is to

¹ Lucretius, l. 4. ² Hædus, lib. 1, tione tanquam non convalescens curan-
de amor. contemnend. ³ Loci muta- dus est, cap. 11.

get thee gone, Jason Pratensis; change air and soil, Laurentius.

Virg. "Fuge littus amatum.

Utile finitimis abstinuisse locis." ¹

² Ovid. "I procul, et longas carpere perge vias.

——sed fuge, tutus eris."

Travelling is an antidote of love,

³ "Magnum iter ad doctas proficisci cogor Athenas,
Ut me longa gravi solvat amore via."

For this purpose, saith ⁴ Propertius, my parents sent me to Athens; time and patience wear away pain and grief, as fire goes out for want of fuel. *Quantum oculis, animo tam procul ibit amor.* But so as they tarry out long enough; a whole year ⁵ Xenophon prescribes *Critobulus, vix enim intra hoc tempus ab amore sanari poteris*; some will hardly be weaned under. All this ⁶ Heinsius merrily inculcates in an epistle to his friend Primierus; first fast, then tarry, thirdly, change thy place, fourthly, think of a halter. If change of place, continuance of time, absence, will not wear it out with those precedent remedies, it will hardly be removed; but these commonly are of force. Felix Plater, *observ. lib.* 1, had a baker to his patient, almost mad for the love of his maid, and desperate; by removing her from him, he was in a short space cured. Isæus, a philosopher of Assyria, was a most dissolute liver in his youth, *palàm lasciviens*, in love with all he met; but after he betook himself, by his friend's advice, to his study, and left women's company, he was so changed that he cared no more for plays, nor feasts, nor masks, nor songs, nor verses, fine clothes, nor no such love-toys; he became a new man upon a sudden, *tanquam si priores oculos amisisset* (saith mine ⁷ author), as if he had

¹ "Fly the cherished shore. It is advisable to withdraw from the places near it."

² *Amorum*, l. 2. "Depart, and take a long journey—safety is in flight only."

³ Quisquis amat, loca nota nocent; dies ægritudinem adimit, absentia delet. Ire licet procul hinc patriæque

relinquere fines. Ovid. ⁴ *Lib.* 3, eleg. 20.

⁵ *Lib.* 1, Socrat. memor. Tibi, O Critobule, consulo ut integrum annum absis, &c.

⁶ Proximum est ut esurias. 2. ut moram temporis opponas. 3. et locum mutes. 4. ut de laqueo cogites.

⁷ Philostratus, de vitis Sophistarum.

lost his former eyes. Peter Godefridus, in the last chapter of his third book hath a story out of St. Ambrose, of a young man that meeting his old love after that long absence, on whom he had extremely doted, would scarce take notice of her; she wondered at it, that he should so slightly esteem her, called him again, *lenibat dictis animum*, and told him who she was, *Ego sum, inquit*; *At ego non sum ego*; but he replied, "he was not the same man;" *proripuit sese tandem*, as (¹ Dido fled from Æneas,) not vouchsafing her any farther parley, loathing his folly and ashamed of that which formerly he had done. ²*Non sum stultus ut ante jam, Neæra*, "O Neæra, put your tricks and practise hereafter upon somebody else, you shall befooled me no longer." Petrarch hath such another tale of a young gallant, that loved a wench with one eye, and for that cause by his parents was sent to travel into far countries, "after some years he returned, and meeting the maid for whose sake he was sent abroad, asked her how, and by what chance she lost her eye? no, said she, I have lost none, but you have found yours;" signifying thereby, that all lovers were blind, as Fabius saith, *Amantes de formâ judicare non possunt*, lovers cannot judge of beauty, nor scarce of anything else, as they will easily confess after they return unto themselves, by some discontinuance or better advice, wonder at their own folly, madness, stupidity, blindness, be much abashed, "and laugh at love, and call it an idle thing, condemn themselves that ever they should be so besotted or misled; and be heartily glad that they have so happily escaped."

If so be (which is seldom) that change of place will not effect this alteration, then other remedies are to be annexed, fair and foul means, as to persuade, promise, threaten, terrify, or to divert by some contrary passion, rumour, tales, news, or some witty invention to alter his affection, ³"by some greater sorrow to drive out the less," saith Gordonius, as that his

¹ Virg. 6 Æn. ² Buchanan.

³ Annuncientur valde tristitia, ut major tristitia possit minorem obfuscare.

house is on fire, his best friends dead, his money stolen. ¹ "That he is made some great governor, or hath some honour, office, some inheritance is befallen him." He shall be a knight, a baron; or by some false accusation, as they do such as have the hiccough, to make them forget it. S. Hierome, *lib. 2, epist. 16*, to Rusticus the monk, hath an instance of a young man of Greece, that lived in a monastery in Egypt, ² "that by no labour, no continence, no persuasion, could be diverted, but at last by this trick he was delivered. The abbot sets one of his convent to quarrel with him, and with some scandalous reproach or other to defame him before company, and then to come and complain first, the witnesses were likewise suborned for the plaintiff. The young man wept, and when all were against him, the abbot cunningly took his part, lest he should be overcome with immoderate grief; but what need many words? by this invention he was cured, and alienated from his pristine love-thoughts"—Injuries, slanders, contempts, disgraces,——*spretæque injuria formæ*, "the insult of her slighted beauty," are very forcible means to withdraw men's affections, *contumeliâ affecti amatores amare desinunt*, as ³ Lucian saith, lovers reviled or neglected, contemned or misused, turn love to hate; ⁴ *redeam? Non si me obsecret*, "I'll never love thee more." *Egone illam, quæ illum, quæ me, quæ non?* So Zephyrus hated Hyacinthus because he scorned him, and preferred his cor rival Apollo (*Palæphatus, fab. Nar.*), he will not come again though he be invited. Tell him but how he was scoffed at behind his back ('tis the counsel of Avicenna), that his love is false, and entertains another, rejects him, cares not for him, or that she is a fool, a nasty quean, a slut, a vixen, a scold, a devil, or, which Italians commonly do, that he or she hath some loathsome, filthy disease, gout, stone, strangury, falling-sickness, and that they

¹ Aut quod sit factus senescallus, aut habeat honorem magnum. ² Adolescens Græcus erat in Egypti cœnobio qui nullâ operis magnitudine, nullâ persuasione flammam poterat sedare: monasterii pater hâc arte servavit. Imperat cuidam e

sociis, &c. Flebat ille, omnes adversabantur; solus pater callidè opponere, ne abundantia tristitiæ absorberetur, quid multa? hoc invento curatus est, et a cogitationibus pristinis avocatus. ³ Tom. 4. ⁴ Ter.

are hereditary, not to be avoided, he is subject to a consumption, hath the pox, that he hath three or four incurable tetters, issues; that she is bald, her breath stinks, she is mad by inheritance, and so are all the kindred, a hare-brain, with many other secret infirmities, which I will not so much as name, belonging to women. That he is a hermaphrodite, an eunuch, imperfect, impotent, a spendthrift, a gamester, a fool, a gull, a beggar, a whoremaster, far in debt, and not able to maintain her, a common drunkard, his mother was a witch, his father hanged, that he hath a wolf in his bosom, a sore leg, he is a leper, hath some incurable disease, that he will surely beat her, he cannot hold his water, that he cries out or walks in the night, will stab his bedfellow, tell all his secrets in his sleep, and that nobody dare lie with him, his house is haunted with spirits, with such fearful and tragical things, able to avert and terrify any man or woman living, Gordonus, *cap. 20, part. 2*, hunc in modum consulit; *Paretur aliqua vetula turpissimâ aspectu, cum turpi et vili habitu: et portet subtus gremium pannum menstruaem, et dicat quod amica sua sit ebriosa, et quod mingat in lecto, et quod est epileptica et impudica; et quod in corpore suo sunt excrescentiæ enormes, cum fœtore anhelitus, et aliæ enormitates, quibus vetulæ sunt edoctæ: si nolit his persuaderi, subito extrahat*¹ *pannum menstruaem, coram facie portando, exclamando, talis est amica tua; et si ex his non demiserit, non est homo, sed diabolus incarnatus.* Idem fere Avicenna, *cap. 24, de curâ Ilishi, lib. 3, Fen. 1, Tract. 4.* *Narrent res immundas vetulæ, ex quibus abominationem incurrat, et res*² *sordidas, et hoc assiduent.* Idem Arculanus, *cap. 16, in 9 Rhasis, &c.*

Withal as they do discommend the old, for the better effecting a more speedy alteration, they must commend another paramour, *alteram inducere*, set him or her to be wooed, or woo some other that shall be fairer, of better note, better fortune, birth, parentage, much to be preferred,³ “*Invenies alium*

¹ Hypatia Alexandrina quendam se ad-
amantem prolatis muliebribus pannis, et
in eum coniectis ab amoris insanîa libe-

ravit. Suidas et Eunapius. ² Savana-
rola, reg. 5. ³ Virg. Ecl. 2. “You
will easily find another if this Alexis dis-

si te hic fastidit Alexis," by this means, which Jason Pratensis wisheth, to turn the stream of affection another way, "*Successore novo truditur omnis amor;*" or, as Valesius adviseth, by ¹ subdividing to diminish it, as a great river cut into many channels runs low at last. ² "*Hortor et ut pariter binas habeatis amicas,*" &c. If you suspect to be taken, be sure, saith the poet, to have two mistresses at once, or go from one to another; as he that goes from a good fire in cold weather is loath to depart from it, though in the next room there be a better which will refresh him as much; there is as much difference of *hæc* as *hic ignis*; or bring him to some public shows, plays, meetings, where he may see variety, and he shall likely loathe his first choice; carry him but to the next town, yea peradventure to the next house, and as Paris lost CEnone's love by seeing Helen, and Cressida forsook Troilus by conversing with Diomedes, he will dislike his former mistress, and leave her quite behind him, as ³ Theseus left Ariadne fast asleep in the island of Dia, to seek her fortune, that was erst his loving mistress. ⁴ *Nunc primum Dorida vetus amator contempsit*, as he said, Doris is but a dowdy to this. As he that looks himself in a glass forgets his physiognomy forthwith, this flattering glass of love will be diminished by remove; after a little absence it will be remitted, the next fair object will likely alter it. A young man in ⁵ Lucian was pitifully in love, he came to the theatre by chance, and by seeing other fair objects there, *mentis sanitatem recepit*, was fully recovered, ⁶ "and went merrily home as if he had taken a dram of oblivion." ⁷ A mouse (saith an Apologer) was brought up in a chest, there fed with fragments of bread and cheese, thought there could be no better meat, till coming forth at last, and feeding liberally of other variety of viands, loathed his former life: moralize this fable by thyself. Plato, in his seventh book *De Legibus*, hath a pretty fiction of a city under

dains you." ¹ Distributio amoris fiat in plures, ad plures amicas animum applicet. ² Ovid. "I recommend you to have two mistresses." ³ Hyginus, fab.

43. ⁴ Petronius. ⁵ Lib. de salt. ⁶ E theatro egressus hilaris, ac si pharmacum oblivionis bibisset. ⁷ Mus in cistâ natus, &c.

ground, ¹ to which by little holes some small store of light came; the inhabitants thought there could not be a better place, and at their first coming abroad they might not endure the light, *ægerrimè solem intueri*; but after they were accustomed a little to it ² “they deplored their fellows’ misery that lived under ground.” A silly lover is in like state, none so fair as his mistress at first, he cares for none but her; yet after a while, when he hath compared her with others, he abhors her name, sight, and memory. ’Tis generally true; for as he observes, ³ *Priorem flammam novus ignis extrudit; et ea mulierum natura, ut præsentis maximè ament*, one fire drives out another; and such is women’s weakness, that they love commonly him that is present. And so do many men; as he confessed, he loved Amye, till he saw Floriat, and when he saw Cynthia, forgot them both; but fair Phillis was incomparably beyond them all, Cloris surpassed her, and yet when he espied Amaryllis, she was his sole mistress; O divine Amaryllis: *quàm procera, cupressi ad instar, quàm elegans, quàm decens*, &c. How lovely, how tall, how comely she was (saith Polemius) till he saw another, and then she was the sole subject of his thoughts. In conclusion, her he loves best he saw last. ⁴ Triton, the sea god, first loved Leucothoë, till he came in presence of Milæne, she was the commandress of his heart, till he saw Galatea; but (as ⁵ she complains) he loved another eftsouns, another, and another. ’Tis a thing, which by Hierom’s report, hath been usually practised. ⁶ “Heathen philosophers drive out one love with another, as they do a peg, or pin with a pin. Which those seven Persian princes did to Ahasuerus, that they might requite the desire of Queen Vashti with the love of others.” Pausanias in Eliacis saith, that therefore one Cupid was painted to contend with another, and to take the garland

¹ In quem e specu subterraneo modicum lucis illabatur.

² Deplorabant eorum miseriam qui subterraneis illis locis vitam degunt.

³ Tatius, lib. 6.

⁴ Aristænetus, epist. 4. ⁵ Calcagnin. Dial. Galat. Mox aliam prætulit, aliam prælaturus quam primum occasio arrise-

rit. ⁶ Epist. lib. 2, 16. Philosophi sæculi veterem amorem novo, quasi clavum clavo repellere, quod et Assuero regi septem principes Persarum fecere, ut Vastæ reginæ desiderium amore compensarent.

from him, because one love drives out another, ¹ *Alterius vires subtrahit alter amor*; and Tully, 3, *Nat. Deor.* disputing with C. Cotta, makes mention of three several Cupids all differing in office. Felix Plater, in the first book of his observations, boasts how he cured a widower in Basil, a patient of his, by this stratagem alone, that doted upon a poor servant his maid, when his friends, children, no persuasion could serve to alienate his mind: they motioned him to another honest man's daughter in the town, whom he loved, and lived with long after, abhorring the very name and sight of the first. After the death of Lucretia, ² Euryalus would admit of no comfort till the Emperor Sigismund married him to a noble lady of his court, and so in short space he was freed.

SUBJECT. III.—*By Counsel and Persuasion, Foulness of the Fact, Men's, Women's Faults, Miseries of Marriage, Events of Lust, &c.*

As there be divers causes of this burning lust, or heroical love, so there be many good remedies to ease and help; amongst which, good counsel and persuasion, which I should have handled in the first place, are of great moment, and not to be omitted. Many are of opinion, that in this blind, head-strong passion counsel can do no good.

³ “*Quæ enim res in se neque consilium neque modum Habet, ullo eam consilio regere non potes.*”

“Which thing hath neither judgment, or an end,
How should advice or counsel it amend?”

——⁴ “*Quis enim modus adsit amori?*” But, without question, good counsel and advice must needs be of great force, especially if it shall proceed from a wise, fatherly, reverent, discreet person, a man of authority, whom the parties do respect, stand in awe of, or from a judicious friend, of itself

¹ Ovid. “One love extracts the influence of another.” ² Lugubri veste indutus, consolationes non admisit, donec Cæsar ex ducali sanguine, formosam vir-

ginem matrimonio conjunxit. *Æneas Sylvius, hist. de Euryalo et Lucretiâ.*
³ Ter. ⁴ Virg. *Ecl.* 2. “For what limit has love?”

alone it is able to divert and suffice. Gordonius, the physician, attributes so much to it, that he would have it by all means used in the first place. *Amoveatur ab illâ consilio viri quem timet, ostendendo pericula sæculi, judicium inferni, gaudia Paradisi.* He would have some discreet men to dissuade them, after the fury of passion is a little spent, or by absence allayed; for it is as intempestive at first to give counsel, as to comfort parents when their children are in that instant departed; to no purpose to prescribe narcotics, cordials, nectarines, potions, Homer's nepenthes, or Helen's bowl, &c. *Non cessabit pectus tundere,* she will lament and howl for a season; let passion have his course awhile, and then he may proceed, by foreshowing the miserable events and dangers which will surely happen, the pains of hell, joys of Paradise, and the like, which by their preposterous courses they shall forfeit or incur; and 'tis a fit method, a very good means, for what ¹ Seneca said of vice, I say of love, *Sine magistro discitur, vix sine magistro deseritur,* 'tis learned of itself, but ² hardly left without a tutor. 'Tis not amiss, therefore, to have some such overseer, to expostulate and show them such absurdities, inconveniences, imperfections, discontents, as usually follow; which their blindness, fury, madness, cannot apply unto themselves, or will not apprehend through weakness; and good for them to disclose themselves, to give ear to friendly admonitions. "Tell me, sweetheart (saith Tryphena to a lovesick Charmides in ³ Lucian), what is it that troubles thee? peradventure I can ease thy mind, and further thee in thy suit;" and so, without question, she might, and so mayest thou, if the patient be capable of good counsel, and will hear at least what may be said.

If he love at all, she is either an honest woman or a whore. If dishonest, let him read or inculcate to him that 5 of Solomon's Proverbs, Ecclus. 26, Ambros. *lib. 1, cap. 4*, in his book of Abel and Cain, Philo Judæus, *de mercede mer.* Pla-

¹ Lib. de beat. vit. cap. 14. ² Longo ³ Tom. 4, dial. meret. Fortasse etiam usu discimus, longâ desuetudine dedipsa ad amorem istum nonnihil contuendum est. Petrarch epist. lib. 5, 8. lero.

tinās, *dial. in Amores*, Espensæus, and those three books of Pet. Hædus, *de contem. Amoribus*, Æneas Sylvius's tart Epistle, which he wrote to his friend Nicholas of Warthurge, which he calls *medelam illiciti amoris*, &c. ¹ "For what's a whore," as he saith, "but a poller of youth, ² ruin of men, a destruction, a devourer of patrimonies, a downfall of honour, fodder for the devil, the gate of death, and supplement of hell?" ³ *Talis amor est laqueus animæ*, &c., a bitter honey, sweet poison, delicate destruction, a voluntary mischief, *commixtum cœnum, sterquilinum*. And as ⁴ Pet. Aretine's Lucretia, a notable quean, confesseth: "Gluttony, anger, envy, pride, sacrilege, theft, slaughter, were all born that day that a whore began her profession; for," as she follows it, "her pride is greater than a rich churl's, she is more envious than the pox, as malicious as melancholy, as covetous as hell. If from the beginning of the world any were *mala, pejor, pessima*, bad in the superlative degree, 'tis a whore; how many have I undone, caused to be wounded, slain! O Antonia, thou seest ⁵ what I am without, but within, God knows, a puddle of iniquity, a sink of sin, a pocky quean." Let him now that so dotes meditate on this; let him see the event and success of others, Samson, Hercules, Holofernes, &c. Those infinite mischiefs attend it: if she be another man's wife he loves, 'tis abominable in the sight of God and men; adultery is expressly forbidden in God's commandment, a mortal sin, able to endanger his soul; if he be such a one that fears God, or have any religion, he will eschew it, and abhor the loathsomeness of his own fact. If he love an honest maid, 'tis to abuse or marry her: if to abuse, 'tis fornication, a foul fact (though some make light of it), and almost equal to adultery

¹ Quid enim meretrix nisi juventutis expilatrix. virorum rapina seu mors; patrimonii devoratrix, honoris perniciēs, pabulum diaboli, janua mortis, inferni supplementum? ² Sanguinem hominum sorbent. ³ Contemplatione Idiotæ. c. 34, discrimen vitæ, mors blanda, mel felleum, dulce venenum, perniciēs delicata, malum spontaneum, &c.

⁴ Pornodidasc. *dial. Ital.* gula, ira, invidia, superbia, sacrilegia, latrocinia, cædes, eo die nata sunt quo primum meretrix professionem fecit. Superbia major quam opulenti rustici, invidia quam laici veneræ, inimicitia nocentior melancholiâ, avaritiâ in immensum profunda. ⁵ Qualis extra sum vides, qualis intra novit Deus.

itself. If to marry, let him seriously consider what he takes in hand, look before ye leap, as the proverb is, or settle his affections, and examine first the party, and condition of his estate and hers, whether it be a fit match for fortunes, years, parentage, and such other circumstances, *an sit suæ Veneris*. Whether it be likely to proceed: if not, let him wisely stave himself off at the first, curb in his inordinate passion, and moderate his desire, by thinking of some other subject, divert his cogitations. Or if it be not for his good, as Æneas, forewarned by Mercury in a dream, left Dido's love, and in all haste got him to sea,

1 "Mnestea, Surgestumque vocat fortemque Cloanthum,
Classem aptent taciti jubet"

and although she did oppose with vows, tears, prayers, and imprecation,

"nullis ille movetur
Fletibus, aut illas voces tractabilis audit;" 2

Let thy Mercury-reason rule thee against all allurements, seeming delights, pleasing inward or outward provocations. Thou mayest do this if thou wilt, *pater non deperit filiam, nec frater sororem*, a father dotes not on his own daughter, a brother on a sister; and why? because it is unnatural, unlawful, unfit. If he be sickly, soft, deformed, let him think of his deformities, vices, infirmities; if in debt, let him ruminate how to pay his debts; if he be in any danger, let him seek to avoid it; if he have any lawsuit, or other business, he may do well to let his love matters alone and follow it, labour in his vocation whatever it is. But if he cannot so ease himself, yet let him wisely premeditate of both their estates; if they be unequal in years, she young and he old, what an unfit match must it needs be, an uneven yoke, how absurd and indecent a thing is it! as Lycinus in 3 Lucian told Timo-

1 Virg. "He calls Mnestheus, Surgestus, and the brave Cloanthus, and orders them silently to prepare the fleet."
2 "He is moved by no tears, he cannot

be induced to hear her words." 3 Tom. 2, in votis. Calvus cum sis, nasum habebas simum, &c.

laus, for an old bald crook-nosed knave to marry a young wench; how odious a thing it is to see an old lecher! What should a bald fellow do with a comb, a dumb doter with a pipe, a blind man with a looking-glass, and thou with such a wife? How absurd it is for a young man to marry an old wife for a piece of good. But put case she be equal in years, birth, fortunes, and other qualities correspondent, he doth desire to be coupled in marriage, which is an honourable estate, but for what respects? Her beauty belike, and comeliness of person, that is commonly the main object, she is a most absolute form, in his eye at least, *Cui formam Paphia et Charites tribuere decoram*; but do other men affirm as much? or is it an error in his judgment?

¹ "Fallunt nos oculi vagique sensus,
Oppressâ ratione mentiuntur,"

"our eyes and other senses will commonly deceive us;" it may be, to thee thyself upon a more serious examination, or after a little absence, she is not so fair as she seems. *Quædam videntur et non sunt*; compare her to another standing by, 'tis a touchstone to try, confer hand to hand, body to body, face to face, eye to eye, nose to nose, neck to neck, &c., examine every part by itself, then altogether, in all postures, several sites, and tell me how thou likest her. It may be not she that is so fair, but her coats, or put another in her clothes, and she will seem all out as fair; as the ² poet then prescribes, separate her from her clothes; suppose thou saw her in a base beggar's weed, or else dressed in some old hire-sute attires out of fashion, foul linen, coarse raiment, besmeared with soot, colly, perfumed with opopanax, sagapenum, assafoetida, or some such filthy gums, dirty, about some indecent action or other; or in such a case as ³ Brassivola, the physician, found Malatasta, his patient, after a potion of hellebore, which he had prescribed: *Manibus in terram depositis, et ano versus cælum elevato* (ac si videretur Socraticus

¹ Petronius. ² Ovid. ³ In Catarticiis, lib. 2.

ille Aristophanes, qui Geometricas figuras in terram scribens, tubera colligere videbatur) atram bilem in album parietem injiciebat, adeoque totam cameram, et se deturpabat, ut, &c., all to bewrayed, or worse; if thou saw'st her (I say) would thou affect her as thou dost? Suppose thou beheldest her in a ¹ frosty morning, in cold weather, in some passion or perturbation of mind, weeping, chafing, &c., rivelled and ill-favoured to behold. She many times that in a composed look seems so amiable and delicious, *tam scitulâ formâ*, if she do but laugh or smile, makes an ugly sparrow-mouthed face, and shows a pair of uneven, loathsome, rotten, foul teeth; she hath a black skin, gouty legs, a deformed crooked carcass under a fine coat. It may be for all her costly tires she is bald, and though she seem so fair by dark, by candlelight, or afar off at such a distance, as Callicratides observed in ² Lucian, "If thou should see her near, or in a morning, she would appear more ugly than a beast;" ³ *si diligenter consideres, quid per os et nares et cæteros corporis meatus egreditur, vilis sterquilinium nunquam vidisti.* Follow my counsel, see her undressed, see her, if it be possible, out of her attires, *furtivis nudatam coloribus*, it may be she is like Æsop's jay, or ⁴ Pliny's cantharides, she will be loathsome, ridiculous, thou wilt not endure her sight; or suppose thou saw'st her, pale, in a consumption, on her death-bed, skin and bones, or now dead, *Cujus erat gratissimus amplexus* (whose embrace was so agreeable) as Bernard saith, *erit horribilis aspectus; Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet*, "As a posy she smells sweet, is most fresh and fair one day, but dried up, withered, and stinks another." Beautiful Nireus, by that Homer so much admired, once dead, is more deformed than Thersites, and Solomon deceased as ugly as Marcolphus; thy lovely mistress that was erst ⁵ *Charis cha-*

¹ Si ferveat deformis. ecce formosa est; si frigeat formosa, jam sit informis. Th. Morus, Epigram. ² Amorum dial. tom. 4, si quis ad auroram contempletur multas mulieres a nocte lecto surgentes, turpiores putabit esse bestiis. ³ Hugo,

de clastro Animæ, lib. 1, c. 1. "If you quietly reflect upon what passes through her mouth, nostrils, and other conduits of her body, you never saw viler stuff." ⁴ Hist. nat. 11, cap. 35. A fly that hath golden wings but a poisoned body. ⁵ Bu-

rior ocellis, "dearer to thee than thine eyes," once sick or departed, is *Vili vilior æstimata cæno*, "worse than any dirt or dunghill." Her embraces were not so acceptable, as now her looks be terrible: thou hadst better behold a Gorgon's head, than Helen's carcass.

Some are of opinion that to see a woman naked is able of itself to alter his affection; and it is worthy of consideration, saith ¹ Montaigne the Frenchman in his Essays, that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliance, appoint for a remedy of venerous passions, a full survey of the body; which the poet insinuates,

² "Ille quodd obscænas in aperto corpore partes
Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, hæsit amor."

"The love stood still, that ran in full career,
When once it saw those parts should not appear."

It is reported of Seleucus, king of Syria, that seeing his wife Stratonice's bald pate, as she was undressing her by chance, he could never affect her after. Remundus Lullius, the physician, spying an ulcer or cancer in his mistress's breast, whom he so dearly loved, from that day following abhorred the looks of her. Philip, the French king, as Neubrigensis, *lib. 4, cap. 24*, relates it, married the king of Denmark's daughter, ³ "and after he had used her as a wife one night, because her breath stunk, they say, or for some other secret fault, sent her back again to her father." Peter Mattheus, in the life of Lewis the Eleventh, finds fault with our English ⁴ chronicles, for writing how Margaret, the king of Scots' daughter, and wife to Lewis the Eleventh, French king, was *ob graveolentiam oris*, rejected by her husband. Many such matches are made for by-respects, or some seemly comeliness, which, after honey-moon's past, turn to bitterness; for burning lust is but a flash, a gunpowder passion; and hatred oft follows in the highest degree, dislike and contempt.

chanan, Hendecasyll. ¹ Apol. pro Rem. cunt, vel latentem fœditatem repudiavit, Seb. ² Ovid. 2, rem. ³ Post unam rem faciens plane illicitam, et regiæ personæ multum indecoram. ⁴ Hall and propter foetentem ejus spiritum alii di- Grafton belike.

1 "Cum se cutis arida laxat,
Fiunt obscuri dentes"

when they wax old, and ill-favoured, they may commonly no longer abide them,——*Jam gravis es nobis*, begone, they grow stale, fulsome, loathsome, odious, thou art a beastly, filthy quean——²*faciem, Phæbe, cacantis habes*, thou art *Saturni podex*, withered and dry, *insipida et vetula*——³*Te quia rugæ turpant, et capitis nives* (I say), begone, ⁴*portæ patent, proficiscere*.

Yea, but you will affirm your mistress is complete, of a most absolute form in all men's opinions, no exceptions can be taken at her, nothing may be added to her person, nothing detracted, she is the mirror of women for her beauty, comeliness and pleasant grace, inimitable, *meræ deliciæ, meri lepores*, she is *Myrothetium Veneris, Gratiarum pyxis*, a mere magazine of natural perfections, she hath all the Veneres and Graces——*mille faces et mille figuras*, in each part absolute and complete, ⁵*Læta genas, læta os roseum, vaga lumina læta*; to be admired for her person, a most incomparable, unmatched piece, *aurea proles, ad simulachrum alicujus numinis composita*, a Phoenix, *vernantis ætatulæ Venerilla*, a nymph, a fairy, ⁶like Venus herself when she was a maid, *nulli secunda*, a mere quintessence, *flores spirans et amaracum, fœminæ prodigium*; put case she be, how long will she continue? ⁷*Florem decoris singuli carpunt dies*: "Every day detracts from her person," and this beauty is *bonum fragile*, a mere flash, a Venice glass, quickly broken,

⁸ "Anceps forma bonum mortalibus,
——exigui donum breve temporis,"

it will not last. As that fair flower ⁹Adonis, which we call

¹ Juvenal: "When the wrinkled skin becomes flabby, and the teeth black."

² Mart. ³ Tully in Cat. "Because wrinkles and hoary locks disfigure you."

⁴ Hor. ode 13, lib. 4. ⁵ Læchæus.

"Beautiful cheeks, rosy lips, and languishing eyes." ⁶ Qualis fuit Venus

cum fuit virgo, balsamum spirans, &c.

⁷ Seneca. ⁸ Seneca, Hip. "Beauty is a gift of dubious worth to mortals, and of brief duration."

⁹ Camerarius, emb. 68. cent. 1, flos omnium pulcherri-mus statim laequescit, formæ typus.

an anemone, flourisheth but one month, this gracious all-commanding beauty fades in an instant. It is a jewel soon lost, the painter's goddess, *falsa veritas*, a mere picture. "Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity," Prov. xxxi. 30.

¹ "Vitrea gemmula, fluxaque bullula, candida forma est,
Nix, rosa, ros, fumus, ventus et aura, nihil."

"A brittle gem, bubble, is beauty pale,
A rose, dew, snow, smoke, wind, air, nought at all."

If she be fair, as the saying is, she is commonly a fool; if proud, scornful, *sequiturque superbia formam*, or dishonest, *rara est concordia formæ atque pudicitiae*, "can she be fair and honest too?" ² Aristo, the son of Agasicles, married a Spartan lass, the fairest lady in all Greece next to Helen, but for her conditions the most abominable and beastly creature of the world. So that I would wish thee to respect, with ³ Seneca, not her person but qualities. "Will you say that's a good blade which hath a gilded scabbard, embroidered with gold and jewels? No, but that which hath a good edge and point, well tempered metal, able to resist." This beauty is of the body alone, and what is that, but as ⁴ Gregory Nazianzen telleth us, "a mock of time and sickness?" or as Boethius, ⁵ "as mutable as a flower, and 'tis not nature so makes us, but most part the infirmity of the beholder." For ask another, he sees no such matter; *Dic mihi per gratias qualis tibi videtur*, "I pray thee tell me how thou likest my sweetheart," as she asked her sister in Aristænetus, ⁶ "whom I so much admire, methinks he is the sweetest gentleman, the properest man, that ever I saw; But I am in love, I confess (*nec pudet fateri*), and cannot therefore well judge." But be she fair indeed, golden-haired, as Anacreon his Bathillus, (to examine particulars,) she have ⁷ *Flammeolos oculos collaque*

¹ Bernar. Bauhusius, Ep. l. 4. ² Pausanias, Lacon. lib. 3, uxorem duxit Spartæ mulierum omnium post Helenam formosissimam, at ob mores omnium turpissimam. ³ Epist. 76, gladium bonum dices, non cui deauratus est baltheus, nec cui vagina gemmis distinguitur, sed cui ad secandum subtilis acies et mucro munimentum omne rupturus.

⁴ Pulchritudo corporis, temporis et morbi ludibrium, orat. 2. ⁵ Florum mutabilitate fugacior, nec sua natura formosas facit, sed spectantium infirmitas.

⁶ Epist. 11. Quem ego depereo juvenis mihi pulcherrimus videtur; sed forsam amore percita de amore non recte judico.

⁷ Luc. Brugensis. "Bright eyes and snow-white neck."

lacteola, a pure sanguine complexion, little mouth, coral lips, white teeth, soft and plump neck, body, hands, feet, all fair and lovely to behold, composed of all graces, elegancies, an absolute piece,

1 " *Lumina sint Melitæ Junonia, dextra Minervæ,
Mamillæ Veneris, sura maris dominæ,*" &c.

Let ² her head be from Prague, paps out of Austria, belly from France, back from Brabant, hands out of England, feet from Rhine, buttocks from Switzerland, let her have the Spanish gait, the Venetian tire, Italian compliment and endowments :

3 " *Candida sideriis ardescant lumina flammis,
Student colla rosas, et cedat crinibus aurum,
Mellea purpureum depromant ora ruborem;
Fulgeat, ac Venerem cœlesti corpore vincat,
Forma dearum omnis,*" &c.

Let her be such a one throughout, as Lucian deciphers in his *Imagines*, as *Euphanor* of old painted *Venus*, *Aristænetus* describes *Lais*, another *Helena*, *Chariclea*, *Leucippe*, *Lucretia*, *Pandora* ; let her have a box of beauty to repair herself still, such a one as *Venus* gave *Phaon*, when he carried her over the ford ; let her use all helps art and nature can yield ; be like her, and her, and whom thou wilt, or all these in one ; a little sickness, a fever, smallpox, wound, scar, loss of an eye, a limb, a violent passion, a distemperature of heat or cold, mars all in an instant, disfigures all ; childbearing, old age, that tyrant time will turn *Venus* to *Erinnys* ; raging time, care, rivels her upon a sudden ; after she hath been married a small while, and the black ox hath trodden on her toe, she will be so much altered, and wax out of favour, thou wilt not know her. One grows too fat, another too lean, &c., modest *Matilda*, pretty, pleasing *Peg*, sweet-singing *Susan*, mincing, merry *Moll*, dainty dancing *Doll*, neat *Nancy*, jolly *Joan*, nimble *Nell*, kissing *Kate*, bouncing *Bess*, with black

1 Idem. " Let my *Melita*'s eyes be like her neck smell like the rose, her hair
Juno's, her hand *Minerva*'s, her breasts shine more than gold, her honeyed lips
Venus's, her leg *Amphitiles*'s." 2 *Be-*
belius, *adagiis* Ger. 3 *Petron. Cat.*
" Let her eyes be as bright as the stars, in all respects be a deity," &c.

eyes, fair Phillis, with fine white hands, fiddling Frank, tall Tib, slender Sib, &c., will quickly lose their grace, grow fulsome, stale, sad, heavy, dull, sour, and all at last out of fashion. *Ubi jam vultus argutia, suavis suavitatio, blandus risus* &c. Those fair, sparkling eyes will look dull, her soft coral lips will be pale, dry, cold, rough, and blue, her skin rugged, that soft and tender superficies will be hard and harsh, her whole complexion change in a moment, and as ¹ Matilda writ to King John,

“I am not now as when thou saw’st me last,
That favour soon is vanished and past:
That rosy blush lapt in a lily vale,
Now is with morpew overgrown and pale.”

’Tis so in the rest, their beauty fades as a tree in winter, which Dejanira hath elegantly expressed in the poet,

² “Deforme solis aspicias truncis nemus?
Sic nostra longum forma percurrens iter,
Deperdit aliquid semper, et fulget minus,
Malisque minus est quicquid in nobis fuit,
Olim petitem cecidit, et partu labat,
Materque multum rapuit ex illâ mihi,
Ætas citato senior eripuit gradu.”

“And as a tree that in the greenwood grows,
With fruit and leaves, and in the summer blows,
In winter like a stock deformed shows:
Our beauty takes his race and journey goes,
And doth decrease, and lose, and come to nought,
Admir’d of old, to this by childbirth brought:
And mother hath bereft me of my grace,
And crooked old age coming on apace.”

To conclude with Chrysostom, ³ “When thou seest a fair and beautiful person, a brave Bonaroba, a bella donna, *quæ salivam moveat, lepidam puellam et quam tu facilè ames*, a come-

¹ M. Drayton. ² Senec. act. 2, Herc. Etæus. ³ Vides venustam mulierem, fulgidum habentem oculum, vultu hilari coruscantem, eximium quendam aspectum et decorum præ se ferentem. urentem mentem tuam, et concupiscentiam agentem: cogita terram esse id quod

amas, et quod admiraris stercus, et quod te urit, &c., cogita illam jam senescere, jam rugosam, cavis genis, ægrotam; tantis sordibus intus plena est, pituitâ, stercore; reputa quid intra nares, oculos, cerebrum gestat, quas sordes, &c. &c.

ly woman, having bright eyes, a merry countenance, a shining lustre in her look, a pleasant grace, wringing thy soul, and increasing thy concupiscence; bethink with thyself that it is but earth thou lovest, a mere excrement, which so vexeth thee, that thou so admirest, and thy raging soul will be at rest. Take her skin from her face, and thou shalt see all loathsomeness under it, that beauty is a superficial skin and bones, nerves, sinews; suppose her sick, now reviled, hoary-headed, hollow-cheeked, old; within she is full of filthy phlegm, stinking, putrid, excremental stuff; snot and snivel in her nostrils, spittle in her mouth, water in her eyes, what filth in her brains," &c. Or take her at best, and look narrowly upon her in the light, stand near her, nearer yet, thou shalt perceive almost as much, and love less, as ¹ Cardan well writes, *minus amant qui acutè vident*, though Scaliger deride him for it; if he see her near, or look exactly at such a posture, whosoever he is, according to the true rules of symmetry and proportion, those I mean of Albertus Durer, Lomatius and Tasnier, examine him of her. If he be *elegans formarum spectator*, he shall find many faults in physiognomy, and ill colour: if form, one side of the face likely bigger than the other, or crooked nose, bad eyes, prominent veins, concavities about the eyes, wrinkles, pimples, red streaks, freckles, hairs, warts, næves, inequalities, roughness, scabredity, paleness, yellowness, and as many colours as are in a turkeycock's neck, many indecorums in their other parts; *est quod desideres, est quod amputes*, one leers, another frowns, a third gapes, squints, &c. And 'tis true that he saith, ² *Diligenter consideranti raro facies absoluta, et quæ vitio caret*, seldom shall you find an absolute face without a fault, as I have often observed; not in the face alone is this defect or disproportion to be found, but in all the other parts, of body and mind; she is fair, indeed, but foolish; pretty, comely, and decent, of a majestical presence, but, peradventure, impetuous, dishonest, *acerba, iniqua*, self-willed; she is rich, but

¹ Subtil. 13. ² Cardan. subtil. lib. 13.

deformed; hath a sweet face, but bad carriage, no bringing up, a rude and wanton flirt; a neat body she hath, but it is a nasty quean otherwise, a very slut of a bad kind. As flowers in a garden have colour some, but no smell, others have a fragrant smell, but are unseemly to the eye; one is unsavoury to the taste as rue, as bitter as wormwood, and yet a most medicinal cordial flower, most acceptable to the stomach; so are men and women; one is well qualified, but of ill proportion, poor and base; a good eye she hath, but a bad hand and foot, *fæda pedes et fæda manus*, a fine leg, bad teeth, a vast body, &c. Examine all parts of body and mind, I advise thee to inquire of all. See her angry, merry, laugh, weep, hot, cold, sick, sullen, dressed, undressed, in all attires, sites, gestures, passions, eat her meals, &c., and in some of these you will surely dislike. Yea, not her only let him observe, but her parents how they carry themselves; for what deformities, defects, incumbrances of body or mind be in them at such an age, they will likely be subject to, be molested in like manner, they will *patrizare* or *matrizare*. And withal let him take notice of her companions, *in convictu* (as Quiverra prescribes), *et quibuscum conversetur*, whom she converseth with. *Noscitur ex comite qui non cognoscitur ex se.*¹ According to Thucydides, she is commonly the best, *de quo minimus foras habetur sermo*, that is least talked of abroad. For if she be a noted reveller, a gadder, a singer, a pranker or dancer, then take heed of her. For what saith Theocritus?

“At vos festivæ ne ne saltate puellæ,

En malus hircus adest in vos saltare paratus.”²

Young men will do it when they come to it, fauns and satyrs will certainly play wreeks, when they come in such wanton Baccho's Elenora's presence. Now when they shall perceive any such obliquity, indecency, disproportion, deformity, bad conditions, &c., let them still ruminare on that, and as ³ Hæ-

¹ “Show me your company and I'll tell you who you are.” ² “Hark, you merry maids, do not dance so, for see the he-goat is at hand, ready to pounce upon you.” ³ Lib. de contem. amoribus, earum mendas volvant animo, sæpe

dus adviseth out of Ovid, *earum mendas notent*, note their faults, vices, errors, and think of their imperfections; 'tis the next way to divert and mitigate love's furious headstrong passions; as a peacock's feet, and filthy comb, they say, make him forget his fine feathers, and pride of his tail; she is lovely, fair, well favored, well qualified, courteous and kind, "but if she be not so to me, what care I how kind she be?" I say with ¹ Philostratus, *formosa aliis, mihi superba*, she is a tyrant to me, and so let her go. Besides these outward næves or open faults, errors, there be many inward infirmities, secret, some private (which I will omit), and some more common to the sex, sullen fits, evil qualities, filthy diseases, in this case fit to be considered; *consideratio fœditatis mulierum, menstruæ imprimis, quam immundæ sunt, quam Savanarola proponit regula septima penitus observandam*; and Platina, dial. amoris, *fusè perstringit*. Lodovicus Bonaccius, *mulieb. lib. 2, cap. 2*, Pet. Hædus, Albertus, *et infiniti ferè medici*. ² A lover, in Calcagninus's Apologies, wished with all his heart he were his mistress's ring, to hear, embrace, see, and do I know not what: O thou fool, quoth the ring, if thou wer'st in my room, thou shouldst hear, observe, and see *pudenda et pœnitenda*, that which would make thee loathe and hate her, yea, peradventure, all women for her sake.

I will say nothing of the vices of their minds, their pride, envy, inconstancy, weakness, malice, self-will, lightness, insatiable lust, jealousy; Eccles. v. 14. "No malice to a woman's, no bitterness like to hers," Eccles. vii. 26, and as the same author urgeth, Prov. xxxi. 10, "Who shall find a virtuous woman?" He makes a question of it. *Neque jus, neque bonum, neque æquum sciunt, melius pejus, prosit, obsit, nihil vident, nisi quod libido suggerit*. "They know neither good nor bad, be it better or worse (as the comical

ante oculos constituent, sæpe damnent.

¹ In deliciis. ² Quum amator annulum se amicæ optaret, ut ejus amplexu frui posset, &c. O te miserum, ait au-

nulus, si meas vices obires, videres, audires, &c., nihil non odio dignum observares.

poet hath it), beneficial or hurtful, they will do what they list."

¹ "Insidiæ humani generis, querimonia vitæ,
Exuviæ noctis, durissima cura diei,
Pœna virûm, nex et juvenum," &c.

And to that purpose were they first made, as Jupiter insinuates in the ² poet ;

"The fire that bold Prometheus stole from me,
With plagues call'd women shall revenged be,
On whose alluring and enticing face,
Poor mortals doting shall their death embrace."

In fine, as Diogenes concludes in Nevisanus, *Nulla est fœmina quæ non habeat quid*: they have all their faults.

*Every each of them hath some vices,
If one be full of villany,
Another hath a lickerish eye,
If one be full of wantonness,
Another is a chideress.*³

When Leander was drowned, the inhabitants of Sestos consecrated Hero's lantern to Anteros, *Anteroti sacrum*, ⁴ and he that had good success in his love should light the candle ; but never any man was found to light it ; which I can refer to nought, but the inconstancy and lightness of women.

⁵ "For in a thousand, good there is not one ;
All be so proud, unthankful, and unkind,
With flinty hearts, careless of others' moan,
In their own lusts, carried most headlong blind,
But more herein to speak I am forbidden :
Sometimes for speaking truth one may be chidden."

I am not willing, you see, to prosecute the cause against them, and therefore take heed you mistake me not, ⁶ *matronam nullam ego tango*, I honour the sex, with all good men, and as I ought to do, rather than displease them, I will voluntarily take the oath which Mercurius Britannicus took, *Viragin*.

¹ Lætheus. "Snares of the human species, torments of life, spoils of the night, bitterest cares of the day, the torture of husbands, the ruin of youths."

² See our English Tatius, lib. 1. ³ Chau-

cer, in Romaunt of the Rose. ⁴ Qui se facilem in amore probavit, hanc succendito. At qui succendat, ad hunc diem repertus nemo. Calcagninus. ⁵ Ariosto. ⁶ Hor.

descript. lib. 2, fol. 95. Me nihil unquam mali nobilissimo sexui, vel verbo, vel facto machinaturum, &c., let Simonides, Mantuan, Platina, Pet. Aretine, and such women-haters bear the blame, if aught be said amiss; I have not writ a tenth of that which might be urged out of them and others; ¹*non possunt invectivæ omnes, et satiræ in fæminas scriptæ, uno volumine comprehendî.* And that which I have said (to speak truth) no more concerns them than men, though women be more frequently named in this tract (to apologize once for all); I am neither partial against them, or therefore bitter; what is said of the one, *mutato nomine*, may most part be understood of the other. My words are like Passus's picture in ²Lucian, of whom, when a good fellow had bespoke a horse to be painted with his heels upwards, tumbling on his back, he made him passant; now when the fellow came for his piece, he was very angry, and said, it was quite opposite to his mind; but Passus instantly turned the picture upside down, showed him the horse at that site which he requested, and so gave him satisfaction. If any man take exception at my words, let him alter the name, read him for her, and 'tis all one in effect.

But to my purpose: If women in general be so bad (and men worse than they) what a hazard is it to marry? where shall a man find a good wife; or a woman a good husband? A woman a man may eschew, but not a wife; wedding is undoing (some say), marrying marring, wooing woeing; ³"a wife is a fever hectic," as Scaliger calls her, "and not to be cured but by death," as out of Menander, Athenæus adds,

"In pelagus te jacis negotiorum,—————
Non Libyum, non Ægeum, ubi ex trigintâ non pereunt
Tria navigia: ducens uxorem servatur prorsus nemo."

"Thou wadest into a sea itself of woes;
In Libye and Ægean each man knows
Of thirty not three ships are cast away,
But on this rock not one escapes, I say."

¹ Christoph. Fonseca.
nisi morte avellenda.

² Encom. Demosthen.

³ Febris hectica uxor, et non

The worldly cares, miseries, discontents, that accompany marriage, I pray you learn of them that have experience, for I have none ; ¹ *παῖδας ἐγὼ λόγους ἐγενησάμην, libri mentis liberi.* For my part I'll dissemble with him,

"Este procul nymphæ, fallax genus estę puellæ,
Vita jugata meo non facit ingenio: me juvat," ² &c.

many married men exclaim at the miseries of it, and rail at wives downright ; I never tried, but as I hear some of them say, ³ *Mare haud mare, vos mare acerrimum*, an Irish Sea is not so turbulent and raging as a litigious wife.

⁴ "Scylla et Charybdis Sicula contorquens freta,
Minus est timenda, nulla non melior fera est."

"Scylla and Charybdis are less dangerous,
There is no beast that is so noxious."

Which made the devil belike, as most interpreters hold, when he had taken away Job's goods, *corporis et fortunæ bona*, health, children, friends, to persecute him the more, leave his wicked wife, as Pineda proves out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Austin, Chrysostom, Prosper, Gaudentius, &c., *ut novum calamitatis inde genus viro existeret*, to vex and gall him worse, *quam totus infernus*, than all the fiends in hell, as knowing the conditions of a bad woman. Jupiter *non tribuit homini pestilentius malum*, saith Simonides ; "better dwell with a dragon or a lion, than keep house with a wicked wife," Eccus. xxv. 18, "better dwell in a wilderness," Prov. xxi. 19, "no wickedness like to her," Eccus. xxv. 22. "She makes a sorry heart, an heavy countenance, a wounded mind, weak hands, and feeble knees," vers. 25. "A woman and death are two the bitterest things in the world ;" *uxor mihi ducenda est hodie, id mihi visus est dicere, abi domum et suspende te.* Ter. *And.* 1, 5. And yet for all this we bachelors desire to be married ; with that vestal virgin, we long for it,

¹ Synesius, libros ego liberos genui ; race, no married life for me," &c. Lipsius, Antiq. Lect. lib. ² "Avaunt, ³ Plautus, Asin. act. 1. ⁴ Senec. in ye nymphs, maidens, ye are a deceitful Hercul.

¹ *Felices nuptæ! moriar, nisi nubere dulce est.* 'Tis the sweetest thing in the world, I would I had a wife, saith he,

“ For fain would I leave a single life,
If I could get me a good wife.”

Heigh-ho for a husband, cries she, a bad husband, nay, the worst that ever was is better than none: O blissful marriage, O most welcome marriage, and happy are they that are so coupled; we do earnestly seek it, and are never well till we have effected it. But with what fate? like those birds in the ² Emblem, that fed about a cage, so long as they could fly away at their pleasure liked well of it; but when they were taken and might not get loose, though they had the same meat, pined away for sullenness, and would not eat. So we commend marriage.

“ donec miselli liberi
Aspicimus dominam; sed postquam, heu, janua clausa est,
Fel intus est quod mel fuit; ”

“ So long as we are woers, may kiss and coll at our pleasure, nothing is so sweet, we are in heaven as we think; but when we are once tied, and have lost our liberty, marriage is an hell,” “ give me my yellow hose again; ” a mouse in a trap lives as merrily, we are in a purgatory some of us, if not hell itself. *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, as the proverb is, 'tis fine talking of war, and marriage sweet in contemplation, till it be tried; and then as wars are most dangerous, irksome, every minute at death's door, so is, &c. When those wild Irish peers, saith ³ Stanihurst, were feasted by King Henry the Second (at what time he kept his Christmas at Dublin) and had tasted of his princelike cheer, generous wines, dainty fare, had seen his ⁴ massy plate of silver, gold, enamelled, beset with jewels, golden candlesticks, goodly rich hangings,

¹ Seneca. ² Amator. Emblem. ³ De rebus Hibernicis, l. 3. ⁴ Gemmea pocula, argentea vasa, cælata candelabra, aurea, &c. Conchileata aulæa, buccinarum clangorem, tibiæ cantum, et symphonie suavitatem, majestatemque principis coronati cum vidissent sella deaurata, &c.

brave furniture, heard his trumpets sound, fifes, drums, and his exquisite music in all kinds ; when they had observed his majestical presence as he sat in purple robes, crowned, with his sceptre, &c., in his royal seat, the poor men were so amazed, enamoured, and taken with the object, that they were *pertæsi domestici et pristini tyrotarichi*, as weary and ashamed of their own sordidity and manner of life. They would all be English forthwith ; who but English ! but when they had now submitted themselves, and lost their former liberty, they began to rebel some of them, others repent of what they had done, when it was too late. 'Tis so with us bachelors, when we see and behold those sweet faces, those gaudy shows that women make, observe their pleasant gestures and graces, give ear to their siren tunes, see them dance, &c., we think their conditions are as fine as their faces, we are taken with dumb signs, *in amplexum ruimus*, we rave, we burn, and would fain be married. But when we feel the miseries, cares, woes, that accompany it, we make our moan many of us, cry out at length and cannot be released. If this be true now, as some out of experience will inform us, farewell wiving for my part, and as the comical poet merrily saith,

1 "Perdatur ille pessime qui fœminam
Duxit secundus, nam nihil primo imprecor!
Ignarus ut puto mali primus fuit."

2 "Foul fall him that brought the second match to pass,
The first I wish no harm, poor man, alas!
He knew not what he did, nor what it was."

What shall I say to him that marries again and again, ³*Stulta maritali qui porrigit ora capistro*, I pity him not, for the first time he must do as he may, bear it sometimes by the head and shoulders, and let his next neighbour ride, or else run away, or as that Syracusan in a tempest, when all ponderous things were to be exonerated out of the ship, *quia*

1 Eubulus, in Crisil. Athenæus, *dipnosophist.* l. 13, c. 3. 2 Translated by my brother, Ralph Burton. 3 Juvenal. "Who thrusts his foolish neck a second time into the halter."

maximum pondus erat, fling his wife into the sea. But this I confess is comically spoken, ¹ and so I pray you take it. In sober sadness, ² marriage is a bondage, a thralldom, a yoke, a hinderance to all good enterprises ("he hath married a wife, and cannot come"), a stop to all preferments, a rock on which many are saved, many impinge and are cast away; not that the thing is evil in itself or troublesome, but full of contentment and happiness, one of the three things which please God, ³ "when a man and his wife agree together," an honourable and happy estate, who knows it not? If they be sober, wise, honest as the poet infers,

⁴ "Si commodos nanciscantur amores,
Nullum iis abest voluptatis genus."

"If fitly match'd be man and wife,
No pleasure's wanting to their life."

But to indiscreet sensual persons, that as brutes are wholly led by sense, it is a feral plague, many times a hell itself, and can give little or no content, being that they are often so irregular and prodigious in their lusts, so diverse in their affections. *Uxor nomen dignitatis non voluptatis*, as ⁵ he said, a wife is a name of honour, not of pleasure; she is fit to bear the office, govern a family, to bring up children, sit at a board's end and carve, as some carnal men think and say; they had rather go to the stews, or have now and then a snatch as they can come by it, borrow of their neighbours, than have wives of their own; except they may, as some princes and great men do, keep as many courtesans as they will themselves, fly out *impunè*, ⁶ *Permolere uxores alienas*, that polygamy of Turks, *Lex Julia*, which Cæsar once enforced in Rome (though Levinus Torrentius and others suspect it), *uti uxores quot et quas vellent liceret*, that every great man might marry, and keep as many wives as he would, or Irish divorcement were in use; ⁷ but as it is, 'tis hard and gives

¹ Hæc in speciem dicta cave ut credas.
² Bachelors always are the bravest men.
Bacon. Seek eternity in memory, not in posterity, like Epaminondas, that, instead of children, left two great victories
behind him, which he called his two daughters. ³ Ecclus. xxviii. 1.
⁴ Euripides, *Andromach.* ⁵ *Ælius*
Vetus, emperor. Spar. vit. ejus.
⁶ Hor. ⁷ Quod licet, ingratum est.

not that satisfaction to these carnal men, beastly men as too many are; what still the same, to be tied ¹to one, be she never so fair, never so virtuous, is a thing they may not endure, to love one long. Say thy pleasure, and counterfeit as thou wilt, as ²Parmeno told Thais, *Neque tu uno eris contenta*, "one man will never please thee;" nor one woman many men. But as ³Pan replied to his father Mercury, when he asked whether he was married, *Nequaquam pater, amator enim sum*, &c. "No, father, no, I am a lover still, and cannot be contented with one woman." Pythias, Echo, Menades, and I know not how many besides, were his mistresses, he might not abide marriage. *Varietas delectat*, 'tis loathsome and tedious, what one still? which the satirist said of Iberina, is verified in most,

⁴"Unus Iberinæ vir sufficit? ocyus illud
Extorquebis ut hæc oculo contenta sit uno."

"'Tis not one man will serve her by her will,
As soon she'll have one eye as one man still."

As capable of any impression as *materia prima* itself that still desires new forms, like the sea their affections ebb and flow. Husband is a cloak for some to hide their villany; once married she may fly out at her pleasure, the name of husband is a sanctuary to make all good. *Eo ventum* (saith Seneca) *ut nulla virum habeat, nisi ut irritet adulterum*. They are right and straight, as true Trojans as mine host's daughter, that Spanish wench in ⁵Ariosto, as good wives as Messalina. Many men are as constant in their choice, and as good husbands as Nero himself, they must have their pleasure of all they see, and are in a word far more fickle than any woman.

*For either they be full of jealousy,
Or masterfull, or loven novelty.*

¹ For better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, &c.. tom. 4, neque cum unâ aliquâ rem habere contentus forem. ⁴ Juvenal.
'tis durus sermo to a sensual man. ⁵ Lib. 28.

² Ter. act. 1, Sc. 2, Eunuch. ³ Lucian.

Good men have often ill wives, as bad as Xantippe was to Socrates, Elevora to St. Lewis, Isabella to our Edward the Second; and good wives are as often matched to ill husbands, as Mariamne to Herod, Serena to Diocletian, Theodora to Theophilus, and Thyra to Gurmunde. But I will say nothing of dissolute and bad husbands, of bachelors and their vices; their good qualities are a fitter subject for a just volume, too well known already in every village, town and city, they need no blazon; and lest I should mar any matches, or dishearten loving maids, for this present I will let them pass.

Being that men and women are so irreligious, depraved by nature, so wandering in their affections, so brutish, so subject to disagreement, so unobservant of marriage rites, what shall I say? If thou beest such a one, or thou light on such a wife, what concord can there be, what hope of agreement? 'tis not *conjugium* but *conjurgium*, as the Reed and Fern in the ¹ Emblem, averse and opposite in nature; 'tis twenty to one thou wilt not marry to thy contentment; but as in a lottery forty blanks were drawn commonly for one prize, out of a multitude you shall hardly choose a good one; a small ease, hence then, little comfort,

² "Nec integrum unquam transiges lætus diem."

"If he or she be such a one,
Thou hadst much better be alone."

If she be barren, she is not——&c. If she have ³ children, and thy state be not good, though thou be wary and circumspect, thy charge will undo thee,—*fecundâ domum tibi prole gravabit*,* thou wilt not be able to bring them up, ⁴ "and what greater misery can there be than to beget children, to whom thou canst leave no other inheritance but hunger and thirst?" ⁵ *cum fames dominatur, strident voces*

¹ Camerar. 82, cent. 3. ² Simonides. ³ Children make misfortunes more bitter. Bacon. * "She will sink your whole establishment by her fecundity." ⁴ Heinsius, Epist. Primiero. Nihil miserius quam procreare liberos ad quos nihil ex hæreditate tuâ pervenire videas præter famem et sitim. ⁵ Chrys. Fonseca.

rogantium panem, penetrantes patris cor; what so grievous as to turn them up to the wide world, to shift for themselves? No plague like to want; and when thou hast good means, and art very careful of their education, they will not be ruled. Think but of that old proverb, ἥρων τέκνα πῆματα, *herorum filii noxæ*, great men's sons seldom do well; *O utinam aut cælebs mansissem aut prole carerem!* "would that I had either remained single, or not had children," ¹ Augustus exclaims in Suetonius. Jacob had his Reuben, Simeon, and Levi; David an Amnon, an Absalom, Adoniah; wise men's sons are commonly fools, insomuch that Spartian concludes, *Neminem prope magnorum virorum optimum et utilem reliquisse filium*; ² they had been much better to have been childless. 'Tis too common in the middle sort; thy son's a drunkard, a gamester, a spendthrift; thy daughter a fool, a whore; thy servants lazy drones and thieves; thy neighbours devils, they will make thee weary of thy life. ³ "If thy wife be froward, when she may not have her will, thou hadst better be buried alive; she will be so impatient, raving still, and roaring like Juno in the tragedy, there's nothing but tempests, all is an uproar." If she be soft and foolish, thou wert better have a block, she will shame thee and reveal thy secrets; if wise and learned, well qualified, there is as much danger on the other side, *mulierem doctam ducere periculosissimum*, saith Nevisanus, she will be too insolent and peevish, ⁴ *Malo Venusinam quam te, Cornelia mater*. Take heed; if she be a slut, thou wilt loathe her; if proud, she'll beggar thee, ⁵ "she'll spend thy patrimony in baubles, all Arabia will not serve to perfume her hair," saith Lucian; if fair and wanton, she'll make thee a cornuto; if deformed, she will paint. ⁶ "If her face be filthy by nature, she will mend it by art," *alienis et adscititiis imposturis*, "which who can en-

¹ Liberi sibi carcinomata. ² Melius fuerat eos sine liberis discessisse. ³ Lemnius, cap. 6, lib. 1. Si morosa, si non in omnibus obsequaris, omnia impacata in ædibus, omnia sursum misceri videas, multæ tempestates, &c. Lib. 2, numer. 101, sylv. nup. ⁴ Juvenal. "I would

rather have a Venusinian wench than thee, Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi." &c. ⁵ Tom. 4, Amores: omnem mariti opulentiam profundet, totam Arabiam capillis redolens. ⁶ Idem, et quis sanæ mentis sustinere queat, &c.

dure?" If she do not paint, she will look so filthy, thou canst not love her, and that peradventure will make thee dishonest. Cromerus, *lib. 12, hist.* relates of Casimirus, ¹ that he was unchaste because his wife Aleida, the daughter of Henry, Landgrave of Hesse, was so deformed. If she be poor, she brings beggary with her (saith Nevisanus), misery and discontent. If you marry a maid, it is uncertain how she proves, *Hæc forsân veniet non satis apta tibi.*² If young, she is likely wanton and untaught; if lusty, too lascivious; and if she be not satisfied, you know where and when, *nî nisi jurgia*, all is an uproar, and there is little quietness to be had; if an old maid, 'tis a hazard she dies in childbed; if a ³ rich widow, *induces te in laqueum*, thou dost halter thyself, she will make all away beforehand, to her other children, &c.——⁴ *dominam quis possit ferre tonantem?* she will hit thee still in the teeth with her first husband; if a young widow, she is often insatiable and immodest. If she be rich, well descended, bring a great dowry, or be nobly allied, thy wife's friends will eat thee out of house and home, *dives ruinam ædibus inducit*, she will be so proud, so high-minded, so imperious. For——*nihil est magis intolerabile dite*, "there's nothing so intolerable," thou shalt be as the tassel of a goshawk, ⁵ "she will ride upon thee, domineer as she list," wear the breeches in her oligarchical government, and beggar thee besides. *Uxores divites servitutem exigunt* (as Seneca hits them, *Declam. lib. 2, declam. 6.*) *Dotem accepi, imperium perdidit.* They will have sovereignty, *pro conjuge dominam arcessis*, they will have attendance, they will do what they list. ⁶ In taking a dowry thou lovest thy liberty, *dos intrat, libertas exit*, hazardest thine estate.

"Hæ sunt atque aliæ multæ in magnis dotibus
Incommoditates, sumptusque intolerabiles," &c.

¹ Subegit ancillas quod uxor ejus deformior esset. ² "Perhaps she will not suit you." ³ *Sil. nup. l. 2, num. 25.* Dives inducit tempestatem, pauper curam; ducens viduam se inducit in laqueum. ⁴ Sic quisque dicit, alteram ducit tamen. "Who can endure a virago for

a wife?" ⁵ Si dotata erit, imperiosa, continuoque viro inequitare conabitur. Petrarch. ⁶ If a woman nourish her husband, she is angry and impudent, and full of reproach. *Ecclus. xxv. 22.* Scilicet uxori nubere nolo meæ.

“with many such inconveniences;” say the best, she is a commanding servant; thou hadst better have taken a good housewife maid in her smock. Since then there is such hazard, if thou be wise keep thyself as thou art, ’tis good to match, much better to be free.

¹ “procreare liberos lepidissimum,
Hercle verò liberum esse, id multò est lepidius.”

² “Art thou young? then match not yet; if old, match not at all.”

“Vis juvenis nubere? nondum venit tempus,
Ingravescente ætate jam tempus præteriit.”

And therefore, with that philosopher, still make answer to thy friends that importune thee to marry, *adhuc intempestivum*, ’tis yet unseasonable, and ever will be.

Consider withal how free, how happy, how secure, how heavenly, in respect, a single man is, ³as he said in the comedy, *Et isti quod fortunatum esse autumant, uxorem nunquam habui*, and that which all my neighbours admire and applaud me for, account so great a happiness, I never had a wife; consider how contentedly, quietly, neatly, plentifully, sweetly, and how merrily he lives! he hath no man to care for but himself, none to please, no charge, none to control him, is tied to no residence, no cure to serve, may go and come, when, whither, live where he will, his own master, and do what he list himself. Consider the excellency of virgins, ⁴*Virgo cælum meruit*, marriage replenisheth the earth, but virginity Paradise; Elias, Eliseus, John Baptist, were bachelors; virginity is a precious jewel, a fair garland, a never-fading flower; ⁵for why was Daphne turned to a green bay-tree, but to show that virginity is immortal?

¹ Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* act. 3, sc. 1. “To be a father is very pleasant, but to be a freeman still more so.” ² Stobæus, ser. 66, *Alex. ab Alexand.* lib. 4, cap. 8.

³ They shall attend the lamb in heaven, because they were not defiled with women,

Apoc. xiv. ⁴ *Nuptiæ replent terram, virginitas Paradisum.* Hier. ⁵ Daphne in laurum semper virentem, immortalem docet gloriam paratam virginibus, pudicitiam servantibus.

¹ "Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
 Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
 Quam mulcent auræ, firmaat sol, educat imber, &c.,
 Sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum chara suis, sed
 Cum castum amisit," &c.

Virginity is a fine picture, as ² Bonaventure calls it, a blessed thing in itself, and if you will believe a Papist, meritorious. And although there be some inconveniences, irksomeness, solitariness, &c., incident to such persons, want of those comforts, *quæ ægro assideat et curet ægrotum, fomentum paret, roget medicum*, &c., embracing, dalliance, kissing, colling, &c., those furious motives and wanton pleasures a new-married wife most part enjoys; yet they are but toys in respect, easily to be endured, if conferred to those frequent incumbrances of marriage. Solitariness may be otherwise avoided with mirth, music, good company, business, employment; in a word, ³ *Gaudebit minus, et minus dolebit*; for their good nights, he shall have good days. And methinks some time or other, amongst so many rich bachelors, a benefactor should be found to build a monastical college for old, decayed, deformed, or discontented maids to live together in, that have lost their first loves, or otherwise miscarried, or else are willing howsoever to lead a single life. The rest, I say, are toys in respect, and sufficiently recompensed by those innumerable contents and incomparable privileges of virginity. Think of these things, confer both lives, and consider last of all these commodious prerogatives a bachelor hath, how well he is esteemed, how heartily welcome to all his friends, *quam mentitis obsequiis*, as Tertullian observes, with what counterfeit courtesies they will adore him, follow him, present him with gifts, *hamatis donis*; "it cannot be believed (saith ⁴ Ammi-

¹ Catul. car. nuptiali. "As the flower that grows in the secret inclosure of the garden, unknown to the flocks, unpressed by the ploughshare, which also the breezes refresh, the heat strengthens, the rain makes grow: so is a virgin whilst untouched, whilst dear to her relatives,

but when once she forfeits her chastity," &c. ² Diet. salut. c. 22, pulcherrimum sertum infiniti precii, gemma, et pictura speciosa. ³ Mart. ⁴ Lib. 24, quæ obsequiorum diversitate colantur homines sine liberis.

anus) with what humble service he shall be worshipped," how loved and respected; "If he want children (and have means), he shall be often invited, attended on by princes, and have advocates to plead his cause for nothing," as ¹ Plutarch adds. Wilt thou then be revered, and had in estimation?

² "dominus tamen et domini rex
Si tu vis fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aulâ
Luserit Æneas, nec filia dulcior illâ?
Jucundum et charum sterilis facit uxor amicum."

Live a single man, marry not, and thou shalt soon perceive how those Hæredipetæ (for so they were called of old) will seek after thee, bribe and flatter thee for thy favour, to be thine heir or executor; Aruntius and Aterius, those famous parasites in this kind, as Tacitus and ³ Seneca have recorded, shall not go beyond them. Periplectomines, that good personate old man, *delicium senis*, well understood this in Plautus; for when Pleusides exhorted him to marry that he might have children of his own, he readily replied in this sort,

"Quando habeo multos cognatos, quid opus mihi sit liberis?
Nunc benè vivo et fortunatè, atque animo ut lubet.
Mea bona meâ morte cognatis dicam interpartiant.
Illi apud me edunt, me curant, visunt quid agam, ecquid velim,
Qui mihi mittunt munera, ad prandium, ad cœnam vocant."

"Whilst I have kin, what need I brats to have?
Now I live well, and as I will, most brave.
And when I die, my goods I'll give away
To them that do invite me every day,
That visit me, and send me pretty toys,
And strive who shall do me most courtesies."

This respect thou shalt have in like manner, living as he did, a single man. But if thou marry once, ⁴ *cogitato in omni*

¹ Hunc alii ad cœnam invitant, princeps huic famulatur, oratores gratis patrocinantur. Lib. de amore Proliis.
² Annal. 11. "If you wish to be master of your house, let no little ones play in

your halls, nor any little daughter yet more dear, a barren wife makes a pleasant and affectionate companion." ³ 60, de benefic. 38. ⁴ E Græco.

vitâ te servum fore, bethink thyself what a slavery it is, what a heavy burden thou shalt undertake, how hard a task thou art tied to, (for as Hierome bath it, *qui uxorem habet, debitor est, et uxoris servus alligatus*,) and how continue, what squalor attends it, what irksomeness, what charges, for wife and children are a perpetual bill of charges; besides a myriad of cares, miseries, and troubles; for as that comical Plautus merrily and truly said, he that wants trouble, must get to be master of a ship, or marry a wife; and as another seconds him, wife and children have undone me; so many and such infinite incumbrances accompany this kind of life. Furthermore, *uxor intumuit*, &c., or as he said in the comedy, ¹ *Duxi uxorem, quam ibi miseriam vidi, nati filii, alia cura*. All gifts and invitations cease, no friend will esteem thee, and thou shalt be compelled to lament thy misery, and make thy moan with ² Bartholomæus Scheræus, that famous poet laureate, and professor of Hebrew in Wittenberg: I had finished this work long since, but that *inter alia dura et tristia quæ misero mihi pene tergum fregerunt* (I use his own words), amongst many miseries which almost broke my back, *συζυγία ob Xantipismum*, a shrew to my wife tormented my mind above measure and beyond the rest. So shalt thou be compelled to complain, and to cry out at last, with ³ Phoroneus the lawyer, “How happy had I been, if I had wanted a wife!” If this which I have said will not suffice, see more in Lemnius, *lib. 4, cap. 13, de occult. nat. mir.* Espensæus, *de continentiâ, lib. 6, cap. 8*, Kornman, *de virginitate*, Platina *in Amor. dial. Practica artis amandi*, Barbarus, *de re uxoriâ*, Arnisæus, *in polit. cap. 3*, and him that is *instar omnium*, Nevisanus the lawyer, *Sylva nuptial.* almost in every page.

¹ Ter. Adelph. “I have married a wife; what misery it has entailed upon me! sons were born, and other cares followed.” ² Itineraria in psalmos in-

structione ad lectorem. ³ Bruson, lib. 7, 22 cap. Si uxor deesset, nihil mihi ad summam felicitatem defuisset.

SUBJECT. IV.—*Philters, Magical and Poetical Cures.*

WHERE persuasions and other remedies will not take place, many fly to unlawful means, philters, amulets, magic spells, ligatures, characters, charms, which as a wound with the spear of Achilles, if so made and caused, must so be cured. If forced by spells and philters, saith Paracelsus, it must be eased by characters, *Mag. lib. 2, cap. 28*, and by incantations. Fernelius, *Path. lib. 6, cap. 13*. ¹Sckenkius, *lib. 4, observ. med.* hath some examples of such as have been so magically caused, and magically cured, and by witchcraft; so saith Baptista Codronchus, *lib. 3, cap. 9, de mor. ven.* Malleus, *malef. cap. 6*. 'Tis not permitted to be done, I confess; yet often attempted: see more in Wierus, *lib. 3, cap. 18, de præstig. de remediis per philtra*, Delrio, *tom. 2, lib. 2, quæst. 3, sect. 3, disquisit. magic.* Cardan, *lib. 16, cap. 90*, reckons up many magnetical medicines, as to piss through a ring, &c. Mizaldus, *cent. 3, 30*, Baptista Porta, Jason Pratensis, Lobelius, *pag. 87*, Matthiolus, &c., prescribe many absurd remedies. *Radix mandragoræ ebibitæ, Annuli ex ungulis Asini, Stercus amatæ sub cervical positum, illâ nesciente, &c., quum odorem fœditatis sentit, amor solvitur. Noctuæ ovum abstemios facit comestum, ex consilio Jarthæ Indorum gymnosophistæ apud Philostratum, lib. 3, Sanguis amasiæ ebibitus omnem amoris sensum tollit:* Faustinam Marci Aurelii uxorem, gladiatoris amore captam, ita penitus consilio Chaldæorum liberatam, refert Julius Capitolinus. Some of our astrologers will effect as much by characteristical images, *ex sigillis Hermetis, Salomonis, Chaelis, &c., mulieris imago habentis crines sparsos, &c.* Our old poets and fantastical writers have many fabulous remedies for such as are love-sick, as that of Protesilaus's tomb in Philostratus, in his dialogue between Phœnix and Venitor: Venitor, upon occasion discoursing of the rare virtues of that shrine, telling him that

¹ Extinguitur virilitas ex incantamentorum maleficiis; neque enim fabula est, nonnulli reperti sunt, qui ex beneficiis amore privati sunt, ut ex multis historiis patet.

Protesilaus's altar and tomb ¹ "cures almost all manner of diseases, consumptions, dropsies, quartan agues, sore eyes; and amongst the rest, such as are lovesick shall there be helped." But the most famous is ² Leucata Petra, that renowned rock in Greece, of which Strabo writes, *Geog. lib. 10*, not far from St. Maures, saith Sands, *lib. 1*, from which rock if any lover flung himself down headlong, he was instantly cured. Venus, after the death of Adonis, "when she could take no rest for love," ³ *Cum vesana suas torreret flamma medullas*, came to the temple of Apollo to know what she should do to be eased of her pain; Apollo sent her to Leucata Petra, where she precipitated herself, and was forthwith freed; and when she would needs know of him a reason of it, he told her again, that he had often observed ⁴ Jupiter, when he was enamoured on Juno, thither go to ease and wash himself, and after him divers others. Cephalus, for the love of Proctela, Degonetus's daughter, leaped down here, that Lesbian Sappho for Phaon, on whom she miserably doted. ⁵ *Cupidinis æstro percita e summo præceps ruit*, hoping thus to ease herself, and to be freed of her love pangs.

⁶ "Hic se Deucalion Pyrrhæ succensus amore
Mersit, et illæso corpore pressit aquas.
Nec mora, fugit amor," &c.

"Hither Deucalion came, when Pyrrha's love
Tormented him, and leapt down to the sea,
And had no harm at all, but by and by
His love was gone and chased quite away."

This medicine Jos. Scaliger speaks of, *Ausoniarum lectionum*, *lib. 18*, Salmuth, in *Pancirol. de 7 mundi mirac.* and other writers. Pliny reports, that amongst the Cyzeni, there is a well consecrated to Cupid, of which if any lover taste, his passion is mitigated; and Anthony Verdurius, *Imag. deorum de Cupid.* saith, that amongst the ancients there was ⁷ *Amor*

¹ Curat omnes morbos, phthises, hydropes et oculorum morbos, et febre quartanâ laborantes et amore captos, miris artibus eos demulcet. ² "The moral is, vehement fear expels love."

³ Catullus. ⁴ Quum Junonem deperiret Jupiter impotenter, ibi solitus lavare, &c. ⁵ Menander. "Stricken by the gad-fly of love, rushed headlong from the summit." ⁶ Ovid. ep. 21. ⁷ Apud

Lethes, "he took burning torches, and extinguished them in the river; his statue was to be seen in the temple of Venus Eleusina," of which Ovid makes mention, and saith "that all lovers of old went thither on pilgrimage, that would be rid of their love pangs." Pausanias, in ¹Phocicis, writes of a temple dedicated *Veneri in speluncâ*, to Venus in the vault, at Naupactus in Achaia (now Lepanto) in which your widows that would have second husbands, made their supplications to the goddess; all manner of suits concerning lovers were commenced, and their grievances helped. The same author, in Achaicis, tells as much of the river ²Senelus in Greece; if any lover washed himself in it, by a secret virtue of that water (by reason of the extreme coldness belike), he was healed of love's torments, ³*Amoris vulnus idem qui sanat facit*; which if it be so, that water, as he holds, is *omni auro pretiosior*, better than any gold. Where none of all these remedies will take place, I know no other but that all lovers must make a head and rebel, as they did in ⁴Ausonius and crucify Cupid till he grant their request, or satisfy their desires.

SUBSECT. V.—*The last and best Cure of Love-Melancholy, is to let them have their Desire.*

THE last refuge and surest remedy, to be put in practice in the utmost place, when no other means will take effect, is to let them go together, and enjoy one another: *potissima cura est ut heros amasiâ suâ potiatur*, saith Guianerius, *cap. 15, tract. 15*. Æsculapius himself to this malady cannot invent a better remedy, *quàm ut amanti cedat amatum*, ⁵(Jason Pratensis) than that a lover have his desire.

"Et paritèr torulo bini jungantur in uno,
Et pulchro detur Æneæ Lavinia conjux."

antiquos amor Lethes olim fuit, is ardetes faces in profluentem inclinabat; hujus statua Veneris Eleusinæ templo visebatur, quo amantes confuebant, qui amicæ memoriam deponere volebant. ¹Lib. 10. Vota ei nuncupant amatores, multis de causis, sed imprimis viduæ

mulieres, ut sibi alteras a deâ nuptias exposcant. ²Rodiginus, ant. lect. lib. 16. cap. 25, calls it Selenus. Omni amore liberat. ³Seneca. "The rise and remedy of love the same." ⁴Cupido crucifixus: lepidum poema. ⁵Cap. 19, de morb. cerebri.

“And let them both be joined in a bed,
And let Æneas fair Lavinia wed;”

’Tis the special cure, to let them bleed *in venâ Hymenæâ*, for love is a pleurisy, and if it be possible, so let it be—*optataque gaudia carpant*.¹ Arculanus holds it the speediest and the best cure, ’tis Savonarola’s² last precept, a principal infallible remedy, the last, sole, and safest refuge.³

³ “Julia sola potes nostras extinguere flammæ,
Non nive, non glacie, sed potes igne pari.”

“Julia alone can quench my desire,
With neither ice nor snow, but with like fire.”

When you have all done, saith Avicenna, ⁴“there is no speedier or safer course, than to join the parties together according to their desires and wishes, the custom and form of law; and so we have seen him quickly restored to his former health, that was languished away to skin and bones; after his desire was satisfied, his discontent ceased, and we thought it strange; our opinion is therefore that in such cases nature is to be obeyed.” Areteus, an old author, *lib. 3, cap. 3*, hath an instance of a young man, ⁵when no other means could prevail, was so speedily relieved. What remains then but to join them in marriage?

⁶ “Tunc et basia morsiunculasque
Surreptim dare, mutuos fovere
Amplexus licet, et licet jocari;”

“they may then kiss and coll, lie and look babies into one another’s eyes,” as their sires before them did, they may then satiate themselves with love’s pleasures, which they have so long wished and expected;

¹ Patiens potiatur re amatâ, si fieri possit, optima cura, cap. 16, in 9 Rhasis.

² Si nihil aliud, nuptiæ et copulatio cum eâ.

³ Petronius, Catal. ⁴ Cap de Illi. Non invenitur cura, nisi regimen connexionis inter eos, secundum modum promissionis, et legis, et sic vidimus ad

carnem restitutum, qui jam venerat ad arefactionem; evanuit cura postquam sensit, &c.

⁵ Fama est melancholicum quendam ex amore insanabiliter se habentem, ubi puellæ se conjunxisset, restitutum, &c.

⁶ Jovian. Pontanus, Basi. lib. 1.

“Atque uno simul in toro quiescant,
 Conjuncto simul ore suavientur,
 Et somnos agitent quiete in unâ.”

Yea, but *hic labor, hoc opus*, this cannot conveniently be done, by reason of many and several impediments. Sometimes both parties themselves are not agreed; parents, tutors, masters, guardians, will not give consent; laws, customs, statutes, hinder; poverty, superstition, fear and suspicion; many men dote on one woman, *semel et simul*; she dotes as much on him, or them, and in modesty must not, cannot woo, as unwilling to confess as willing to love; she dare not make it known, show her affection, or speak her mind. “And hard is the choice (as it is in Euphues) when one is compelled either by silence to die with grief, or by speaking to live with shame.” In this case almost was the fair Lady Elizabeth, Edward the Fourth his daughter, when she was enamoured on Henry the Seventh, that noble young prince, and new-saluted king, when she broke forth into that passionate speech, ¹“O that I were worthy of that comely prince! but my father being dead, I want friends to motion such a matter? What shall I say? I am all alone, and dare not open my mind to any. What if I acquaint my mother with it? bashfulness forbids. What if some of the lords? audacity wants. O that I might but confer with him, perhaps in discourse I might let slip such a word that might discover mine intention!” How many modest maids may this concern, I am a poor servant, what shall I do? I am a fatherless child, and want means, I am blithe and buxom, young and lusty, but I have never a suitor, *Expectant stolidi ut ego illos rogatum veniam*, as ²she said, A company of silly fellows look belike that I should woo them and speak first; fain they would and cannot woo——³*quæ primum exordia sumam?* being merely passive they may not make suit, with many such lets and inconveniences, which I know not; what shall we do in such a case? sing “Fortune my foe?”——

¹ Speede's hist. e M. S. Ber. Andree. interpret. ² Virg. 4 Æn. “How shall
³ Lucretia in Coelestinâ, act 19. Barthio I begin?”

Some are so curious in this behalf, as those old Romans, our modern Venetians, Dutch and French, that if two parties dearly love, the one noble, the other ignoble, they may not by their laws match, though equal otherwise in years, fortunes, education, and all good affection. In Germany, except they can prove their gentility by three descents, they scorn to match with them. A nobleman must marry a noblewoman; a baron, a baron's daughter; a knight, a knight's; a gentleman, a gentleman's; as slaters sort their slates, do they degrees and families. If she be never so rich, fair, well qualified otherwise, they will make him forsake her. The Spaniards abhor all widows; the Turks repute them old women, if past five-and-twenty. But these are too severe laws, and strict customs, *dandum aliquid amorì*, we are all the sons of Adam, 'tis opposite to nature, it ought not to be so. Again: he loves her most impotently, she loves not him, and so *e contrâ*. ¹ Pan loved Echo; Echo, Satyrus; Satyrus, Lyda.

“Quantum ipsorum aliquis amantem oderat,
Tantum ipsius amans odiosus erat.”

“They love and loathe of all sorts, he loves her, she hates him; and is loathed of him on whom she dotes.” Cupid hath two darts, one to force love, all of gold, and that sharp — ² *Quod facit auratum est*; another blunt, of lead, and that to hinder; — *fugat hoc, facit illud amorem*, “this dispels, that creates love.” This we see too often verified in our common experience. ³ Coresus dearly loved that virgin Callirrhoë; but the more he loved her, the more she hated him. C  none loved Paris, but he rejected her; they are stiff of all sides, as if beauty were therefore created to undo, or be undone. I give her all attendance, all observance, I pray and entreat, ⁴ *Alma, precor, miserere mei*, fair mistress pity me, I spend myself, my time, friends and fortunes to win

¹ E Græco Moschi. ² Ovid. Met. 1. Coresus amor vehementior, tanto erat
“The efficacious one is golden.” ³ Pausanias, Achaicis, lib. 7. Perditi   amabat ⁴ Virg. 6   n.
Callirho  n virginem, et quanto erat

her favour (as he complains in the ¹ Eclogue), I lament, sigh, weep, and make my moan to her, "but she is hard as flint" — *cautibus Ismariis immotior* — as fair and hard as a diamond, she will not respect, *Despectus tibi sum*, or hear me,

"fugit illa vocantem
Nil lachrymas miserata meas, nil flexa querelis." ²

What shall I do?

"I wooed her as a young man should do,
But sir, she said, I love not you."

³ "Durior at scopulis mea Cœlia, marmore, ferro,
Robore, rupe, antro, cornu, adamante, gelu."

"Rock, marble, heart of oak with iron barr'd,
Frost, flint or adamants are not so hard."

I give, I bribe, I send presents, but they are refused, ⁴ *Rusticus est Corydon, nec munera curat Alexis*. I protest, I swear, I weep,

⁵ "odioque rependit amores,
Irrisu lachrymas "

"She neglects me for all this, she derides me," contemns me, she hates me, "Phillida flouts me;" *Caute, feris, quercu durior Eurydice*, stiff, churlish, rocky still.

And 'tis most true, many gentlewomen are so nice, they scorn all suitors, crucify their poor paramours, and think nobody good enough for them, as dainty to please as Daphne herself.

⁶ "Multi illam petiere, illâ aspernante petentes,
Nec quid Hymen, quid amor, quid sint connubia curat,"

"Many did woo her, but she scorn'd them still,
And said she would not marry by her will."

One while they will not marry, as they say at least (when as they intend nothing less), another while not yet, when 'tis

¹ Erasmus, Egl. Galatea. ² "Having complaints." ³ Angerianus, Erotopægnion.
no compassion for my tears, she avoids ⁴ Virg ⁵ Lœchæus. ⁶ Ovid. Met. 1.
my prayers, and is inflexible to my

their only desire, they rave upon it. She will marry at last, but not him; he is a proper man indeed, and well qualified, but he wants means; another of her suitors hath good means, but he wants wit; one is too old, another too young, too deformed, she likes not his carriage; a third too loosely given, he is rich, but base born; she will be a gentlewoman, a lady, as her sister is, as her mother is; she is all out as fair, as well brought up, hath as good a portion, and she looks for as good a match, as Matilda or Dorinda; if not, she is resolved as yet to tarry, so apt are young maids to boggle at every object, so soon won or lost with every toy, so quickly diverted, so hard to be pleased. In the mean time, *quot torsit amantes?* one suitor pines away, languisheth in love, *mori quot denique cogit!* another sighs and grieves, she cares not; and which¹ Stroza objected to Ariadne,

“Nec magis Euryali gemitu, lacrymisque moveris,
Quam prece turbati flectitur ora sali.
Tu juvenem, quo non formosior alter in urbe,
Spernis, et insano cogis amore mori.”

“Is no more mov’d with those sad sighs and tears
Of her sweetheart, than raging sea with prayers:
Thou scorn’st the fairest youth in all our city,
And mak’st him almost mad for love to die:”

They take a pride to prank up themselves, to make young men enamoured,—²*captare viros et spernere captos*, to dote on them, and to run mad for their sakes,

³ “sed nullis illa movetur
Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit.”

“Whilst niggardly their favours they discover,
They love to be below’d, yet scorn the lover.”

All suit and service is too little for them, presents too base: *Tormentis gaudet amantis*——*et spoliis*. As Atalanta they must be overrun, or not won. Many young men are

¹ Erot. lib. 2.
³ Virg. 4 Æn.

² T. H. “To captivate the men, but despise them when captive.”

as obstinate, and as curious in their choice, as tyrannically proud, insulting, deceitful, falsehearted, as irrefragable and peevish on the other side ; Narcissus-like,

¹ “ Multi illum juvenes, multæ petiere puellæ,
Sed fuit in tenerâ tam dira superbia formâ,
Nulli illum juvenes, nullæ petiere puellæ.”

“ Young men and maids did to him sue,
But in his youth, so proud, so coy was he,
Young men and maids bade him adieu.”

Echo wept and wooed him by all means above the rest, Love me for pity, or pity me for love, but he was obstinate, *Ante ait emoriar quam sit tibi copia nostri*, “ he would rather die than give consent.” Psyche ran whining after Cupid,

² “ Formosum tua te Psyche formosa requirit,
Et poscit te dia deum, puerumque puella ; ”

“ Fair Cupid, thy fair Psyche to thee sues,
A lovely lass a fine young gallant woos ; ”

but he rejected her nevertheless. Thus many lovers do hold out so long, doting on themselves, stand in their own light, till in the end they come to be scorned and rejected, as Stroza's Gargiliana was,

“ Te juvenes, te odere senes, desertaque langues,
Quæ fueras procerum publica cura prius.”

“ Both young and old do hate thee scorned now,
That once was all their joy and comfort too.”

As Narcissus was himself,

“ Who despising many,
Died ere he could enjoy the love of any.”

They begin to be contemned themselves of others, as he was of his shadow, and take up with a poor curate, or an old serving-man at last, that might have had their choice of right

¹ Metamor. 8. ² Fracastorius, Dial. de anim.

good matches in their youth; like that generous mare in ¹Plutarch, which would admit of none but great horses, but when her tail was cut off and mane shorn close, and she now saw herself so deformed in the water, when she came to drink, *ab asino conscendi se passa*, she was contented at last to be covered by an ass. Yet this is a common humour, will not be left, and cannot be helped.

² "Hanc volo quæ non vult, illam quæ vult ego nolo:
Vincere vult animos, non satiare Venus."

"I love a maid, she loves me not: full fain
She would have me, but I not her again;
So love to crucify men's souls is bent:
But seldom doth it please or give content."

"Their love danceth in a ring, and Cupid hunts them round about; he dotes, is doted on again." *Dumque petit petitur, pariterque accendit et ardet*, their affection cannot be reconciled. Oftentimes they may and will not, 'tis their own foolish proceedings that mar all, they are too distrustful of themselves, too soon dejected; say she be rich, thou poor; she young, thou old; she lovely and fair, thou most ill-favoured and deformed; she noble, thou base; she spruce and fine, but thou an ugly clown: *nil desperandum*, there's hope enough yet: *Mopso Nisa datur, quid non speremus amantes?* Put thyself forward once more, as unlikely matches have been and are daily made, see what will be the event. Many leave roses and gather thistles, loathe honey and love verjuice; our likings are as various as our palates. But commonly they omit opportunities, *oscula qui sumpsit*, &c., they neglect the usual means and times.

"He that will not when he may,
When he will he shall have nay."

They look to be wooed, sought after, and sued to. Most part they will and cannot, either for the above-named reasons, or

¹ Dial. Am. ² Ausonius.

for that there is a multitude of suitors equally enamoured, doting all alike; and where one alone must speed, what shall become of the rest? Hero was beloved of many, but one did enjoy her; Penelope had a company of suitors, yet all missed of their aim. In such cases he or they must wisely and warily unwind themselves, unsettle his affections by those rules above prescribed,——¹ *quin stultos excutit ignes*, divert his cogitations, or else bravely bear it out, as Turnus did, *Tua sit Lavinia conjux*, when he could not get her, with a kind of heroical scorn he bid Æneas take her, or with a milder farewell, let her go. *Et Phillida solus habeto*, “Take her to you, God give you joy, sir.” The fox in the emblem would eat no grapes, but why? because he could not get them; care not then for that which may not be had.

Many such inconveniences, lets, and hinderances there are, which cross their projects, and crucify poor lovers, which sometimes may, sometimes again cannot be so easily removed. But put case they be reconciled all, agreed hitherto, suppose this love or good liking be between two alone, both parties well pleased, there is *mutuus amor*, mutual love and great affection; yet their parents, guardians, tutors, cannot agree, thence all is dashed, the match is unequal: one rich, another poor; *durus pater*, a hardhearted, unnatural, a covetous father will not marry his son, except he have so much money, *ita in aurum omnes insaniunt*, as ² Chrysostom notes, nor join his daughter in marriage, to save her dowry, or for that he cannot spare her for the service she doth him, and is resolved to part with nothing whilst he lives, not a penny, though he may peradventure well give it, he will not till he dies, and then as a pot of money broke, it is divided amongst them that gaped after it so earnestly. Or else he wants means to set her out, he hath no money, and though it be to the manifest prejudice of her body and soul’s health, he cares not, he will take no notice of it, she must and shall tarry. Many slack and careless parents, *iniqui patres*, measure their

¹ Ovid. Met. 9.² Hom. 5. in 1 epist. Thess. cap. 4, ver. 1.

children's affections by their own, they are now cold and decrepit themselves, past all such youthful conceits, and they will therefore starve their children's genius, have them *a pueris* ¹*illico nasci senes*, they must not marry, *nec earum affines esse rerum quas secum fert adolescentia: ex suâ libidine moderatur quæ est nunc, non quæ olim fuit*: as he said in the comedy: they will stifle nature, their young bloods must not participate of youthful pleasures, but be as they are themselves old on a sudden. And 'tis a general fault amongst most parents in bestowing of their children, the father wholly respects wealth, when through his folly, riot, indiscretion, he hath embezzled his estate, to recover himself, he confines and prostitutes his eldest son's love and affection to some fool, or ancient, or deformed piece for money,

² "Phanaretæ ducet filiam, rufam illam virginem,
Cæsiam, sparso ore, adunco naso "

and though his son utterly dislike, with Clitipho in the comedy, *Non possum pater*: if she be rich, *Eia* (he replies), *ut elegans est, credas animum ibi esse?* he must and shall have her, she is fair enough, young enough, if he look or hope to inherit his lands, he shall marry, not when or whom he loves, *Arconidis hujus filiam*, but whom his father commands, when and where he likes, his affection must dance attendance upon him. His daughter is in the same predicament forsooth, as an empty boat she must carry what, where, when, and whom her father will. So that in these businesses the father is still for the best advantage; now the mother respects good kindred, most part the son a proper woman. All which ³Livy exemplifies, *dec. 1, lib. 4*, a gentleman and a yeoman wooed a wench in Rome (contrary to that statute that the gentry and commonalty must not match together); the matter was controverted; the gentleman was preferred by the mother's voice, *quæ quam splendidissimis nuptiis jungi puellam volebat*; the overseers

¹ Ter. ² Ter. Heaut. Scen. ult. mouthed, crooked-nosed wench." ³ Plebeius et nobilis ambiebant puellam, puellæ certamen in partes venit, &c.

stood for him that was most worth, &c. But parents ought not to be so strict in this behalf, beauty is a dowry of itself all sufficient, ¹ *Virgo formosa, etsi oppidò pauper, abundè dotata est*, ² Rachel was so married to Jacob, and Bonaventure, ³ *in 4 sent.* “denies that he so much as venially sins, that marries a maid for comeliness of person.” The Jews, Deut. xxi. 11, if they saw amongst the captives a beautiful woman, some small circumstances observed, might take her to wife. They should not be too severe in that kind, especially if there be no such urgent occasion, or grievous impediment. ’Tis good for a commonwealth. ⁴ Plato holds, that in their contracts “young men should never avoid the affinity of poor folks, or seek after rich.” Poverty and base parentage may be sufficiently recompensed by many other good qualities, modesty, virtue, religion, and choice bringing up, ⁵ “I am poor, I confess, but am I therefore contemptible, and an abject? Love itself is naked, the graces, the stars; and Hercules clad in a lion’s skin.” Give something to virtue, love, wisdom, favour, beauty, person; be not all for money. Besides, you must consider that *Amor cogi non potest*, love cannot be compelled, they must affect as they may: ⁶ *Fatum est in partibus illis quas sinus abscondit*, as the saying is, marriage and hanging go by destiny, matches are made in heaven.

“It lies not in our power to love or hate,
For will in us is overrul’d by fate.”

A servant-maid in ⁷ Aristænetus loved her mistress’s minion, which when her dame perceived, *furiosâ æmulatione*, in a jealous humour she dragged her about the house by the hair of the head, and vexed her sore. The wench cried out, ⁸ “O mistress, fortune hath made my body your servant, but

¹ Apuleius, Apol. ² Gen. xxvi.
³ Non peccat venialiter qui mulierem ducit ob pulchritudinem. ⁴ Lib. 6, de leg. Ex usu reipub. est ut in nuptiis juvenes neque pauperum affinitatem fugiant, neque divitum sectentur. ⁵ Philost. ep. Quoniam pauper sum, ideirco

contemptior et abjectior tibi videar? Amor ipse nudus est, gratiæ et astra; Hercules pelle leoninâ indutus. ⁶ Juvenal. ⁷ Lib. 2, ep. 7. ⁸ Ejulans inquit, non mentem unâ addixit mihi fortuna servitute.

not my soul!" Affections are free, not to be commanded. Moreover it may be to restrain their ambition, pride, and covetousness, to correct those hereditary diseases of a family, God in his just judgment assigns and permits such matches to be made. For I am of Plato and ¹Bodine's mind, that families have their bounds and periods as well as kingdoms, beyond which for extent or continuance they shall not exceed six or seven hundred years, as they there illustrate by a multitude of examples, and which Peucer and ²Melancthon approve, but in a perpetual tenor (as we see by many pedigrees of knights, gentlemen, yeomen) continue as they began, for many descents with little alteration. Howsoever let them, I say, give something to youth, to love; they must not think they can fancy whom they appoint; ³*Amor enim non imperatur, affectus liber si quis alius et vices exigens*, this is a free passion, as Pliny said in a panegyric of his, and may not be forced; Love craves liking, as the saying is, it requires mutual affections, a correspondency: *invito non datur nec aufertur*, it may not be learned, Ovid himself cannot teach us how to love, Solomon describe, Apelles paint, or Helen express it. They must not therefore compel or intrude; ⁴*quis enim* (as Fabius urgeth) *amare alieno animo potest?* but consider withal the miseries of enforced marriages; take pity upon youth; and such above the rest as have daughters to bestow, should be very careful and provident to marry them in due time. Siracides, *cap. 7, vers. 25*, calls it "a weighty matter to perform, so to marry a daughter to a man of understanding in due time:" *Virgines enim tempestivè locandæ*, as ⁵Lemnius admonisheth, *lib. 1, cap. 6*. Virgins must be provided for in season, to prevent many diseases, of which ⁶Rodericus à Castro, *de morbis mulierum, lib. 2, cap. 3*, and Lod. Mercatus, *lib. 2, de mulier. affect. cap. 4, de melanch. virginum et viduarum*, have both largely discoursed. And therefore as well to avoid these feral maladies, 'tis good to get

¹ De repub. c. de period. rerumpub. danda occasio lapsus. Lemn. lib. 1, 54, de
² Com. in car. Chron. ³ Plin. in pan. vit. instit. ⁴ See more part. 1, s. mem.
⁵ Declam. 306. ⁶ Puellis imprimis nulla 2, subs. 4.

them husbands betimes, as to prevent some other gross inconveniences, and for a thing that I know besides; *ubi nuptiarum tempus et ætas advenerit*, as Chrysostom adviseth, let them not defer it; they perchance will marry themselves else, or do worse. If Nevisanus the lawyer do not impose they may do it by right; for as he proves out of Curtius, and some other civilians, *Sylvæ nup. lib. 2, numer. 30.* ¹“A maid past twenty-five years of age, against her parents’ consent may marry such a one as is unworthy of, and inferior to her, and her father by law must be compelled to give her a competent dowry.” Mistake me not in the mean time, or think that I do apologize here for any headstrong, unruly, wanton flirts. I do approve that of St. Ambrose (Comment in Genesis xxiv. 51), which he hath written touching Rebecca’s spousals, “A woman should give unto her parents the choice of her husband, ²lest she be reputed to be malapert and wanton, if she take upon her to make her own choice; ³for she should rather seem to be desired by a man, than to desire a man herself.” To these hard parents alone I retort that of Curtius (in the behalf of modester maids), that are too remiss and careless of their due time and riper years. For if they tarry longer, to say truth, they are past date, and nobody will respect them. A woman with us in Italy (saith ⁴Aretine’s Lucretia) twenty-four years of age, “is old already, past the best, of no account.” An old fellow, as Lycistrata confesseth in ⁵Aristophanes, *etsi sit canus, cito puellam virginem ducat uxorem*, and ’tis no news for an old fellow to marry a young wench; but as he follows it, *mulieris brevis occasio est, etsi hoc non apprehenderit, nemo vult ducere uxorem, expectans vero sedet*; who cares for an old maid? she may set, &c. A virgin, as the poet holds, *lasciva et petulans puella virgo*, is like a flower, a rose withered on a sudden.

¹ Filia excedens annum 25 potest inscio patre nubere, licet indignus sit maritus, et eum cogere ad congrue dotandum. ² Ne appetentiæ procacioris reputetur auctor. ³ Expetita enim

magis debet videri a viro quam ipsa virum expetisse. ⁴ Mulier apud nos 24 annorum vetula est et projectitia. ⁵ Comæd. Lycistrat. And. Divo Interpr.

¹ "Quam modò nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,
Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum."

"She that was erst a maid as fresh as May,
Is now an old crone, time so steals away."

Let them take time then while they may, make advantage
of youth, and as he prescribes,

² "Collige, virgo, rosas dum flos novus et nova pubes,
Et memor esto ævum sic properare tuum."

"Fair maids, go gather roses in the prime,
And think that as a flower so goes on time."

Let's all love, *dum vires annique sinunt*, while we are in the
flower of years, fit for love matters, and while time serves;
for

³ "Soles occidere et redire possunt,
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetuò una dormienda."

⁴ "Suns that set may rise again,
But if once we lose this light,
'Tis with us perpetual night."

Volat irrevocabile tempus, time past cannot be recalled. But
we need no such exhortation, we are all commonly too for-
ward; yet if there be any escape, and all be not as it should,
as Diogenes struck the father when the son swore, because he
taught him no better, if a maid or a young man miscarry,
I think their parents oftentimes, guardians, overseers, gov-
ernors, *neque vos* (saith ⁵ Chrysostom) *a supplicio immunes*
evadetis, si non statim ad nuptias, &c., are in as much fault,
and as severely to be punished as their children, in providing
for them no sooner.

Now for such as have free liberty to bestow themselves,
I could wish that good counsel of the comical old man were
put in practice,

⁶ "Opulentiores pauperiorum ut filias
Indotatas ducant uxores domum:

¹ Ausonius, edy. 14. ² Idem. ³ Catullus. ⁴ Translated by M. B. Johnson.
⁵ Hom. 5, in 1 Thes. cap. 4, 1. ⁶ Plautus.

Et multò fiet civitas concordior,
Et invidiâ nos minore utemur, quam utimur."

"That rich men would marry poor maidens some,
And that without dowry, and so bring them home,
So would much concord be in our city,
Less envy should we have, much more pity."

If they would care less for wealth, we should have much more content and quietness in a commonwealth. Beauty, good bringing up, methinks, is a sufficient portion of itself, ¹*Dos est sua forma puellis*, "her beauty is a maiden's dower," and he doth well that will accept of such a wife. Eubulides, in ²*Aristænetus*, married a poor man's child, *facie non illætabili*, of a merry countenance, and heavenly visage, in pity of her estate, and that quickly. Acontius coming to Delos, to sacrifice to Diana, fell in love with Cydippe, a noble lass, and wanting means to get her love, flung a golden apple into her lap, with this inscription upon it,

"Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Dianæ,
Me tibi venturum comitem, sponsumque futurum."

"I swear by all the rites of Diana,
I'll come and be thy husband if I may."

She considered of it, and upon small inquiry of his person and estate, was married unto him.

"Blessed is the wooing,
That is not long a doing,"

As the saying is; when the parties are sufficiently known to each other, what needs such scrupulosity, so many circumstances? dost thou know her conditions, her bringing up, like her person? let her means be what they will, take her without any more ado. ³Dido and Æneas were accidentally driven by a storm both into one cave, they made a match upon it; Masinissa was married to that fair captive Sophonisba, King Syphax's wife, the same day that he saw her first,

¹ Ovid. ² Epist. 12, l. 2, Eligit conjugem pauperem, indotatam et subito deamavit, ex commiseratione ejus inopiæ.
³ Virg. Æn.

to prevent Scipio Lælius, lest they should determine otherwise of her. If thou lovest the party, do as much; good education and beauty is a competent dowry, stand not upon money. *Erant olim aurei homines* (saith Theocritus) *et adamantes redamabant*, in the golden world men did so (in the reign of ¹Ogyges belike, before staggering Ninus began to domineer), if all be true that is reported; and some few nowadays will do as much, here and there one; 'tis well done methinks, and all happiness befall them for so doing. ²Leontius, a philosopher of Athens, had a fair daughter called Athenais, *multo corporis lepore ac Venere* (saith mine author), of a comely carriage, he gave her no portion but her bringing up, *occulto formæ presagio*, out of some secret foreknowledge of her fortune, bestowing that little which he had amongst his other children. But she, thus qualified, was preferred by some friends to Constantinople, to serve Pulcheria, the emperor's sister, of whom she was baptized and called Eudocia. Theodosius, the emperor, in short space took notice of her excellent beauty and good parts, and a little after upon his sister's sole commendation made her his wife; 'twas nobly done of Theodosius. ³Rodophe was the fairest lady in her days in all Egypt; she went to wash her, and by chance (her maids meanwhile looking but carelessly to her clothes), an eagle stole away one of her shoes, and laid it in Psammeticus the King of Egypt's lap at Memphis; he wondered at the excellency of the shoe and pretty foot, but more *Aquilæ factum*, at the manner of the bringing of it; and caused forthwith proclamation to be made, that she that owned that shoe should come presently to his court; the virgin came, and was forthwith married to the king. I say this was heroically done, and like a prince; I commend him for it, and all such as have means, that will either do (as he did) themselves, or so for love, &c., marry their children.

¹ Fabius Pictor: amor ipse conjunxit populos, &c. ² Lipsius, polit. Sebast. Mayer. Select. Sect. I, cap. 13. ³ Mayerus, select. sect. I, c. 14, et Ælian. I. 13, c. 33, cum famulæ lavantis vestes incu-

riosius custodirent, &c., mandavit per universam Ægyptum ut femina quæretur, cujus is calceus esset; eamque sic inventam in matrimonium accepit.

If he be rich, let him take such a one as wants, if she be virtuously given; for as Siracides, *cap. 7, ver. 19*, adviseth, "Forego not a wife and good woman; for her grace is above gold." If she have fortunes of her own, let her make a man. Danaus of Lacedæmon had a many daughters to bestow, and means enough for them all, he never stood inquiring after great matches as others used to do, but ¹sent for a company of brave young gallants home to his house, and bid his daughters choose every one one, whom she liked best, and take him for her husband, without any more ado. This act of his was much approved in those times. But in this iron age of ours, we respect riches alone (for a maid must buy her husband now with a great dowry if she will have him), covetousness and filthy lucre mars all good matches, or some such by-respects. Cralles, a Servian prince (as Nicephorus Gregoras, *Rom. hist. lib. 6*, relates it), was an earnest suitor to Eudocia, the emperor's sister; though her brother much desired it, yet she could not ²abide him, for he had three former wives, all basely abused; but the emperor still, *Cralis amicitiam magni faciens*, because he was a great prince, and a troublesome neighbour, much desired his affinity, and to that end betrothed his own daughter Simonida to him, a little girl five years of age (he being forty-five), and five ³years older than the emperor himself: such disproportionable and unlikely matches can wealth and a fair fortune make. And yet not that alone, it is not only money, but sometimes vain-glory, pride, ambition, do as much harm as wretched covetousness itself in another extreme. If a yeoman have one sole daughter, he must overmatch her above her birth and calling, to a gentleman forsooth, because of her great portion, too good for one of her own rank, as he supposeth; a gentleman's daughter and heir must be married to a knight baronet's eldest son at least; and a knight's only daughter to a

¹ Pausanias, lib. 3, de Laconicis. Dimisit qui nunciarent, &c., optionem puellis dedit, ut earum quælibet eum sibi virum deligeret, cujus maxime esset forma

complacita. ² Illius conjugium abominabitur. ³ Socero quinque circiter annos natu minor.

baron himself, or an earl, and so upwards, her great dower deserves it. And thus striving for more honour to their wealth, they undo their children, many discontents follow, and oftentimes they ruinate their families. ¹ Paulus Jovius gives instances in Galeatius the Second, that heroical Duke of Milan, *externas affinitates decoras quidem regio fastu, sed sibi et posteris damnosas et ferè exitiales quæsivit*; he married his eldest son John Galeatius to Isabella the King of France his sister, but she was *socero tam gravis ut ducentis millibus aureorum constitèrit*, her entertainment at Milan was so costly that it almost undid him. His daughter Violanta was married to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the youngest son to Edward the Third, King of England, but, *ad ejus adventum tantæ opes tam admirabili liberalitate profusæ sunt, ut opulentissimorum regum splendorem superâsse videretur*, he was welcomed with such incredible magnificence, that a king's purse was scarcely able to bear it; for besides many rich presents of horses, arms, plate, money, jewels, &c., he made one dinner for him and his company, in which were thirty-two messes and as much provision left, *ut relatæ a mensâ dapes decem millibus hominum sufficerent*, as would serve ten thousand men; but a little after Lionel died, *novæ nuptæ et intempestivis conviviiis operam dans*, &c., and to the duke's great loss, the solemnity was ended. So can titles, honours, ambition, make many brave, but unfortunate matches of all sides for by-respects (though both crazed in body and mind, most unwilling, averse, and often unfit), so love is banished, and we feel the smart of it in the end. But I am too lavish peradventure in this subject.

Another let or hinderance is strict and severe discipline, laws and rigorous customs, that forbid men to marry at set times, and in some places; as apprentices, servants, collegiates, states of lives in copyholds, or in some base, inferior offices, ² *Velle licet* in such cases, *potiri non licet*, as he said. They

¹ Vit. Galeat. secundî.

² Apuleius, in Catel. nobis cupido velle dat, posse abnegat.

see but as prisoners through a grate, they covet and catch, but *Tantalus a labris*, &c. Their love is lost, and vain it is in such an estate to attempt. ¹ *Gravissimum est adamare nec potiri*, 'tis a grievous thing to love and not enjoy. They may, indeed, I deny not, marry if they will, and have free choice, some of them; but in the mean time their case is desperate, *Lupum auribus tenent*, they hold a wolf by the ears, they must either burn or starve. 'Tis *cornutum sophisma*, hard to resolve, if they marry they forfeit their estates, they are undone, and starve themselves through beggary and want; if they do not marry, in this heroical passion they furiously rage, are tormented, and torn in pieces by their predominate affections. Every man hath not the gift of continence, let him ² pray for it then, as Beza adviseth in his tract *de Divortiiis*, because God hath so called him to a single life, in taking away the means of marriage. ³ Paul would have gone from Mysia to Bithynia, but the spirit suffered him not, and thou wouldst peradventure be a married man with all thy will, but that protecting angel holds it not fit. The devil too sometimes may divert by his ill suggestions, and mar many good matches, as the same ⁴ Paul was willing to see the Romans, but hindered of Satan he could not. There be those that think they are necessitated by fate, their stars have so decreed, and therefore they grumble at their hard fortune, they are well inclined to marry, but one rub or other is ever in the way; I know what astrologers say in this behalf, what Ptolemy, *quadripartit. Tract. 4, cap. 4*, Skoner, *lib. 1, cap. 12*, what Leovitius, *genitur. exempl. 1*, which Sextus ab Heminga takes to be the horoscope of Hieronymus Wolfius, what Pezelius, Origanus and Leovitius his illustrator Garceus, *cap. 12*, what Junctine, Protanus, Campanella, what the rest, (to omit those Arabian conjectures *a parte conjugii*, *a parte lasciviæ*, *triplicitates veneris*, &c., and those resolutions upon a question, *an amicâ potiatur*, &c.,) determine in this behalf,

¹ Anacreon, 56. ² Continentiæ donum ex fide postulet quia certum sit eum vocari ad coelibatum cui demis, &c. ³ Act. xvi. 7. ⁴ Rom. i. 13.

viz., *an sit natus conjugem habiturus, facile an difficulter sit sponsam impetraturus, quot conjuges, quo tempore, quales decernantur nato uxores, de mutuo amore conjugum*, both in men's and women's genitures, by the examination of the seventh house the almutens, lords and planets there, *a ♄^d et ☉^a &c.*, by particular aphorisms, *Si dominus 7^{ma} in 7^{ma} vel secunda nobilem decernit uxorem, servam aut ignobilem si duodecimâ. Si Venus in 12^{ma}, &c.*, with many such, too tedious to relate. Yet let no man be troubled, or find himself grieved with such predictions, as Hier. Wolfius well saith in his astrological ¹dialogue, *non sunt prætoriana decreta*, they be but conjectures, the stars incline, but not enforce,

“Sidera corporibus præsumt cœlestia nostris,
Sunt ea de vili condita namque luto:
Cogere sed nequeunt animum ratione fruentem,
Quippe sub imperio solius ipse dei est.” ²

wisdom, diligence, discretion, may mitigate if not quite alter such decrees, *Fortuna sua a cujusque fingitur moribus*, ³*Qui cauti, prudentes, voti compotes, &c.*, let no man then be terrified or molested with such astrological aphorisms, or be much moved, either to vain hope or fear, from such predictions, but let every man follow his own free will in this case, and do as he sees cause. Better it is indeed to marry than burn, for their soul's health, but for their present fortunes, by some other means to pacify themselves, and divert the stream of this fiery torrent, to continue as they are, ⁴rest satisfied, *lugentes virginitatis florem sic aruisse*, deploring their misery with that eunuch in Libanius, since there is no help or remedy, and with Jephtha's daughter to bewail their virginities.

Of like nature is superstition, those rash vows of monks and friars, and such as live in religious orders, but far more tyrannical and much worse. Nature, youth, and his furious passion forcibly inclines, and rageth on the one side; but their

¹ Præfix. gen. Leovitii. ² “The stars in the skies preside over our persons, for they are made of humble matter. They cannot bind a rational mind, for that is

under the control of God only.” ³ Idem Wolfius, dial. ⁴ “That is, make the best of it, and take his lot as it falls.”

order and vow checks them on the other. ¹ *Votoque suo sua forma repugnat.* What merits and indulgences they heap unto themselves by it, what commodities, I know not ; but I am sure, from such rash vows, and inhuman manner of life, proceed many inconveniences, many diseases, many vices, masturbation, satyriasis, ² priapismus, melancholy, madness, fornication, adultery, buggery, sodomy, theft, murder, and all manner of mischiefs ; read but Bale's Catalogue of Sodomites, at the visitation of abbeyes here in England, Henry Stephan. his Apol. for Herodotus, that which Ulricus writes in one of his epistles, ³ "that Pope Gregory when he saw six thousand skulls and bones of infants taken out of a fish-pond near a nunnery, thereupon retracted that decree of priests' marriages, which was the cause of such a slaughter, was much grieved at it, and purged himself by repentance." Read many such, and then ask what is to be done, is this vow to be broke or not? No, saith Bellarmine, *cap. 38, lib. de Monach. melius est scortari et uri quam de voto cœlibatûs ad nuptias transire*, better burn or fly out, than to break thy vow. And Coster, in his *Enchirid. de cœlibat. sacerdotum*, saith it is absolutely *gravius peccatum*, ⁴ "a greater sin for a priest to marry, than to keep a concubine at home." Gregory de Valence, *cap. 6, de cœlibat.* maintains the same, as those Essei and Montanists of old. Insomuch that many votaries, out of a small persuasion of merit and holiness in this kind, will sooner die than marry, though it be to the saving of their lives. ⁵ Anno 1419, Pius II., Pope, James Rossa, nephew to the King of Portugal, and then elect Archbishop of Lisbon, being very sick at Florence, ⁶ "when his physicians told him, that his disease was such, he must either lie with a wench, marry, or die, cheerfully chose to die." Now they

¹ Ovid. 1 Met. "Their beauty is inconsistent with their vows." ² Mercurialis de Priapismo. ³ Memorabile quod Ulricus epistolâ refert Gregorium quum ex piscinâ quâdam allata plus quam sex mille infantum capita vidisset, ingemuisse et decretum de cœlibatu tantam cædis causam confessus condigno illud

pœnitentiæ fructu purgasse. Kennisius, ex concil. Trident. part. 3, de cœlibatu sacerdotum. ⁴ Si nubat, quam si domi concubinam alat. ⁵ Alphonsus Cicaonius, lib. de gest. pontificum. ⁶ Cum medici suaderent ut aut nuberet aut coitu uteretur, sic mortem vitari posse, mortem potius intrepidus expectavit, &c.

commended him for it; but St. Paul teacheth otherwise, "Better marry than burn," and as St. Hierome gravely delivers it, *Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi, aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus noster præcipit*, there's a difference betwixt God's ordinances and men's laws; and therefore Cyprian, Epist. 8, boldly denounceth, *impium est, adulterum est, sacrilegum est, quodcunque humano furore statuitur, ut dispositio divina violetur*, it is abominable, impious, adulterous, and sacrilegious, what men make and ordain after their own furies to cross God's laws. ¹Georgius Wicelius, one of their own arch divines (*Inspect. eccles. pag. 18*) exclaims against it, and all such rash monastical vows, and would have such persons seriously to consider what they do, whom they admit, *ne in posterum querantur de inanibus stupris*, lest they repent it at last. For either, as he follows it, ²you must allow them concubines or suffer them to marry, for scarce shall you find three priests of three thousand, *qui per ætatem non ament*, that are not troubled with burning lust. Wherefore I conclude, it is an unnatural and impious thing to bar men of this Christian liberty, too severe and inhuman an edict.

⁸ The silly wren, the titmouse also,
The little redbreast have their election,
They fly I saw and together gone,
Whereas hem list, about environ
As they of kinde have inclination,
And as nature impress and guide,
Of everything list to provide.

But man alone, alas the hard stond,
Full cruelly by kinds ordinance
Constrained is, and by statutes bound,
And debarred from all such pleasance :
What meaneth this, what is this pretence
Of laws, I wis, against all right of kinde,
Without a cause, so narrow men to binde ?

Many laymen repine still at priests' marriages above the rest,

¹ Epist. 30. ² Vide vitam ejus edit. 1623, by D. T. James.

³ Lidgate, in Chaucer's Flower of Curtesie.

and not at clergymen only, but of all the meaner sort and condition, they would have none marry but such as are rich and able to maintain wives, because their parish belike shall be pestered with orphans, and the world full of beggars; but ¹these are hardhearted, unnatural, monsters of men, shallow politicians, they do not ²consider that a great part of the world is not yet inhabited as it ought, how many colonies into America, Terra Australis incognita, Africa, may be sent? Let them consult with Sir William Alexander's Book of Colonies, Orpheus Junior's Golden Fleece, Captain Whitburne, Mr. Hagthorpe, &c., and they shall surely be otherwise informed. Those politic Romans were of another mind, they thought their city and country could never be too populous. ³Adrian the emperor said he had rather have men than money, *malle se hominum adjectione ampliare imperium, quam pecuniâ*. Augustus Cæsar made an oration in Rome *ad cælibes*, to persuade them to marry; some countries compelled them to marry of old, as ⁴Jews, Turks, Indians, Chinese, amongst the rest in these days, who much wonder at our discipline to suffer so many idle persons to live in monasteries, and often marvel how they can live honest. ⁵In the isle of Maragnan, the governor and petty king there did wonder at the Frenchmen, and admire how so many friars, and the rest of their company could live without wives, they thought it a thing impossible, and would not believe it. If these men should but survey our multitudes of religious houses, observe our numbers of monasteries all over Europe, eighteen nunneries in Padua, in Venice thirty-four cloisters of monks, twenty-eight of nuns, &c., *ex ungue leonem*, 'tis to this proportion, in all other provinces and cities, what would they think, do they live honest? Let them dissemble as they will, I am of Ter tullian's mind, that few can continue but by compulsion. ⁶"O chastity (saith he) thou art a rare goddess in the world,

¹ 'Tis not multitude but idleness which causeth beggary. ² Or to set them a-work, and bring them up in some honest trades. ³ Dion. Cassius, lib. 56.

⁴ Sardus. Buxtorfius. ⁵ Claude Abville in his hist. of the Frenchmen to the Isle of Maragnan, An. 1614. ⁶ Rara quidem dea tu es, O chastitas, in his

not so easily got, seldom continue; thou mayest now and then be compelled, either for defect of nature, or if discipline persuade, decrees enforce;" or for some such by-respects, sullenness, discontent, they have lost their first loves, may not have whom they will themselves, want of means, rash vows, &c. But can he willingly contain? I think not. Therefore, either out of commiseration of human imbecility, in policy, or to prevent a far worse inconvenience, for they hold some of them as necessary as meat and drink, and because vigour of youth, the state and temper of most men's bodies do so furiously desire it, they have heretofore in some nations liberally admitted polygamy and stews, a hundred thousand courtesans in Grand Cairo in Egypt, as ¹ Radzivilus observes, are tolerated, besides boys; how many at Fez, Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, &c., and still in many other provinces and cities of Europe they do as much, because they think young men, churchmen, and servants amongst the rest, can hardly live honest. The consideration of this belike made Vibius, the Spaniard, when his friend ² Crassus, that rich Roman gallant, lay hid in the cave, *ut voluptatis quam ætas illa desiderat copiam faceret*, to gratify him the more, send two ³ lusty lasses to accompany him all that while he was there imprisoned. And Surenus, the Parthian general, when he warred against the Romans, to carry about with him two hundred concubines, as the Swiss soldiers do now commonly their wives. But, because this course is not generally approved, but rather contradicted as unlawful and abhorred, ⁴ in most countries they do much encourage them to marriage, give great rewards to such as have many children, and mulct those that will not marry, *Jus trium liberorum*, and in Agellius, *lib. 2, cap. 15*. Elian. *lib. 6, cap. 5*. Valerius, *lib. 1, cap. 9*. ⁵ We read that three children freed the father from painful offices, and five from all contribution. "A woman

terris, nec facile perfecta, rarius perpetua, cogi nonnunquam potest, ob naturæ defectum, vel si disciplina pervaserit, censura compresserit. ¹ Peregrin. Hierosol. ² Plutarch. vita ejus, adolescentiæ

medio constitutus. ³ Ancillas duas egregiâ formâ et ætatis flore. ⁴ Alex. ab Alex. 1. 4, c. 8. ⁵ Tres filii patrem ab excubiis, quinque ab omnibus officiis liberabant.

shall be saved by bearing children." ¹ Epictetus would have all marry, and as ² Plato will, 6 *de legibus*, he that marrieth not before thirty-five years of his age, must be compelled and punished, and the money consecrated to Juno's temple, or applied to public uses. They account him, in some countries, unfortunate that dies without a wife, a most unhappy man, as ³ Boethius infers, and if at all happy, yet *infortunio felix*, unhappy in his supposed happiness. They commonly deplore his estate, and much lament him for it: O, my sweet son, &c. See Lucian, *de Luctu, Sands, fol. 83, &c.*

Yet notwithstanding, many with us are of the opposite part, they are married themselves, and for others, let them burn, fire and flame, they care not, so they be not troubled with them. Some are too curious, and some too covetous, they may marry when they will both for ability and means, but so nice, that except as Theophilus the emperor was presented, by his mother Euprosune, with all the rarest beauties of the empire in the great chamber of his palace at once, and bid to give a golden apple to her he liked best. If they might so take and choose whom they list out of all the fair maids their nation affords, they could happily condescend to marry; otherwise, &c., why should a man marry, saith another epicurean rout, what's matrimony but a matter of money? why should free nature be entrenched on, confined or obliged, to this or that man or woman, with these manacles of body and goods? &c. There are those too that dearly love, admire and follow women all their lives long, *sponsi Penelopes*, never well but in their company, wistly gazing on their beauties, observing close, hanging after them, dallying still with them, and yet dare not, will not marry. Many poor people, and of the meaner sort, are too distrustful of God's providence, "they will not, dare not for such worldly respects," fear of want, woes, miseries, or that they shall light, as ⁴ Lemnius saith,

² Nic. Hill. Epic. philos. ³ Præcepto primo, cogatur nubere aut mulctetur et pecunia templo Junonis dedicetur et publica fiat. ⁴ Consol. 3, pros. 7.

patiuntur, Lemn. lib. 4, 13, de occult. nat. Abhorrent multi a matrimonio, ne morosam, querulam, acerbam, amaram uxorem perferre cogantur.

⁴ Qui se capistro matrimonii alligari non

“on a scold, a slut, or a bad wife.” And therefore, ¹ *Tristem Juventam venere desertâ colunt*, they are resolved to live single, as ² Epaminondas did, ³ “*Nil ait esse prius, melius nil cœlibe vitâ,*” and ready with Hippolytus to abjure all women ⁴ *De-testor omnes, horreo, fugio, execror, &c.* But,

“Hippolyte, nescis quod fugis vitæ bonum,
Hippolyte, nescis ”

“alas, poor Hippolytus, thou knowest not what thou sayest, ’tis otherwise, Hippolytus.” ⁵ Some make a doubt, *an uxor literato sit ducenda*, whether a scholar should marry, if she be fair she will bring him back from his grammar to his horn-book, or else with kissing and dalliance she will hinder his study; if foul with scolding, he cannot well intend to both, as Philippus Beroaldus, that great Bononian doctor, once writ, *impediri enim studia literarum, &c.*, but he recanted at last, and in a solemn sort with true conceived words he did ask the world and all women forgiveness. But you shall have the story as he relates himself, in his Commentaries on the sixth of Apuleius. For a long time I lived a single life, *et ab uxore ducendâ semper abhorruî, nec quicquam libero lecto censui jucundius*. I could not abide marriage, but as a ram-bler, *erraticus ac volaticus amator* (to use his own words) *per multiplices amores discurrebam*, I took a snatch where I could get it; nay more, I railed at marriage downright, and in a public auditory, when I did interpret that Sixth Satire of Juvenal, out of Plutarch and Seneca, I did heap up all the dieteries I could against women; but now recant with Ste-sichorus, *palinodiam cano, nec pœnitet censeri in ordine mari-torum*, I approve of marriage, I am glad I am a ⁶ married man, I am heartily glad I have a wife, so sweet a wife, so noble a wife, so young, so chaste a wife, so loving a wife, and I do wish and desire all other men to marry; and especially schol-

¹ Senec. Hippol. ² *Coelebs enim vix-erat nec ad uxorem ducendam unquam induci potuit.* ³ Senec. Hip. “There is nothing better, nothing preferable to a single life.” ⁴ Hor. ⁵ *Æneas Syl-*

vius, de dictis Sigismundi. Heinsius, Pri-miero. ⁶ *Habeo uxorem ex animi sen-tentiâ,* Camillam Paleotti Jurisconsulti filiam.

ars, that as of old Martia did by Hortensius, Terentia by Tullius, Calphurnia to Plinius, Pudentilla to Apuleius, ¹ hold the candle whilst their husbands did meditate and write, so theirs may do to them, and as my dear Camilla doth to me. Let other men be averse, rail then and scoff at women, and say what they can to the contrary, *vir sine uxore malorum expers est*, &c., a single man is a happy man, &c., but this is a toy. ² *Nec dulces amores sperne, puer, neque tu choreas*; these men are too distrustful and much to blame, to use such speeches, ³ *Parcite paucorum diffundere crimen in omnes*. "They must not condemn all for some." As there be many bad, there be some good wives; as some be vicious, some be virtuous. Read what Solomon hath said in their praises, Prov. xiii. and Siracides, *cap. 26 et 30*, "Blessed is the man that hath a virtuous wife, for the number of his days shall be double. A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and she shall fulfil the years of his life in peace. A good wife is a good portion (and xxxvi. 24), an help, a pillar of rest," *columna quietis*, ⁴ *Qui capit uxorem, fratrem capit atque sororem*. And 30, "He that hath no wife wandereth to and fro mourning." *Minuuntur atræ conjuge curæ*, women are the sole, only joy, and comfort of a man's life, born *ad usum et lusum hominum, firmamenta familiæ*,

⁵ "Deliciæ humani generis, solatia vitæ,
Blanditiæ noctis, placidissima cura diei,
Vota virûm, juvenum spes," &c.

⁶ "A wife is a young man's mistress, a middle age's companion, an old man's nurse;" *Particeps lætorum et tristium*, a prop, a help, &c.

⁷ "Optima viri possessio est uxor benevola,
Mitigans iram et avertens animam ejus a tristitiâ."

¹ *Legentibus et meditantibus candelas et candelabrum tenuerunt.* ² Hor.
"Neither despise agreeable love, nor mirthful pleasure." ³ Ovid. ⁴ Aphra-nius. "He who chooses a wife, takes a brother and a sister." ⁵ Læchæus.

"The delight of mankind, the solace of life, the blandishments of night, delicious cares of day, the wishes of older men, the hopes of young." ⁶ Bacon's Essays.
⁷ Euripides.

“ Man’s best possession is a loving wife,
She tempers anger and diverts all strife.”

There is no joy, no comfort, no sweetness, no pleasure in the world like to that of a good wife,

“ Quam cum chara domi conjux, fidusque maritus
Unanimes degunt ” ¹

saith our Latin Homer, she is still the same in sickness and in health, his eye, his hand, his bosom friend, his partner at all times, his other self, not to be separated by any calamity, but ready to share all sorrow, discontent, and as the Indian women do, live and die with him, nay more, to die presently for him. Admetus, king of Thessaly, when he lay upon his death-bed, was told by Apollo’s Oracle, that if he could get anybody to die for him, he should live longer yet, but when all refused, his parents *etsi decrepiti*, friends and followers forsook him, Alcestus, his wife, though young, most willingly undertook it; what more can be desired or expected? And although on the other side there be an infinite number of bad husbands (I should rail downright against some of them), able to discourage any woman; yet there be some good ones again, and those most observant of marriage rites. An honest country fellow (as Fulgus relates it) in the kingdom of Naples, ² at plough by the seaside, saw his wife carried away by Mauritanian pirates, he ran after in all haste, up to the chin first, and when he could wade no longer, swam, calling to the governor of the ship to deliver his wife, or if he must not have her restored, to let him follow as a prisoner, for he was resolved to be a galley-slave, his drudge, willing to endure any misery, so that he might but enjoy his dear wife. The Moors seeing the man’s constancy, and relating the whole matter to their governors at Tunis, set them both free, and gave them an honest pension to maintain themselves during

¹ “ How harmoniously do a loving wife and constant husband lead their lives.”

² Cum juxta mare agrum coleret; Omnis enim miseriæ immemorem conjugalis

amor eum fecerat. Non sine ingenti admiratione, tantâ hominis charitate motus rex liberos esse jussit, &c.

their lives. I could tell many stories to this effect; but put case it often prove otherwise, because marriage is troublesome, wholly therefore to avoid it, is no argument; ¹“He that will avoid trouble must avoid the world.” (Eusebius, *præpar. Evangel.* 5, cap. 50.) Some trouble there is in marriage I deny not, *Etsi grave sit matrimonium*, saith Erasmus, *edulcatur tamen multis*, &c., yet there be many things to ²sweeten it, a pleasant wife, *placens uxor*, pretty children, *dulces nati*, *deliciæ filiorum hominum*, the chief delight of the sons of men; Eccles. ii. 8, &c. And howsoever though it were all troubles, ³*utilitatis publicæ causâ devorandum*, *grave quid libenter subeundum*, it must willingly be undergone for public good’s sake,

⁴“Audite (populus) hæc, inquit Susarion,
Malæ sunt mulieres, veruntamen O populares,
Hoc sine malo domum inhabitare non licet.”

“Hear me, O my countrymen, saith Susarion,
Women are naught, yet no life without one.”

⁵*Malum est mulier, sed necessarium malum.* They are necessary evils, and for our own ends we must make use of them to have issue, ⁶*Supplet Venus ac restituit humanum genus*, and to propagate the church. For to what end is a man born? why lives he, but to increase the world? and how shall he do that well, if he do not marry? *Matrimonium humano generi immortalitatem tribuit*, saith Nevisanus, matrimony makes us immortal, and, according to ⁷Tacitus, ‘tis *firmissimum imperii munimentum*, the sole and chief prop of an empire. ⁸*Indigne vivit per quem non vivit et alter*, ⁹which Pelopidas objected to Epaminondas, he was an unworthy member of a commonwealth, that left not a child after him to defend it, and as ¹⁰Trismegistus to his son Tatius, “have no commerce with a single man;” Holding belike that a bach-

¹ Qui vult vitare molestias, vitet mundum. ² Τίδε βίος, τίθε τεμπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς ἀφροδίτης; Quid vita est, quæso, quidve est sine Cypride dulcè? Mimner. ³ Erasmus. ⁴ E Stobæo.

⁵ Menander. ⁶ Seneca, Hip. lib. 3, num. 1. ⁷ Hist. lib. 4. ⁸ Pallingenius. ⁹ He lives contemptibly by whom no other lives. ¹⁰ Brusou. lib. 7, cap. 23. ¹⁰ Noli societatem habere, &c.

elor could not live honestly as he should, and with Georgius Wicelius, a great divine and holy man, who of late by twenty-six arguments commends marriage as a thing most necessary for all kind of persons, most laudable and fit to be embraced; and is persuaded withal, that no man can live and die religiously, as he ought, without a wife, *persuasus neminem posse neque pie vivere, neque bene mori citra uxorem*, he is false, an enemy to the commonweath, injurious to himself, destructive to the world, an apostate to nature, a rebel against heaven and earth. Let our wilful, obstinate, and stale bachelors ruminate of this, "If we could live without wives," as Marcellus Numidicus said in ¹ Agellius, "we would all want them; but because we cannot, let all marry, and consult rather to the public good, than their own private pleasure or estate." It were an happy thing, as wise ² Euripides hath it, if we could buy children with gold and silver and be so provided, *sine mulierum congressu*, without women's company; but that may not be:

³ "Orbis jacebit squalido turpis situ,
Vanum sine ullis classibus stabit mare,
Alesque cœlo deerit et sylvis fera."

"Earth, air, sea, land eftsoon would come to nought,
The world itself should be to ruin brought."

Necessity therefore compels us to marry.

But what do I trouble myself to find arguments to persuade to, or commend marriage? behold a brief abstract of all that which I have said, and much more, succinctly, pithily, pathetically, perspicuously, and elegantly delivered in twelve motions to mitigate the miseries of marriage, by ⁴ Jacobus de Voragine,

1. *Res est? habes quæ tueatur et augeat.*—2. *Non est? habes quæ quærat.*—3. *Secundæ res sunt? felicitas duplica-*

¹ Lib. 1, cap. 6. Si, inquit, Quirites, sine uxore esse possemus, omnes careremus; Sed quoniam sic est saluti potius publicæ quam voluptati consulendum. ² Beatum foret si liberos auro et argento mercari, &c. ³ Seneca, Hip. ⁴ Gen. ii. Adjutorium simile, &c.

tur.—4. *Adversæ sunt? Consolatur, adsidet, onus participat ut tolerabile fiat.*—5. *Domus es? solitudinis tedium pellit.*—6. *Fors? Discedentem visu prosequitur, absentem desiderat, redeuntem læta excipit.*—7. *Nihil jucundum absque societate: Nulla societas matrimonio suavior.*—8. *Vinculum conjugalis charitatis adamantinum.*—9. *Accrescit dulcis affinium turba, duplicatur numerus parentum, fratrum, sororum, nepotum.*—10. *Pulchrâ sis prole parens.*—11. *Lex Mosis sterilitatem matrimonii execratur, quanto amplius cælibatum!*—12. *Si natura pœnam non effugit, ne voluntas quidem effugiet.*

1. Hast thou means? thou hast one to keep and increase it.—2. Hast none? thou hast one to help to get it.—3. Art in prosperity? thine happiness is doubled.—4. Art in adversity? she'll comfort, assist, bear a part of thy burden to make it more tolerable.—5. Art at home? she'll drive away melancholy.—6. Art abroad? she looks after thee going from home, wishes for thee in thine absence, and joyfully welcomes thy return.—7. There's nothing delightful without society, no society so sweet as matrimony.—8. The band of conjugal love is adamantine.—9. The sweet company of kinsmen increaseth, the number of parents is doubled, of brothers, sisters, nephews.—10. Thou art made a father by a fair and happy issue.—11. Moses curseth the barrenness of matrimony, how much more a single life?—12. If nature escape not punishment, surely thy will shall not avoid it.

All this is true, say you, and who knows it not? but how easy a matter is it to answer these motives, and to make an *Antiparodia* quite opposite unto it? To exercise myself I will essay:

1. Hast thou means? thou hast one to spend it.—2. Hast none? thy beggary is increased.—3. Art in prosperity? thy happiness is ended.—4. Art in adversity? like Job's wife she'll aggravate thy misery, vex thy soul, make thy burden intolerable.—5. Art at home? she'll scold thee out of doors.—6. Art abroad? If thou be wise keep thee so, she'll perhaps graft horns in thine absence, scowl on thee coming

home.—7. Nothing gives more content than solitariness, no solitariness like this of a single life.—8. The band of marriage is adamantine, no hope of loosing it, thou art undone.—9. Thy number increaseth, thou shalt be devoured by thy wife's friends.—10. Thou art made a cornuto by an unchaste wife, and shalt bring up other folks' children, instead of thine own.—11. Paul commends marriage, yet he prefers a single life.—12. Is marriage honourable? What an immortal crown belongs to virginity?

So Siracides himself speaks as much as may be for and against women, so doth almost every philosopher plead *pro* and *con*, every poet thus argues the case: (though what cares *vulgus hominum* what they say?) so can I conceive peradventure, and so canst thou; when all is said, yet since some be good, some bad, let's put it to the venture. I conclude therefore with Seneca,

“cur toro viduo jaces?
Tristem juventam solve: nunc luxus rape,
Effunde habenas, optimos vitæ dies
Effluere prohibe.”

“Why dost thou lie alone, let thy youth and best days to pass away?” Marry whilst thou mayest, *donec viventi canities abest morosa*, whilst thou art yet able, yet lusty, ¹ *Elige cui dicas, tu mihi sola places*, make thy choice, and that freely forthwith, make no delay, but take thy fortune as it falls. 'Tis true,

² “calamitosus est qui inciderit
In malam uxorem, felix qui in bonam,”

'Tis a hazard both ways I confess, to live single or to marry, ³ *Nam et uxorem ducere, et non ducere malum est*, it may be bad, it may be good, as it is a cross and calamity on the one side, so 'tis a sweet delight, an incomparable happiness, a blessed estate, a most unspeakable benefit, a sole content, on

¹ Ovid. “Find her to whom you may say, ‘thou art my only pleasure.’”
² Euripides. “Unhappy the man who has met a bad wife, happy who found a

good one.” ³ E Græco Valerius, lib. 7, cap. 7. “To marry, and not to marry, are equally base.”

the other, 'tis all in the proof. Be not then so wayward, so covetous, so distrustful, so curious and nice, but let's all marry, *mutuos foventes amplexus*; "Take me to thee, and thee to me," to-morrow is St. Valentine's day, let's keep it holiday for Cupid's sake, for that great god Love's sake, for Hymen's sake, and celebrate ¹ Venus's vigil with our ancestors for company together, singing as they did,

"Cras amet qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit, cras amet,
Ver novum, ver jam canorum, ver natus orbis est,
Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
Et nemus coma resolvit, &c.
Cras amet," &c.

"Let those love now who never loved before,
And those who always loved now love the more;
Sweet loves are born with every opening spring;
Birds from the tender boughs their pledges sing," &c.

Let him that is averse from marriage read more in Barbarus *de re uxor. lib. 1, cap. 1*, Lemnius, *de institut. cap. 4*, P. Godefridus *de Amor. lib. 3, cap. 1*, ² Nevisanus, *lib. 3*, Alex. ab Alexandro, *lib. 4, cap. 8*, Tunstall, Erasmus's tracts *in laudem matrimonii*, &c., and I doubt not but in the end he will rest satisfied, recant with Beroaldus, do penance for his former folly, singing some penitential ditties, desire to be reconciled to the deity of this great god Love, go a pilgrimage to his shrine, offer to his image, sacrifice upon his altar, and be as willing at last to embrace marriage as the rest: There will not be found, I hope, ³ "No, not in that severe family of Stoics, who shall refuse to submit his grave beard and supercilious looks to the clipping of a wife, or disagree from his fellows in this point." "For what more willingly (as ⁴ Varro holds) can a proper man see than a fair wife, a sweet wife, a loving wife?" can the world afford a better sight, sweeter content, a fairer object, a more gracious aspect?

Since then this of marriage is the last and best refuge, and

¹ Pervigilium Veneris e vetere poetâ.
² Domus non potest consistere sine uxore.
Nevisanus, lib. 2, num. 18. ³ Nemo in
severissimâ Stoicorum familiâ qui non
barbam quoque et supercilium amplexi-

bus uxoris submisserit, aut in istâ parte
a reliquis dissenserit. Heinsius, Primiero.
⁴ Quid libentius homo masculus videre
debet quam bellam uxorem?

cure of heroical love, all doubts are cleared, and impediments removed; I say again, what remains, but that according to both their desires, they be happily joined, since it cannot otherwise be helped? God send us all good wives, every man his wish in this kind, and me mine!

¹ *And God that all this world hath ywrought,
Send him his Love that hath it so deere bought.*

If all parties be pleased, ask their banns, 'tis a match. ² *Fruitur Rhodanthe sponsâ, sponso Dosicle*; Rhodanthe and Dosicles shall go together, Clitophon and Leucippe, Theagines and Chariclea, Poliarchus hath his Argenis, Lysander Calista (to make up the mask), ³ *Potiturque suâ puer Iphis Ianthi*.

⁴ *And Troilus in lust and in quiet
Is with Creseid, his own heart sweet.*

And although they have hardly passed the pikes, through many difficulties and delays brought the match about, yet let them take this of ⁵ *Aristænetus* (that so marry) for their comfort: ⁶ "after many troubles and cares, the marriages of lovers are more sweet and pleasant." As we commonly conclude a comedy with a ⁷ wedding, and shaking of hands, let's shut up our discourse, and end all with an ⁸ *Epithalamium*:—

Feliciter nuptis, God give them joy together. ⁹ *Hymen O Hymenæe, Hymen ades O Hymenæe! Bonum factum*, 'tis well done, *Haud equidem sine mente reor, sine numine Divum*, 'tis a happy conjunction, a fortunate match, an even couple,

"Ambo animis, ambo præstantes viribus, ambo
Florentes annis,"

"they both excel in gifts of body and mind, are both equal

¹ Chaucer. ² *Conclusio Theod.* ³ *Prodromi, 9 l. Amor.* ⁴ *Ovid.* ⁵ The conclusion of Chaucer's poem of *Troilus and Creseid.* ⁶ *Epist. 4, l. 2. Jucundiores multo et suaviores longè post molestas turbas amantium nuptiæ.* ⁷ *Olim meminisse juvabit.* ⁸ *Quid expectatis, intus fiunt nuptiæ, the music, guests, and all the good cheer is within.* ⁹ *J. Secundus, Sylvar. lib. Jam virgo thalamum subibit unde ne virgo redeat, marite, cura.* ¹⁰ *Catullus.*

in years," youth, vigour, alacrity, she is fair and lovely as
Lais or Helen, he as another Charinus or Alcibiades,

¹ "Iudite ut lubet et brevi
Liberos date."

"Then modestly go sport and toy,
And let's have every year a boy."

² "Go give a sweet smell as incense, and bring forth flowers
as the lily:" that we may say hereafter, *Scitus Mecastor natus
est Pamphilo puer.* In the mean time I say,

³ "Ite, agite, O juvenes, ⁴ non murmura vestra columbæ
Brachia, non hederæ, neque vincant oscula conchæ."

"Gentle youths, go sport yourselves betimes,
Let not the doves outpass your murmurings,
Or ivy-clasping arms, or oyster kissings."

And in the morn betime, as those ⁵ Lacedæmonian lasses
saluted Helena and Menelaus, singing at their windows, and
wishing good success, do we at yours:

"Salve O sponsa, salve felix, det vobis Latona
Felicem sobolem, Venus dea det æqualem amorem
Inter vos mutuò; Saturnus durabiles divitias,
Dormire in pectorâ mutuò amorem inspirantes,
Et desiderium!"

"Good morrow, master bridegroom, and mistress bride,
Many fair lovely bernies to you betide!
Let Venus to you mutual love procure,
Let Saturn give you riches to endure.
Long may you sleep in one another's arms,
Inspiring sweet desire, and free from harms."

Even all your lives long,

⁶ "Contingat vobis turturum concordia,
Corniculæ vivacitas"

¹ Catullus. ² Ecclus. xxxix. 14. Nec saltent modo sed duo charissima
³ Galeni Epithal. ⁴ O noctem quater pectora indissolubili mutuae benevolen-
et quater beatam. ⁵ Theocritus, tiæ nodo copulent, ut nihil unquam eos
idyl. 18. ⁶ Erasm. Epithal. P. Ægidij. incedere possit iræ vel tædij. Illa

“The love of turtles hap to you,
And ravens’ years still to renew.”

Let the Muses sing, (as he said;) the Graces dance, not at their weddings only, but all their days long; “so couple their hearts, that no irksomeness or anger ever befall them; let him never call her other name than my joy, my light, or she call him otherwise than sweetheart. To this happiness of theirs, let not old age any whit detract, but as their years, so let their mutual love and comfort increase.” And when they depart this life,

“concordes quoniam vixere tot annos,
Auferat hora duos eadem, nec conjugis usquam
Busta suæ videat, nec sit tumultandus ab illâ.”

“Because they have so sweetly liv’d together,
Let not one die a day before the other,
He bury her, she him, with even fate,
One hour their souls let jointly separate.”

“Fortunati ambo si quid mea carmina possunt,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.”¹

Atque hæc de amore dixisse sufficiat, *sub correctione*,² quod ait ille, *cujusque melius sentientis*. Plura qui volet de remediis amoris, legat *Jasonem Pratensem, Arnoldum, Montaltum, Savanarolam, Langium, Valescum, Crimisonum, Alexandrum Benedictum, Laurentium, Valleriolam*, e Poetis *Nasonem*, e nostratibus *Chaucerum*, &c., with whom I conclude,

³ *For my words here and every part,
I speak them all under correction,
Of you that feeling have in love’s art,
And put it all in your discretion,
To intreat or make diminution,
Of my language, that I you beseech:
But now to purpose of my rather speech.*

perpetuo nihil audiat nisi, mea lux: shall time ever detract from the memorable example of your lives.”² Kornmannus, de lineâ amoris. ³ Finis 3
huic jucunditati ne senectus detrahat, imo potius aliquid adaugeat. ¹ “Happy book of Troilus and Cresseid.

both, if my verses have any charms, nor

SECT. III. MEMB. I.

SUBJECT. I.—*Jealousy, its Equivocations, Name, Definition, Extent, several Kinds ; of Princes, Parents, Friends. In Beasts, Men ; before Marriage, as Corrivals ; or after, as in this Place.*

VALESCUS, *de Tarantâ, cap. de Melanchol.* Ælian Montaltus, Felix Platerus, Guianerius, put jealousy for a cause of melancholy, others for a symptom ; because melancholy persons amongst these passions and perturbations of the mind, are most obnoxious to it. But methinks for the latitude it hath, and that prerogative above other ordinary symptoms, it ought to be treated of as a species apart, being of so great and eminent note, so furious a passion, and almost of as great extent as love itself, as ¹ Benedetto Varchi holds, “no love without a mixture of jealousy,” *qui non zelat, non amat.* For these causes I will dilate, and treat of it by itself, as a bastard-branch or kind of love-melancholy, which, as heroical love goeth commonly before marriage, doth usually follow, torture, and crucify in like sort, deserves therefore to be rectified alike, requires as much care and industry, in setting out the several causes of it, prognostics and cures. Which I have more willingly done, that he that is or hath been jealous, may see his error as in a glass ; he that is not, may learn to detest, avoid it himself, and dispossess others that are anywise affected with it.

Jealousy is described and defined to be ²“a certain suspicion which the lover hath of the party he chiefly loveth, lest he or she should be enamoured of another ;” or any eager desire to enjoy some beauty alone, to have it proper to himself only ; a fear or doubt, lest any foreigner should participate or share with him in his love. Or (as ³ Scaliger adds)

¹ In his Oration of Jealousy, put out by Fr. Sansavin. ² Benedetto Varchi. ³ Exercitat. 317. Cum metuimus ne amantæ rei exturbemur possessione.

“a fear of losing her favour whom he so earnestly affects.” Cardan calls it “a ¹ zeal for love, and a kind of envy lest any man should beguile us.” ² Ludovicus Vives defines it in the very same words, or little differing in sense.

There be many other jealousies, but improperly so called all; as that of parents, tutors, guardians over their children, friends whom they love, or such as are left to their wardship or protection.

“Storax non rediit hâc nocte a cœnâ Æschinus,
Neque servulorum quispiam qui adversum ierant?” ³

As the old man in the comedy cried out in a passion, and from a solicitous fear and care he had of his adopted son: ⁴ “not of beauty, but lest they should miscarry, do amiss, or any way discredit, disgrace (as Vives notes) or endanger themselves and us.” ⁵ Ægeus was so solicitous for his son Theseus (when he went to fight with the Minotaur), of his success, lest he should be foiled, ⁶ *Prona est timori semper in pejus fides*. We are still apt to suspect the worst in such doubtful cases, as many wives in their husbands’ absence, fond mothers in their children’s, lest if absent they should be misled or sick, and are continually expecting news from them, how they do fare, and what is become of them, they cannot endure to have them long out of their sight: Oh my sweet son, O my dear child, &c. Paul was jealous over the Church of Corinth, as he confesseth, 2 Cor. xi. 2. “With a godly jealousy, to present them a pure virgin to Christ;” and he was afraid still, lest as the serpent beguiled Eve, through his subtlety, so their minds should be corrupt from the simplicity that is in Christ. God himself, in some sense, is said to be jealous, ⁷ “I am a jealous God, and will visit;” so Psalm lxxix. 5, “Shall thy jealousy burn like fire for ever?” But these are improperly called jealousies, and by a metaphor, to

¹ Zelus de formâ est invidentiæ species ne quis formâ quam amamus fruatur.
² 3, de Animâ.

³ “Has not every one of the slaves that went to meet him returned this night from the supper?”

⁴ R. de Animâ. Tangimur zelotypiâ de

pupillis, liberis charisque curæ nostræ concreditæ, non de formâ, sed ne male sit iis, aut ne nobis sibi que parent ignominiam.

⁵ Plutarch. ⁶ Senec. in Herc. fur.

⁷ Exod. xx.

show the care and solicitude they have of them. Although some jealousies express all the symptoms of this which we treat of, fear, sorrow, anguish, anxiety, suspicion, hatred, &c., the object only varied. That of some fathers is very eminent, to their sons and heirs; for though they love them dearly being children, yet now coming towards man's estate they may not well abide them, the son and heir is commonly sick of the father, and the father again may not well brook his eldest son, *inde simultates, plerumque contentiones et inimicitiae*; but that of princes is most notorious, as when they fear corrivals, (if I may so call them) successors, emulators, subjects, or such as they have offended. ¹ *Omnisque potestas impatiens consortis erit*: "they are still suspicious lest their authority should be diminished," ² as one observes; and as Comineus hath it, ³ "it cannot be expressed what slender causes they have of their grief and suspicion, a secret disease, that commonly lurks and breeds in princes' families." Sometimes it is for their honour only, as that of Adrian the emperor, ⁴ "that killed all his emulators." Saul envied David; Domitian Agricola, because he did excel him, obscure his honour, as he thought, eclipse his fame. Juno turned Prætus's daughters into kine, for that they contended with her for beauty; Cyparissæ, King Eteocles's children, were envied of the goddesses for their excellent good parts, and dancing amongst the rest, saith ⁵ Constantine, "and for that cause flung headlong from heaven, and buried in a pit, but the earth took pity of them, and brought out cypress-trees to preserve their memories." ⁶ Niobe, Arachne, and Marsyas, can testify as much. But it is most grievous when it is for a kingdom itself, or matters of commodity, it produceth lamentable effects, especially amongst tyrants, *in despotico Imperio*, and such as are more feared than beloved of their subjects,

¹ Lucan. ² Danæus, Aphoris. polit. semper metuunt ne eorum auctoritas minuatur.

³ Belli Neapol. lib. 5. Dici non potest quam tenues et infirmas causas habent mœroris et suspicionis, et hic est morbus occultus, qui in familiis principum regnat. ⁴ Omnes æmulos

interfecit. Lamprid. ⁵ Constant. agricult. lib. 10, c. 5, Cyparissæ Eteoclis filiæ, saltantes ad emulationem dearum in puteum demolitæ sunt, sed terra miserata, cupressos inde produxit. ⁶ Ovid. Met.

that get and keep their sovereignty by force and fear. ¹*Quod civibus tenere te invitis scias, &c.*, as Phalaris, Dionysius, Periander held theirs. For though fear, cowardice, and jealousy, in Plutarch's opinion, be the common causes of tyranny, as in Nero, Caligula, Tiberius, yet most take them to be symptoms. For ²“what slave, what hangman (as Bodine well expresseth this passion, *l. 2, c. 5 de rep.*) can so cruelly torture a condemned person, as this fear and suspicion? Fear of death, infamy, torments, are those furies and vultures that vex and disquiet tyrants, and torture them day and night, with perpetual terrors and affrights, envy, suspicion, fear, desire of revenge, and a thousand such disagreeing perturbations, turn and affright the soul out of the hinges of health, and more grievously wound and pierce, than those cruel masters can exasperate and vex their apprentices or servants, with clubs, whips, chains, and tortures.” Many terrible examples we have in this kind, amongst the Turks especially, many jealous outrages; ³Selimus killed Kornutus his youngest brother, five of his nephews, Mustapha Bassa, and divers others. ⁴Bajazet the second Turk, jealous of the valour and greatness of Achmet Bassa, caused him to be slain. ⁵Solyman the Magnificent murdered his own son Mustapha; and 'tis an ordinary thing amongst them, to make away their brothers, or any competitors, at the first coming to the crown; 'tis all the solemnity they use at their fathers' funerals. What mad pranks in his jealous fury did Herod of old commit in Jewry, when he massacred all the children of a year old? ⁶Valens the emperor in Constantinople, when as he left no man alive of quality in his kingdom that had his name begun with Theo; Theodoti, Theognosti, Theodosii, Theoduli, &c. They went all to their long home, because a wizard told him that name should succeed in his empire. And what furious

¹ Seneca. ² Quis autem carnifex ad-dictum supplicio crudelius afficiat, quam metus? Metus inquam mortis, infamiae, cruciatus, sunt illae ultrices furiae quae tyrannos exagitant, &c. Multo acerbius sauciant et pungunt, quam crudeles domini servos vinctos fustibus ac tormen-

tis exulcerare possunt. ³ Lonicerus, To. 1, Turc. hist. c. 24. ⁴ Jovius, vita ejus. ⁵ Knowles. Busbequius. Sand. fol. 52. ⁶ Nicephorus, lib. 11. c. 45. Socrates, lib. 7, cap. 35. Neque Valens alicui pepercit qui Theo cognomine vocaretur.

designs hath ¹Jo. Basilius, that Muscovian tyrant, practised of late? It is a wonder to read that strange suspicion, which Suetonius reports of Claudius Cæsar, and of Domitian, they were afraid of every man they saw; and which Herodian of Antonius and Geta, those two jealous brothers, the one could not endure so much as the other's servants, but made away him, his chiefest followers, and all that belonged to him, or were his wellwishers. ²Maximinus "perceiving himself to be odious to most men, because he was come to that height of honour out of base beginnings, and suspecting his mean parentage would be objected to him, caused all the senators that were nobly descended, to be slain in a jealous humour, turned all the servants of Alexander his predecessor out of doors, and slew many of them, because they lamented their master's death, suspecting them to be traitors, for the love they bare to him." When Alexander in his fury had made Clitus his dear friend to be put to death, and saw now (saith ³Curtius) an alienation in his subjects' hearts, none durst talk with him, he began to be jealous of himself, lest they should attempt as much on him, "and said they lived like so many wild beasts in a wilderness, one afraid of another." Our modern stories afford us many notable examples. ⁴Henry the Third of France, jealous of Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, anno 1588, caused him to be murdered in his own chamber. ⁵Louis the Eleventh was so suspicious, he durst not trust his children, every man about him he suspected for a traitor; many strange tricks Comineus telleth of him. How jealous was our Henry the ⁶Fourth of King Richard the Second, so long as he lived, after he was deposed? and of his own son Henry in his later days? which the prince, well perceiving, came to visit his father in his sickness, in a watchet

¹ Alexand. Gaguin. Muscov. hist. descript. c. 5. ² D. Fletcher, timet omnes ne insidiæ essent. Herodot. l. 7. Maximinus invisum se sentiens, quod ex infimo loco in tantam fortunam venisset moribus ac genere barbarus, metuens ne natalium obscuritas objiceretur, omnes Alexandri prædecessoris ministros ex

aulâ ejecit, pluribus interfectis, quod moestis essent ad mortem Alexandri, insidias inde metuens. ³ Lib. 8, tanquam feræ solitudine vivebant, terrentes alios, timentes. ⁴ Serres, fol. 56. ⁵ Neap. belli, lib. 5, nulli prorsus homini fidebat, omnes insidiari sibi putabat. ⁶ Camden's Remains.

velvet gown, full of eyelet-holes, and with needles sticking in them (as an emblem of jealousy), and so pacified his suspicious father, after some speeches and protestations, which he had used to that purpose. Perpetual imprisonment, as that of Robert, ¹ Duke of Normandy, in the days of Henry the First, forbidding of marriage to some persons, with such like edicts and prohibitions, are ordinary in all states. In a word (² as he said) three things cause jealousy, a mighty state, a rich treasure, a fair wife; or where there is a cracked title, much tyranny, and exactions. In our state, as being freed from all these fears and miseries, we may be most secure and happy under the reign of our fortunate prince:

8 " His fortune hath indebted him to none
But to all his people universally;
And not to them but for their love alone,
Which they account as placed worthily.
He is so set, he hath no cause to be
Jealous, or dreadful of disloyalty;
The pedestal whereon his greatness stands,
Is held of all our hearts, and all our hands."

But I rove, I confess. These equivocations, jealousies, and many such, which crucify the souls of men, are not here properly meant, or in this distinction of ours included, but that alone which is for beauty, tending to love, and wherein they can brook no corival, or endure any participation: and this jealousy belongs as well to brute beasts, as men. Some creatures, saith ⁴ Vives, swans, doves, cocks, bulls, &c., are jealous as well as men, and as much moved, for fear of communion.

5 " Grege pro toto bella juvenci,
Si conjugio timuere suo,
Poscunt timidi prælia cervi,
Et mugitus dant concepti signa furoris."

" In Venus's cause what mighty battles make
Your raving bulls, and stirs for their herd's sake:

¹ Mat. Paris. ² R. T. notis in Blason zel. Animalia quædam zelotypiâ tangun-
Jealousie. ³ Daniel, in his Panegyric tur, ut olores, columbæ, galli, tauri, &c.,
to the king. ⁴ 3, de animâ, cap. de ob metum communionis. ⁵ Seneca.

And harts and bucks that are so timorous,
Will fight and roar, if once they be but jealous."

In bulls, horses, goats, this is most apparently discerned. Bulls especially, *alium in pascuis non admittit*, he will not admit another bull to feed in the same pasture, saith ¹ Opian; which Stephanus Bathorius, late king of Poland, used as an impress, with that motto, *Regnum non capit duos*. R. T., in his Blason of Jealousy, telleth a story of a swan about Windsor, that finding a strange cock with his mate, did swim I know not how many miles after to kill him, and when he had so done, came back and killed his hen; a certain truth, he saith, done upon Thames, as many watermen, and neighbour gentlemen, can tell. *Fidem suam liberet*; for my part, I do believe it may be true; for swans have ever been branded with that epithet of jealousy.

² *The jealous swanne against his death that singeth,
And eke the owle that of death bode bringeth.*

³ Some say as much of elephants, that they are more jealous than any other creatures whatsoever; and those old Egyptians, as ⁴ Pierius informeth us, express in their hieroglyphics the passion of jealousy by a camel; ⁵ because that fearing the worst still about matters of venery, he loves solitude, that he may enjoy his pleasure alone, *et in quoscunque obvios insurgit, Zelotypiæ stimulis agitatus*, he will quarrel and fight with whosoever comes next, man or beast, in his jealous fits. I have read as much of ⁶ crocodiles; and if Peter Martyr's authority be authentic, *legat. Babylonicæ, lib. 3*, you shall have a strange tale to that purpose confidently related. Another story of the jealousy of dogs, see in Hieron. Fabricius, *Tract. 3, cap. 5, de loquelâ animalium*.

But this furious passion is most eminent in men, and is as well amongst bachelors as married men. If it appear amongst bachelors, we commonly call them rivals or corrivals,

¹ Lib. 11, Cynoget. ² Chaucer, in his Assembly of Fowls. ³ Alderovand. ⁴ Lib. 12. ⁵ Sibi timens circa res ve-

nereas, solitudines amat quo solus solâ
feminâ fruatur. ⁶ Crocodili zelotypi

et uxorum amantissimi, &c.

a metaphor derived from a river, *rivales a* ¹*rivo* ; for as a river, saith Acron *in Hor. Art. Poet.* and Donat. *in Ter. Eunuch.* divides a common ground between two men, and both participate of it, so is a woman indifferent between two suitors, both likely to enjoy her ; and thence comes this emulation, which breaks out many times into tempestuous storms, and produceth lamentable effects, murder itself, with much cruelty, many single combats. They cannot endure the least injury done unto them before their mistress, and in her defence will bite off one another's noses ; they are most impatient of any flout, disgrace, lest emulation or participation in that kind. ²“*Lacerat lacertum Largi mordax Memnius.*” Memnius the Roman (as Tully tells the story, *de oratore, lib. 2.*) being cor rival with Largus Terracina, bit him by the arm, which fact of his was so famous, that it afterwards grew to a proverb in those parts. ³ Phædria could not abide his cor rival Thraso ; for when Parmenio demanded, *numquid aliud imperas* ? whether he would command him any more service : “No more (saith he) but to speak in his behalf, and to drive away his cor rival if he could.” Constantine, in the eleventh book of his husbandry, *cap. 11*, hath a pleasant tale of the pine-tree ; ⁴ she was once a fair maid, whom Pineus and Boreas, two cor rivals, dearly sought ; but jealous Boreas broke her neck, &c. And in his eighteenth chapter he telleth another tale of ⁵Mars, that in his jealousy slew Adonis. Petronius calleth this passion *amantium furiosam æmulationem*, a furious emulation ; and their symptoms are well expressed by Sir Geoffrey Chaucer in his first Canterbury Tale. It will make the nearest and dearest friends fall out ; they will endure all other things to be common, goods, lands, moneys, participate of each pleasure, and take in good part any disgraces, injuries in another kind ; but as Propertius well describes it in an elegy of his, in this they will suffer nothing, have no cor rivals.

¹ Qui dividit agrum communem ; inde deducitur ad amantes. ² Erasmus, chil. 1, cent. 9, adag. 99. ³ Ter. Eun. Act. 1, sc. 1. Munus nostrum ornato

verbis, et istum æmulum, quoad poteris, ab eâ pellito. ⁴ Pinus puella quondam fuit, &c. ⁵ Mars zelotypus Adonidem interfecit.

1 "Tu mihi vel ferro pectus, vel perde veneno,
 A dominâ tantum te modo tolle meâ:
 Te socium vitæ te corporis esse licebit,
 Te dominum admitto rebus amice meis.
 Lecto te solum, lecto te deprecor uno,
 Rivalem possum non ego ferre Jovem."

"Stab me with sword, or poison strong
 Give me to work my bane:
 So thou court not my lass, so thou
 From mistress mine refrain.
 Command myself, my body, purse,
 As thine own goods take all,
 And as my ever dearest friend,
 I ever use thee shall.
 O spare my love, to have alone
 Her to myself I crave,
 Nay, *Jove* himself I'll not endure
 My rival for to have."

This jealousy, which I am to treat of, is that which belongs to married men, in respect of their own wives; to whose estate, as no sweetness, pleasure, happiness can be compared in the world, if they live quietly and lovingly together; so if they disagree or be jealous, those bitter pills of sorrow and grief, disastrous mischiefs, mischances, tortures, gripings, discontents, are not to be separated from them. A most violent passion it is where it taketh place, an unspeakable torment, a hellish torture, an infernal plague, as Ariosto calls it, "a fury, a continual fever, full of suspicion, fear, and sorrow, a martyrdom, a mirth-marring monster. The sorrow and grief of heart of one woman jealous of another, is heavier than death, Ecclus. xxviii. 6, as ² Peninnah did Hannah, vex her and upbraid her sore." 'Tis a main vexation, a most intolerable burden, a corrosive to all content, a frenzy, a madness itself; as ³ Benedetto Varchi proves out of that select sonnet of Giovanni de la Casa, that reverend lord, as he styles him.

1 R. T. 2 1 Sam. i. 6. 3 Blazon of Jealousy.

SUBJECT. II.—*Causes of Jealousy. Who are most apt. Idleness, Melancholy, Impotency, long Absence, Beauty, Wantonness, naught themselves. Allurements from Time, Place, Persons, bad Usage, Causes.*

ASTROLOGERS make the stars a cause or sign of this bitter passion, and out of every man's horoscope will give a probable conjecture whether he will be jealous or no, and at what time, by direction of the significators to their several promissors; their aphorisms are to be read in Alubator, Pontanus, Schoner, Junctine, &c. Bodine, *cap. 5, meth. hist.* ascribes a great cause to the country or clime, and discourseth largely there of this subject, saying that southern men are more hot, lascivious, and jealous, than such as live in the north; they can hardly contain themselves in those hotter climes, but are more subject to prodigious lust. Leo Afer telleth incredible things almost, of the lust and jealousy of his countrymen of Africa, and especially such as live about Carthage, and so doth every geographer of them in ¹ Asia, Turkey, Spaniards, Italians. Germany hath not so many drunkards, England tobaccoists, France dancers, Holland mariners, as Italy alone hath jealous husbands. And in ² Italy some account them of Piacenza more jealous than the rest. In ³ Germany, France, Britain, Scandia, Poland, Muscovy, they are not so troubled with this feral malady, although Damianus à Goes, which I do much wonder at, in his topography of Lapland, and Herberstein of Russia, against the stream of all other geographers, would fasten it upon those northern inhabitants. Altomarius Poggius, and Munster in his description of Baden, reports that men and women of all sorts go commonly into the baths together, without all suspicion, "the name of jealousy (saith Munster) is not so much as once heard of among them." In Friesland the women kiss them they drink to, and are kissed again of those

¹ Mulierum conditio misera; nullam zelotypiæ apud istos locum non habet, honestam credunt nisi domo conclusa lib. 3, c. 8. vivat. ² Fines Morisou. ³ Nomen

they pledge. The virgins in Holland go hand in hand with young men from home, glide on the ice, such is their harmless liberty, and lodge together abroad without suspicion, which rash Sansovinus, an Italian, makes a great sign of unchastity. In France, upon small acquaintance, it is usual to court other men's wives, to come to their houses, and accompany them arm in arm in the streets, without imputation. In the most northern countries young men and maids familiarly dance together, men and their wives, ¹ which, Siena only excepted, Italians may not abide. The ² Greeks, on the other side, have their private baths for men and women, where they must not come near, nor so much as see one another; and as ³ Bodine observes, *lib. 5, de repub.* "the Italians could never endure this," or a Spaniard, the very conceit of it would make him mad; and for that cause they lock up their women, and will not suffer them to be near men, so much as in the ⁴ church, but with a partition between. He telleth, moreover, how that "when he was ambassador in England, he heard Mendoza, the Spanish legate, finding fault with it, as a filthy custom for men and women to sit promiscuously in churches together; but Dr. Dale the master of the requests told him again, that it was indeed a filthy custom in Spain, where they could not contain themselves from lascivious thoughts in their holy places, but not with us." Baronius in his Annals, out of Eusebius, taxeth Licinius the emperor for a decree of his made to this effect, *Jubens ne viri simul cum mulieribus in ecclesiâ interessent*; for being prodigiously naught himself, *aliorum naturam ex suâ vitiosâ mente spectavit*, he so esteemed others. But we are far from any such strange conceits, and will permit our wives and daughters to go to the tavern with a friend, as Aubanus saith, *modo absit lascivia*, and suspect nothing, to kiss coming and going, which, as Erasmus writes in one of his epistles, they cannot endure.

¹ Fines Moris. part. 3, cap. 2. ² Busbequius. Sands. ³ Præ amore et zelotypiâ sæpius insaniunt. ⁴ Australes ne sacra quidem publica fieri patiuntur, nisi uterque sexus pariete medio divida-

tur; et quum in Angliam, inquit, legationis causâ profectus essem, audiivi Mendozam legatum Hispaniarum dicentem turpe esse viros et feminas in, &c.

England is a paradise for women, and hell for horses: Italy a paradise for horses, hell for women, as the proverb goes. Some make a question whether this headstrong passion rage more in women than men, as Montaigne, *l.* 3. But sure it is more outrageous in women, as all other melancholy is, by reason of the weakness of their sex. Scaliger, *Poet. lib. cap.* 13, concludes against women: ¹“ Besides their inconstancy, treachery, suspicion, dissimulation, superstition, pride (for all women are by nature proud), desire of sovereignty, if they be great women (he gives instance in Juno), bitterness and jealousy are the most remarkable affections.”

“ Sed nequē fulvus aper mediā tam fulvus in irā est,
Fulmineo rapidos dum rotat ore canes,
Nec leo,” &c.

“ Tiger, boar, bear, viper, lioness,
A woman's fury cannot express.”

² Some say redheaded women, pale-coloured, black-eyed, and of a shrill voice, are most subject to jealousy.

³ “ High colour in a woman choler shows,
Naught are they, peevish, proud, malicious;
But worst of all, red, shrill, and jealous.”

Comparisons are odious, I neither parallel them with others, nor debase them any more; men and women are both bad, and too subject to this pernicious infirmity. It is most part a symptom and cause of melancholy, as Plater and Valescus teach us: melancholy men are apt to be jealous, and jealous apt to be melancholy.

“ Pale jealousy, child of insatiate love,
Of heartsick thoughts which melancholy bred,
A hell-tormenting fear, no faith can move,
By discontent with deadly poison fed;
With heedless youth and error vainly led.
A mortal plague, a virtue-drowning flood,
A hellish fire not quenched but with blood.”

If idleness concur with melancholy, such persons are most

¹ Idea: mulieres præterquam quod si potentes, intolerabiles, amore zelotypæ sunt infidæ, suspicaces, inconstantes, in- supra modum. Ovid. 2, de art. ² Bar- sidiosæ, simulatrices, superstitiosæ, et tello. ³ R. T.

apt to be jealous; 'tis ¹Nevisanus's note, "an idle woman is presumed to be lascivious, and often jealous." *Mulier cum sola cogitat, male cogitat*; and 'tis not unlikely, for they have no other business to trouble their heads with.

More particular causes be these which follow. Impotency first, when a man is not able of himself to perform those dues which he ought unto his wife; for though he be an honest liver, hurt no man, yet Trebius the lawyer may make a question, *an suum cuique tribuat*, whether he give every one their own; and therefore when he takes notice of his wants, and perceives her to be more craving, clamorous, insatiable, and prone to lust than is fit, he begins presently to suspect, that wherein he is defective, she will satisfy herself, she will be pleased by some other means. Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly expressed this humour in an epigram to his Lychoris.

"Jamque alios juvenes aliosque requirit amores,
Me vocat imbellem decrepitumque senem," &c.²

For this cause is most evident in old men, that are cold and dry by nature, and married *succi plenis*, to young wanton wives; with old doting Janivere in Chaucer, they begin to mistrust all is not well,

*She was young and he was old,
And therefore he feared to be a cuckold.*

And how should it otherwise be? old age is a disease of itself, loathsome, full of suspicion and fear; when it is at best, unable, unfit for such matters. ³*Tam apta nuptiis quam bruma messibus*, as welcome to a young woman as snow in harvest, saith Nevisanus; *Et si capis juvenculam, faciet tibi cornua*: marry a lusty maid and she will surely graft horns on thy head. ⁴"All women are slippery, often unfaithful to their husbands (as Æneas Sylvius, *epist.* 38, seconds him),

¹ Lib. 2, num. 8, *mulier otiosa facile*

præsumitur luxuriosa, et sæpe zelotypa.

² "And now she requires other youths
and other loves, calls me an imbecile and

decrepit old man."

³ Lib. 2, num. 4.
⁴ *Quum omnibus infideles fœminæ, senibus infidelissimæ.*

but to old men most treacherous ;” they had rather *mortem amplexarier*, lie with a corse than such a one : ¹ *Oderunt illum pueri, contemnunt mulieres*. On the other side many men, saith Hieronymus, are suspicious of their wives, ² if they be lightly given, but old folks above the rest. Insomuch that she did not complain without a cause in ³ Apuleius, of an old bald bedridden knave she had to her good man : “ Poor woman as I am, what shall I do ? I have an old grim sire to my husband, as bald as a coot, as little and as unable as a child,” a bedful of bones, “ he keeps all the doors barred and locked upon me, woe is me, what shall I do ? ” He was jealous, and she made him a cuckold for keeping her up ; suspicion without a cause, hard usage is able of itself to make a woman fly out, that was otherwise honest,

⁴ “ plerasque bonas tractatio pravas
Esse facit,”

“ bad usage aggravates the matter.” *Nam quando mulieres cognoscunt maritum hoc advertere, licentiùs peccant*, ⁵ as Nevisanus holds, when a woman thinks her husband watcheth her, she will sooner offend, ⁶ *Liberius peccant, et pudor omnis abest*, rough handling makes them worse ; as the good wife of Bath in Chaucer brags,

*In his own grease I made him frie
For anger and for very jealousie.*

Of two extremes, this of hard usage is the worst. ’Tis a great fault (for some men are *uxorii*) to be too fond of their wives, to dote on them as ⁷ Senior Deliro on his Fallace, to be too effeminate, or as some do, to be sick for their wives, breed children for them, and like the ⁸ Tiberini lie in for

¹ Mimnerus. ² *Vix aliqua non impudica, et quam non suspectam merito quis habeat.* ³ Lib. 5, de aur. asino. At ego misera patre meo seniore maritum nacta sum, eundem cucurbitâ calviorē et quovis puero pumiliore, cunctam domum seris et catenis obditam

custodientem. ⁴ Chaloner. ⁵ Lib. 4, n. 80. ⁶ Ovid. 2, de art. amandi. ⁷ Every Man out of his Humour. ⁸ Cal-cagninus, Apol. Tiberini ab uxorum partu earum vices subeunt, ut aves per vices incubant, &c.

them, as some birds hatch eggs by turns, they do all women's offices; Cælius Rhodiginus, *ant. lect. lib. 6, cap. 24*, makes mention of a fellow out of Seneca,¹ that was so besotted on his wife, he could not endure a moment out of her company, he wore her scarf when he went abroad next his heart, and would never drink but in that cup she began first. We have many such fondlings that are their wives' packhorses and slaves, (*nam grave malum uxor superans virum suum*, as the comical poet hath it, there's no greater misery to a man than to let his wife domineer) to carry her muff, dog, and fan, let her wear the breeches, lay out, spend, and do what she will, go and come whither, when she will, they give consent.

"Here take my muff, and do you hear, good man;
Now give me pearl, and carry you my fan," &c.

² "poscit pallam, redimicula, inauras;
Curre, quid hic cessas? vulgo vult illa videri,
Tu pete lecticas"

many brave and worthy men have trespassed in this kind, *multos foràs claros domestica hæc destruxit infamia*, and many noble senators and soldiers (as ³ Pliny notes) have lost their honour, in being *uxorii*, so sottishly overruled by their wives; and therefore Cato in Plutarch made a bitter jest on his fellow-citizens, the Romans, "we govern all the world abroad, and our wives at home rule us." These offend in one extreme; but too hard and too severe, are far more offensive on the other. As just a cause may be long absence of either party, when they must of necessity be much from home, as lawyers, physicians, mariners, by their professions; or otherwise make frivolous, impertinent journeys, tarry long abroad to no purpose, lie out, and are gadding still, upon small occasions, it must needs yield matter of suspicion, when they use their wives unkindly in the mean time, and never tarry at home, it cannot use but engender some such conceit.

¹ Exiturus fasciâ uxoris pectus alligabat, nec momento præsentia ejus carere poterat, potumque non hauriebat nisi prægustatum labris ejus.

² Chaloner.

³ Panegy. Trajano.

¹ "Uxor si cessas amare te cogitat

Aut tete amari, aut potare, aut animo obsequi,
Et tibi benè esse soli, quum sibi sit malè."

"If thou be absent long, thy wife then thinks,
Th' art drunk, at ease, or with some pretty minx,
'Tis well with thee, or else beloved of some,
Whilst she, poor soul, doth fare full ill at home."

Hippocrates, the physician, had a smack of this disease ; for when he was to go home as far as Abdera, and some other remote cities of Greece, he writ to his friend Dionysius (if at least those ² Epistles be his) ³ "to oversee his wife in his absence (as Apollo set a raven to watch his Coronis), although she lived in his house with her father and mother, who he knew would have a care of her ; yet that would not satisfy his jealousy, he would have his special friend Dionysius to dwell in his house with her all the time of his peregrination, and to observe her behaviour, how she carried herself in her husband's absence, and that she did not lust after other men. ⁴ For a woman had need to have an overseer to keep her honest ; they are bad by nature, and lightly given all, and if they be not curbed in time, as an unpruned tree, they will be full of wild branches, and degenerate of a sudden." Especially in their husbands' absence ; though one Lucretia were trusty, and one Penelope, yet Clytemnestra made Agamemnon cuckold ; and no question there be too many of her conditions. If their husbands tarry too long abroad upon unnecessary business, well they may suspect ; or if they run one way, their wives at home will fly out another, *Quid pro quo*. Or if present, and give them not that content which they ought, ⁵ *Primum ingratae, mox invisae noctes quae per somnum transiguntur*, they cannot endure to lie alone, or to fast long. ⁶ Peter Godefridus, in his second book of Love, and sixth chapter, hath a story out of St. Anthony's life, of a

¹ Ter. Adolph. act. 1, sec. 1. Calvo. Ravennate interprete. ² Fab. rediero domum meam habitabis, et licet cum parentibus habitet hac meâ peregrinatione; eam tamen et ejus mores observabis uti absentia viri sui probe degat, nec alios viros cogitet aut quaerat. ³ Dum

ina semper custode eget qui se pudicam contineat; suapte enim naturâ nequitias insitas habet, quas nisi indies comprimant, ut arbores stolones emittunt, &c. ⁴ Heinsius. ⁵ Uxor cujusdam nobilis quum debitum maritale sacrâ passionis hebdomadâ non obtineret, alterum adiit.

gentleman, who, by that good man's advice, would not meddle with his wife in the passion-week, but for his pains she set a pair of horns on his head. Such another he hath out of Abstemius, one persuaded a new-married man ¹ "to forbear the three first nights, and he should all his lifetime after be fortunate in cattle," but his impatient wife would not tarry so long; well he might speed in cattle, but not in children. Such a tale hath Heinsius of an impotent and slack scholar, a mere student, and a friend of his, that seeing by chance a fine damsel sing and dance, would needs marry her, the match was soon made, for he was young and rich, *genis gratus, corpore glabellus, arte multiscius, et fortunâ opulentus*, like that Apollo in ² Apuleius. The first night, having liberally taken his liquor (as in that country they do) my kind scholar was so fuzzled, that he no sooner was laid in bed, but he fell fast asleep, never waked till morning, and then much abashed, *purpureis formosa rosis cum Aurora ruberet*, when the fair morn with purple hue 'gan shine, he made an excuse, I know not what, out of Hippocrates Cous, &c., and for that time it went current; but when as afterward he did not play the man as he should do, she fell in league with a good fellow, and whilst he sat up late at his study about those criticisms, mending some hard places in Festus or Pollux, came cold to bed, and would tell her still what he had done, she did not much regard what he said, &c. ³ "She would have another matter mended much rather, which he did not conceive was corrupt;" thus he continued at his study late, she at her sport *alibi enim festivas noctes agitabat*, hating all scholars for his sake, till at length he began to suspect, and turned a little yellow, as well he might; for it was his own fault; and if men be jealous in such cases (⁴ as oft it falls out) the mends

¹ Ne tribus prioribus noctibus rem haberet cum eâ, ut esset in pecoribus fortunatus, ab uxore moræ impatiente, &c. ² Totam noctem bene et pudicè nemini molestus dormiendo transegit; mane autem quum nullius conscius facinoris sibi esset, et inertiae puderet, audisse se dicebat cum dolore calculi solere eam confictari. Duo præcepta juris unâ

nocte expressit, neminem læserat et honeste vixerat, sed an suum cuique reddidisset, quæri poterat. Mutius opinor et Trebatiushoc negassent, lib. 1. ³ Alterius loci emendationem serio optabat, quem corruptum esse ille non invenit. ⁴ Such another tale is in Neander de Jo-coseriis, his first tale.

is in their own hands, they must thank themselves. Who will pity them, saith Neander, or be much offended with such wives, *si deceptæ prius viros decipiant, et cornutos red-dant*, if they deceive those that cozened them first. A lawyer's wife in ¹ Aristænetus, because her husband was negligent in his business, *quando lecto danda opera*, threatened to cornute him; and did not stick to tell Philinna, one of her gossips, as much, and that aloud for him to hear: "If he follow other men's matters and leave his own, I'll have an orator shall plead my cause, I care not if he know it."

A fourth eminent cause of jealousy may be this, when he that is deformed, and as Pindarus of Vulcan, *sine gratiis natus*, hirsute, ragged, yet virtuously given, will marry some fair nice piece, or light housewife, begins to misdoubt (as well he may) she doth not affect him. ² *Lis est cum formâ magna pudicitia*, beauty and honesty have ever been at odds. Abraham was jealous of his wife because she was fair; so was Vulcan of his Venus, when he made her creaking shoes, saith ³ Philostratus, *ne mæcharetur, sandalio scilicet deferente*, that he might hear by them when she stirred, which *Mars indignè ferre*, ⁴ was not well pleased with. Good cause had Vulcan to do as he did, for she was no honester than she should be. Your fine faces have commonly this fault; and it is hard to find, saith Francis Philelphus in an epistle to Saxola his friend, a rich man honest, a proper woman not proud or unchaste. "Can she be fair and honest too?"

⁵ "Sæpe etenim occuluit pictâ sese hydra sub herbâ,
Sub specie formæ, incauto se sæpè marito
Nequam animus vendit,"

He that marries a wife that is snout fair alone, let him look, saith ⁶ Barbarus, for no better success than Vulcan had with

¹ Lib. 2, Ep. 3. Si pergit alienis negotiis operam dare sui negligens, erit alius mihi orator qui rem meam agat. ² Ovid. rara est concordia formæ atque pudicitia. ³ Epist. ⁴ Quod strideret ejus calceamentum. ⁵ Hor. epist. 15. "Often

has the serpent lain hid beneath the coloured grass, under a beautiful aspect, and often has the evil inclination effected a sale without the husband's privity."

⁶ De re uxoriâ, lib. 1, cap. 5.

Venus, or Claudius with Messalina. And 'tis impossible almost in such cases the wife should contain, or the good man not be jealous; for when he is so defective, weak, ill proportioned, unpleasing in those parts which women most affect, and she most absolutely fair and able on the other side, if she be not very virtuously given, how can she love him? and although she be not fair, yet if he admire her and think her so, in his conceit she is absolute, he holds it impossible for any man living not to dote as he doth, to look on her and not lust, not to covet, and if he be in company with her, not to lay siege to her honesty; or else out of a deep apprehension of his infirmities, deformities, and other men's good parts, out of his own little worth and desert, he distrusts himself, (for what is jealousy but distrust?) he suspects she cannot affect him, or be not so kind and loving as she should, she certainly loves some other man better than himself.

¹ Nevisanus, *lib.* 4, *num.* 72, will have barrenness to be a main cause of jealousy. If her husband cannot play the man, some other shall, they will leave no remedies unessayed, and thereupon the good man grows jealous; I could give an instance, but be it as it is.

I find this reason given by some men, because they have been formerly naught themselves, they think they may be so served by others, they turned up trump before the cards were shuffled; they shall have therefore *legem talionis*, like for like.

² "Ipse miser docui, quo posset ludere pacto
Custodes, eheu nunc premor arte meâ."

"Wretch as I was, I taught her bad to be,
And now mine own sly tricks are put upon me."

Mala mens, malus animus, as the saying is, ill dispositions cause ill suspicions.

³ "There is none jealous, I durst pawn my life,
But he that hath defiled another's wife,

¹ Cum steriles sunt, ex mutatione viri se putant concipere.

² Tibullus, eleg. 6.

³ Wither's Sat.

And for that he himself hath gone astray,
He straightway thinks his wife will tread that way."

To these two above-named causes, or incendiaries of this rage, I may very well annex those circumstances of time, place, persons, by which it ebbs and flows, the fuel of this fury, as ¹ Vives truly observes; and such like accidents or occasions, proceeding from the parties themselves, or others, which much aggravate and intend this suspicious humour. For many men are so lasciviously given, either out of a depraved nature, or too much liberty, which they do assume unto themselves, by reason of their greatness, in that they are noble men (for *licentia peccandi, et multitudo peccantium* are great motives) though their own wives be never so fair, noble, virtuous, honest, wise, able, and well given, they must have change.

² " Qui dum legitimi junguntur fœdere lecti,
Virtute egregiis, facieque domoque puellis,
Scorta tamen, fœdasque lupas in fornice quærunr,
Et per adulterium nova carpere gaudia tentant."

" Who being match'd to wives most virtuous,
Noble, and fair, fly out lascivious."

Quod licet, ingratum est, that which is ordinary, is unpleasant. Nero (saith Tacitus) abhorred Octavia his own wife, a noble, virtuous lady, and loved Acte, a base quean in respect. ³ Cerinthus rejected Sulpitia, a nobleman's daughter, and courted a poor servant-maid. ——— *tanta est alienâ in messe voluptas*, for that ⁴ "stolen waters be more pleasant;" or as Vitellius the emperor was wont to say, *Jucundiores amores, qui cum periculo habentur*, like stolen venison, still the sweetest is that love which is most difficultly attained; they like better to hunt by stealth in another man's walk, than to have the fairest course that may be at game of their own.

⁵ " Aspice ut in cœlo modò sol, modò luna ministret,
Sic etiam nobis una puella parùm est."

¹ 3, de Animâ. Crescit ac decrescit zelytypia cum personis, locis, temporibus, negotiis. ² Marullus. ³ Tibullus, Epig. eleg. 2.

⁴ Prov. ix. 17.

⁵ Propert.

“As sun and moon in heaven change their course,
So they change loves, though often to the worse.”

Or that some fair object so forcibly moves them, they cannot contain themselves, be it heard or seen they will be at it.

¹ Nessus, the centaur, was by agreement to carry Hercules and his wife over the river Evenus; no sooner had he set Dejanira on the other side, but he would have offered violence unto her, leaving Hercules to swim over as he could; and though her husband was a spectator, yet would he not desist till Hercules, with a poisoned arrow, shot him to death.

² Neptune saw by chance that Thessalian Tyro, Eunippius's wife, he forthwith, in the fury of his lust, counterfeited her husband's habit, and made him cuckold. Tarquin heard Collatine commend his wife, and was so far enraged, that in the midst of the night to her he went. ³ Theseus stole Ariadne,

vi rapuit that Trazenian Anaxa, Antiope, and now being old, Helen, a girl not yet ready for a husband. Great men are

most part thus affected all, “as a horse they neigh,” saith

⁴ Jeremiah, after their neighbours' wives,—*ut visâ pullus adhinnit equâ*; and if they be in company with other women, though in their own wives' presence, they must be courting and dallying with them. Juno in Lucian complains of Jupiter that he was still kissing Ganymede before her face, which did not a little offend her; and besides he was a counterfeit Amphytryo, a bull, a swan, a golden shower, and played many such bad pranks, too long, too shameful to relate.

Or that they care little for their own ladies, and fear no laws, they dare freely keep whores at their wives' noses. 'Tis too frequent with noblemen to be dishonest; *Pietas, probitas, fides, privata bona sunt*, as ⁵ he said long since, piety, chastity, and such like virtues are for private men; not to be much looked after in great courts; and which Suetonius of the good Princes of his time, they might be all engraven in one ring, we may truly hold of chaste potentates

¹ Ovid. lib. 9, Met. Pausanias, Strabo, jubet. ² Lucian, tom. 4. ³ Plutarch.
quum crevit imbris hyemalibus. Dei- ⁴ Cap. v. 8. ⁵ Seneca.
aniram suscipit, Herculem nando sequi

of our age. For great personages will familiarly run out in this kind, and yield occasion of offence. ¹ Montaigne, in his Essays, gives instance in Cæsar, Mahomet the Turk, that sacked Constantinople, and Ladislaus, king of Naples, that besieged Florence; great men, and great soldiers, are commonly great, &c., *probatum est*, they are good doers. Mars and Venus are equally balanced in their actions,

² " Militis in galeâ nidum fecere columbæ,
Apparet Marti quam sit amica Venus."

" A dove within a headpiece made her nest,
'Twixt Mars and Venus see an interest."

Especially if they be bald, for bald men have ever been suspicious, (read more in Aristotle, *Sect. 4, prob. 19*.) as Galba, Otho, Domitian, and remarkable Cæsar amongst the rest. ³ *Urbani servate uxores, mæchum calvum adducimus*; besides, this bald Cæsar, saith Curio in Sueton, was *omnium mulierum vir*; he made love to Eunoe, queen of Mauritania; to Cleopatra; to Posthumia, wife to Sergius Sulpitius; to Lollia, wife to Gabinius; to Tertulla, of Crassus; to Mutia, Pompey's wife, and I know not how many besides; and well he might, for, if all be true that I have read, he had a license to lie with whom he list. *Inter alios honores Cæsari decretos* (as Sueton. *cap. 52, de Julio*, and Dion, *lib. 44*, relate) *jus illi datum, cum quibuscunque fæminis se jungendi*. Every private history will yield such variety of instances; otherwise good, wise, discreet men, virtuous and valiant, but too faulty in this. Priamus had fifty sons, but seventeen alone lawfully begotten. ⁴ Philippus Bonus left fourteen bastards. Lorenzo de Medici a good prince and a wise, but, saith Machiavel, ⁵ prodigiously lascivious. None so valiant as Castruccijs Castrucanus, but, as the said author hath it, ⁶ none so incontinent as he was. And 'tis not only predominant in grandees this fault; but if you will take a great

¹ Lib. 2, cap. 23. ² Petronius, Catal. mus et sapientissimus, sed in re venerêd
³ Sueton. ⁴ Pontus Heuter, vita ejus. prodigiosus. ⁶ Vita Castrucci. Idem
⁵ Lib. 8, Flor. hist. Dux omnium opti- uxores maritis abalienavit.

man's testimony, 'tis familiar with every base soldier in France (and elsewhere, I think.) "This vice (¹saith mine author) is so common with us in France, that he is of no account, a mere coward, not worthy the name of a soldier, that is not a notorious whoremaster." In Italy he is not a gentleman that besides his wife hath not a courtesan and a mistress. 'Tis no marvel, then, if poor women in such cases be jealous, when they shall see themselves manifestly neglected, contemned, loathed, unkindly used; their disloyal husbands to entertain others in their rooms, and many times to court ladies to their faces; other men's wives to wear their jewels; how shall a poor woman in such a case moderate her passion?

² *Quis tibi nunc, Dido, cernenti talia sensus?*

How, on the other side, shall a poor man contain himself from this feral malady, when he shall see so manifest signs of his wife's inconstancy? when, as Milo's wife, she dotes upon every young man she sees, or, as ³Martial's Sota,—*deserto sequitur Clitum marito*, "deserts her husband and follows Clitus." Though her husband be proper and tall, fair and lovely to behold, able to give contentment to any one woman, yet she will taste of the forbidden fruit: Juvenal's Iberina to a hair, she is as well pleased with one eye as one man. If a young gallant come by chance into her presence, a fastidious brisk, that can wear his clothes well in fashion, with a lock, jingling spur, a feather; that can cringe, and withal compliment, court a gentlewoman, she raves upon him, "O what a lovely proper man he was," another Hector, an Alexander, a goodly man, a demi-god, how sweetly he carried himself, with how comely a grace, *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat*, how neatly he did wear his clothes!

⁴ *Quam sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis*, how bravely did he discourse, ride, sing, and dance, &c., and then she begins to loathe her husband, *repugnans osculatur*, to hate

¹ Sestilius, lib. 2. de Repub. Gallorum. Ita nunc apud infimos obtinuit hoc vitium, ut nullius ferè pretii sit, et ignavus miles qui non in scortatione maxime excellat, et adulterio. ² Virg. Æn. 4.

"What now must have been Dido's sensations when she witnessed these doings?" ³ Epig. 9, lib. 4. ⁴ Virg. 4 Æn.

him and his filthy beard, his goatish complexion, as Doris said of Polyphemus, ¹*totus qui sanie, totus ut hircus olet*, he is a rammy fulsome fellow, a goblin-faced fellow, he smells, he stinks, *Et cepas simul alliumque ructat* ²—*si quando ad thalamum*, &c., how like a dizzard, a fool, an ass, he looks, how like a clown he behaves himself! ³she will not come near him by her own good-will, but wholly rejects him, as Venus did her fuliginous Vulcan, at last, *Nec Deus hunc mensâ, Dea nec dignata cubili est.* ⁴ So did Lucretia, a lady of Senæ, after she had but seen Euryalus, *in Euryalum tota ferebatur, domum reversa*, &c., she would not hold her eyes off him in his presence,——⁵*tantum egregio decus enitet ore*, and in his absence could think of none but him, *odit virum*, she loathed her husband forthwith, might not abide him:

“ Et conjugalis negligens tori, viro
Præsente, acerbo nauseat fastidio; ”

“ All against the laws of matrimony,
She did abhor her husband's phis'nomy; ”

and sought all opportunity to see her sweetheart again. Now when the good man shall observe his wife so lightly given, “to be so free and familiar with every gallant, her immodesty and wantonness,” (as ⁷Camerarius notes) it must needs yield matter of suspicion to him, when she still pranks up herself beyond her means and fortunes, makes impertinent journeys, unnecessary visitations, stays out so long, with such and such companions, so frequently goes to plays, masks, feasts, and all public meetings, shall use such immodest ⁸ gestures, free speeches, and withal show some distaste of her own husband; how can he choose, “though he were another Socrates, but be suspicious, and instantly jealous?” ⁹“*Socraticas*

¹ Secundus, syl.

² “And belches out the smell of onions and garlic.”

³ Æneas Sylvius.

⁴ “Neither a god honoured him with his table, nor a goddess with her bed.”

⁵ Virg. 4 Æn.

“Such beauty shines in his graceful features.”

⁶ S. Græco Simonides. ⁷ Cont. 2, ca. 38, Oper. subcis. mulieris liberius

et familiaris communicantis cum omnibus licentia et immodestia, sinistri sermonis et suspicionis materiam viro præbet. ⁸ Voces liberæ, oculorum colloquia, contractationes parum verecundæ, motus immodici, &c. Heinsius. ⁹ Chaloner.

tandem faciet transcendere metas ;" more especially when he shall take notice of their more secret and sly tricks, which to cornute their husbands they commonly use (*dum ludis, ludos hæc te facit*), they pretend love, honour, chastity, and seem to respect them before all men living, saints in show, so cunningly can they dissemble, they will not so much as look upon another man in his presence, ¹so chaste, so religious, and so devote, they cannot endure the name or sight of a quean, a harlot, out upon her ! and in their outward carriage are most loving and officious, will kiss their husband, and hang about his neck (dear husband, sweet husband), and with a composed countenance salute him, especially when he comes home ; or if he go from home, weep, sigh, lament, and take upon them to be sick and swoon (like Jocundo's wife in ²Ariosto, when her husband was to depart), and yet arrant, &c., they care not for him.

" Aye me, the thought (quoth she) makes me so 'fraid,
That scarce the breath abideth in my breast ;
Peace, my sweet love and wife, Jocundo said,
And weeps as fast, and comforts her his best, &c.
All this might not assuage the woman's pain,
Needs must I die before you come again,
Nor how to keep my life I can devise,
The doleful days and nights I shall sustain,
From meat my mouth, from sleep will keep mine eyes, &c.
That very night that went before the morrow,
That he had pointed surely to depart,
Jocundo's wife was sick, and swoon'd for sorrow
Amid his arms, so heavy was her heart."

And yet for all these counterfeit tears and protestations, Jocundo coming back in all haste for a jewel he had forgot,

" His chaste and yoke-fellow he found
Yok'd with a knave, all honesty neglected,
The adulterer sleeping very sound,
Yet by his face was easily detected :
A beggar's brat bred by him from his cradle,
And now was riding on his master's saddle."

¹ What is here said, is not prejudicial to honest women. ² Lib. 28, sc. 13.

Thus can they cunningly counterfeit, as ¹Platina describes their customs, “kiss their husbands, whom they had rather see hanging on a gallows, and swear they love him dearer than their own lives, whose soul they would not ransom for their little dog’s;”

“similis si permutatio detur,
Morte viri cupiunt animam servare catellæ.”

Many of them seem to be precise and holy forsooth, and will go to such a ²church, to hear such a good man by all means, an excellent man, when ’tis for no other intent (as he follows it) than “to see and to be seen, to observe what fashions are in use, to meet some pander, bawd, monk, friar, or to entice some good fellow.” For they persuade themselves, as ³Nevisanus shows, “that it is neither sin nor shame to lie with a lord or parish priest, if he be a proper man; ⁴and though she kneel often, and pray devoutly, ’tis (saith Platina) not for her husband’s welfare, or children’s good, or any friend, but for her sweetheart’s return, her pander’s health.” If her husband would have her go, she feigns herself sick, ⁵*Et simulat subito condoluisse caput*: her head aches, and she cannot stir; but if her paramour ask as much, she is for him in all seasons, at all hours of the night. ⁶In the kingdom of Malabar, and about Goa in the East Indies, the women are so subtle that, with a certain drink they give them to drive away cares as they say, ⁷“they will make them sleep for twenty-four hours, or so intoxicate them that they can remember nought of that they saw done, or heard, and, by washing of their feet, restore them again, and so make their husbands cuckolds to their faces.” Some are ill-disposed at

¹ Dial. amor. Pendet fallax et blanda circa oscula mariti, quem in cruce, si fieri posset, deosculari velit: illius vitam chariorem esse suâ jurejurando affirmat, quem certe non redimeret animâ catelli si posset. ²Adeunt templum ut rem divinam audiant, ut ipsæ simulant, sed vel ut monachum fratrem, vel adulterum linguâ, oculis, ad libidinem provocent. ³Lib. 4, Num. 81. Ipsæ sibi persuadent, quod adulterium cum principe vel cum præsule non est pudor, nec peccatum.

⁴ Deum rogat, non pro salute mariti, filii, cognati vota suscipit, sed pro reditu mœchi si abest, pro valetudine lenonis si ægrotet. ⁵Tibullius. ⁶Gotardus Arthus, descrip. Indiæ Orient. Linschoten. ⁷Garcias ab Horto, hist. lib. 2, cap. 24. Daturam herbam vocat et describit, tam proclives sunt ad venerem mulieres ut viros inebrient per 24 horas, liquore quodam, ut nihil videant, recorderentur, at dormiant, et post lotionem pedum, ad se restituunt, &c.

all times, to all persons they like, others more wary to some few, at such and such seasons, as Augusta Livia, *non nisi plenâ navi vectorem tollebat*. But as he said,

1 "No pen could write, no tongue attain to tell,
By force of eloquence, or help of art,
Of women's treacheries the hundredth part."

Both, to say truth, are often faulty; men and women give just occasions in this humour of discontent, aggravate and yield matter of suspicion; but most part of the chief causes proceed from other adventitious accidents and circumstances, though the parties be free, and both well given themselves. The indiscreet carriage of some lascivious gallant (*et e contrâ* of some light woman) by his often frequenting of a house, bold unseemly gestures, may make a breach, and by his over familiarity, if he be inclined to yellowness, colour him quite out. If he be poor, basely born, saith Benedetto Varchi, and otherwise unhandsome, he suspects him the less; but if a proper man, such as was Alcibiades in Greece, and Castrucius Castrucanus in Italy, well descended, commendable for his good parts, he taketh on the more, and watcheth his doings. 2 Theodosius the emperor gave his wife Eudoxia a golden apple when he was a suitor to her, which she long after bestowed upon a young gallant in the court, of her especial acquaintance. The emperor, espying this apple in his hand, suspected forthwith, more than was, his wife's dishonesty, banished him the court, and from that day following forbear to accompany her any more. 3 A rich merchant had a fair wife; according to his custom he went to travel; in his absence a good fellow tempted his wife: she denied him; yet he, dying a little after, gave her a legacy for the love he bore her. At his return, her jealous husband, because she had got more by land than he had done at sea, turned her away upon suspicion.

Now when those other circumstances of time and place,

1 Ariosto, lib. 28, st. 75.

2 Lipsius, Polit.

3 Seneca, lib. 2, controuv. 8.

opportunity and importunity shall concur, what will they not effect?

“Fair opportunity can win the coyest she that is,
So wisely he takes time, as he’ll be sure he will not miss:
Then he that loves her gamesome vein, and tempers toys with art,
Brings love that swimmeth in her eyes to dive into her heart.”

As at plays, masks, great feasts and banquets, one singles out his wife to dance, another courts her in his presence, a third tempts her, a fourth insinuates with a pleasing compliment, a sweet smile, ingratiates himself with an amphibological speech, as that merry companion in the ¹Satirist did to his Glycerium, ²*adsidens et interiorem palmam amabiliter concutiens*,

“Quod meus hortus habet sumas impunè licebit,
Si dederis nobis quod tuus hortus habet;”

with many such, &c., and then as he saith,

*She may no while in chastity abide,
That is assaid on every side.*

For after a great feast,—³*Vino sæpe suum nescit amica virum*. Noah (saith ⁴Hierome) “showed his nakedness in his drunkenness, which for six hundred years he had covered in soberness.” Lot lay with his daughters in his drink, as Cinyras with Myrrha,—⁵*quid enim Venus ebria curat?* The most continent may be overcome, or if otherwise they keep bad company, they that are modest of themselves, and dare not offend, “confirmed by ⁶others, grow impudent, and confident, and get an ill habit.”

⁷“Alia quæstus gratiâ matrimonium corrumpit,
Alia peccans multas vult morbi habere socias.”

¹ Bodicher, Sat. ² “Sitting close to her, and shaking her hand lovingly.”
³ Tibullus. “After wine the mistress is often unable to distinguish her own lover.” ⁴ Epist. 85, ad Oceanum: Ad unius horæ ebrietatem nudat femora, quæ per sexcentos annos sobrietate contexerat. ⁵ Juv. Sat. 13. ⁶ Nihil au-

dent primo, post ab aliis confirmatæ, audaces et confidentes sunt. Ubi semel verecundiæ limites transierint. ⁷ Euripides, 1, 63. “Love of gain induces one to break her marriage vow, a wish to have associates to keep her in countenance actuates others.”

Or if they dwell in suspected places, as in an infamous inn, near some stews, near monks, friars, Nevisanus adds, where be many tempters and solicitors, idle persons that frequent their companies, it may give just cause of suspicion. Martial of old inveighed against them that counterfeited a disease to go to the bath ; for so many times,

“ relicto

Conjuge Penelope venit, abit Helene.”

Æneas Sylvius puts in a caveat against princes' courts, because there be *tot formosi juvenes qui promittunt*, so many brave suitors to tempt, &c. ¹ “ If you leave her in such a place, you shall likely find her in company you like not, either they come to her, or she is gone to them.” ² Kornmannus makes a doubting jest in his lascivious country, *Virginis illibata censeatur ne castitas ad quam frequenter accedant scholares?* And Baldus the lawyer scoffs on, *quum scholaris, inquit, loquitur cum puellâ, non præsumitur ei dicere, Pater noster*, when a scholar talks with a maid, or another man's wife in private, it is presumed he saith not a *pater noster*. Or, if I shall see a monk or a friar climb up a ladder at midnight into a virgin's or widow's chamber window, I shall hardly think he then goes to administer the sacraments, or to take her confession. These are the ordinary causes of jealousy, which are intended or remitted as the circumstances vary.

MEMB. II.

SUBSECT. I.—*Symptoms of Jealousy, Fear, Sorrow, Suspicion, strange Actions, Gestures, Outrages, Locking up, Oaths, Trials, Laws, &c.*

OF all passions, as I have already proved, love is most violent, and of those bitter potions which this love-melan-

¹ De miser. Curialium. Aut alium cum eâ invenies, aut isse alium reperies.

² Cap. 18, de Virg.

choly affords, this bastard jealousy is the greatest, as appears by those prodigious symptoms which it hath, and that it produceth. For besides fear and sorrow, which is common to all melancholy, anxiety of mind, suspicion, aggravation, restless thoughts, paleness, meagreness, neglect of business, and the like, these men are farther yet misaffected, and in a higher strain. 'Tis a more vehement passion, a more furious perturbation, a bitter pain, a fire, a pernicious curiosity, a gall corrupting the honey of our life, madness, vertigo, plague, hell, they are more than ordinarily disquieted, they lose *bonum pacis*, as ¹ Chrysostom observes; and though they be rich, keep sumptuous tables, be nobly allied, yet *miserrimi omnium sunt*, they are most miserable, they are more than ordinarily discontent, more sad, *nihil tristius*, more than ordinarily suspicious. Jealousy, saith ² Vives, "begets unquietness in the mind, night and day; he hunts after every word he hears, every whisper, and amplifies it to himself (as all melancholy men do in other matters) with a most unjust calumny of others, he misinterprets everything is said or done, most apt to mistake or misconstrue," he pries into every corner, follows close, observes to a hair. 'Tis proper to jealousy so to do,

"Pale hag, infernal fury, pleasure's smart,
Envy's observer, prying in every part."

Besides those strange gestures of staring, frowning, grinning, rolling of eyes, menacing, ghastly looks, broken pace, interrupt, precipitate, half-turns. He will sometimes sigh, weep, sob for anger, *Nempe suos imbres etiam ista tonitrua fundunt*,³—swear and belie, slander any man, curse, threaten, brawl, scold, fight; and sometimes again flatter and speak fair, ask forgiveness, kiss and coll, condemn his rashness and folly, vow, protest, and swear he will never do so again; and then eftsoons, impatient as he is, rave, roar, and lay about him

¹ Hom. 88, in c. 17, Gen. Etsi magnis affluunt divitiis, &c. ² 3, de Animâ. Omnes voces, auras, omnes susurros capat zelotypus, et amplificat apud se cum

iniquissimâ de singulis calumniâ. Maximè suspiciosi, et ad pejora credendum proclives. ³ "These thunders pour down their peculiar showers."

like a madman, thump her sides, drag her about perchance, drive her out of doors, send her home, he will be divorced forthwith, she is a whore, &c., and by and by with all submission compliment, entreat her fair, and bring her in again, he loves her dearly, she is his sweet, most kind and loving wife, he will not change, nor leave her for a kingdom; so he continues off and on, as the toy takes him, the object moves him, but most part brawling, fretting, unquiet he is, accusing and suspecting not strangers only, but brothers and sisters, father and mother, nearest and dearest friends. He thinks with those Italians,

“ Chi non tocca parentado,
Tocca mai e rado.”

And through fear conceives unto himself things almost incredible and impossible to be effected. As a heron, when she fishes, still prying on all sides; or as a cat doth a mouse, his eye is never off hers; he gloats on him, on her, accurately observing on whom she looks, who looks at her, what she saith, doth, at dinner, at supper, sitting, walking, at home, abroad, he is the same, still inquiring, mandring, gazing, listening, affrighted with every small object; why did she smile, why did she pity him, commend him? why did she drink twice to such a man? why did she offer to kiss, to dance? &c., a whore, a whore, an arrant whore. All this he confesseth in the poet,

¹“ Omnia me terrent, timidus sum, ignosce timori,
Et miser in tunicâ suspicor esse virum.
Me lædit si multa tibi dabit oscula mater,
Me soror, et cum qua dormit amica simul.”

“ Each thing affrights me, I do fear,
Ah pardon me my fear,
I doubt a man is hid within
The clothes that thou dost wear.”

Is it not a man in woman's apparel? is not somebody in that great chest, or behind the door, or hangings, or in some of those barrels? may not a man steal in at the window with a

¹ Propertius.

ladder of ropes, or come down the chimney, have a false key, or get in when he is asleep? If a mouse do but stir, or the wind blow, a casement clatter, that's the villain, there he is; by his good-will no man shall see her, salute her, speak with her, she shall not go forth of his sight, so much as to do her needs. ¹*Non ita bovem Argus, &c.* Argus did not so keep his cow, that watchful dragon the golden fleece, or Cerberus the coming in of hell, as he keeps his wife. If a dear friend or near kinsman come as guest to his house, to visit him, he will never let him be out of his own sight and company, lest, peradventure, &c. If the necessity of his business be such that he must go from home, he doth either lock her up, or commit her with a deal of injunctions and protestations to some trusty friends, him and her he sets and bribes to oversee; one servant is set in his absence to watch another, and all to observe his wife, and yet all this will not serve, though his business be very urgent, he will when he is half way come back again in all post haste, rise from supper, or at midnight, and be gone, and sometimes leave his business undone, and as a stranger court his own wife in some disguised habit. Though there be no danger at all, no cause of suspicion, she live in such a place, where Messalina herself could not be dishonest if she would, yet he suspects her as much as if she were in a bawdy-house, some prince's court, or in a common inn, where all comers might have free access. He calls her on a sudden, all to nought, she is a strumpet, a light housewife, a bitch, an arrant whore. No persuasion, no protestation can divert this passion, nothing can ease him, secure or give him satisfaction. It is most strange to report what outrageous acts by men and women have been committed in this kind, by women especially, that will run after their husbands into all places and companies, ²as Jovianus Pontanus's wife did by him, follow him whithersoever he went, it matters not, or upon what business, raving like Juno in the tragedy, miscalling, cursing, swearing, and mistrusting every one she

¹ Æneas Sylv. ² Ant. Dial.

sees. Gomesius, in his third book of the Life and Deeds of Francis Ximenius, sometime archbishop of Toledo, hath a strange story of that incredible jealousy of Joan, queen of Spain, wife to King Philip, mother of Ferdinand and Charles the Fifth, emperors; when her husband Philip, either for that he was tired with his wife's jealousy, or had some great business, went into the Low Countries; she was so impatient and melancholy upon his departure, that she would scarce eat her meat, or converse with any man; and though she were with child, the season of the year very bad, the wind against her, in all haste she would to sea after him. Neither Isabella her* queen mother, the archbishop, or any other friend could persuade her to the contrary, but she would after him. When she was now come into the Low Countries, and kindly entertained by her husband, she could not contain herself, ¹“but in a rage ran upon a yellow-haired wench,” with whom she suspected her husband to be naught, “cut off her hair, did beat her black and blue, and so dragged her about.” It is an ordinary thing for women in such cases to scratch the faces, slit the noses of such as they suspect; as Henry the Second's importune Juno did by Rosamond at Woodstock; for she complains in a ²modern poet, she scarce spake,

“But flies with eager fury to my face,
Offering me most unwomanly disgrace.
Look how a tigress, &c.
So fell she on me in outrageous wise,
As could disdain and jealousy devise.”

Or if it be so they dare not or cannot execute any such tyrannical injustice, they will miscall, rail and revile, bear them deadly hate and malice, as ³Tacitus observes, “The hatred of a jealous woman is inseparable against such as she suspects.”

⁴“Nulla vis flammæ tumidique venti
Tanta, nec teli metuenda torti,

¹ Rabie concepta, cæsariem abrasit. puellæque mirabiliter insultans faciem vibicibus fœdavit. ² Daniel. ³ An-

nal. lib. 12, Principis mulieris zelotypæ est in alias mulieres quas suspectas habet, odium inseparabile. ⁴ Seneca, in Medea.

Quanta cùm conjux viduata tædis
Ardet et odit.”

“Winds, weapons, flames make not such hurly-burly,
As raving women turn all topsy-turvy.”

So did Agrippina by Lollia, and Calphurnia in the days of Claudius. But women are sufficiently curbed in such cases, the rage of men is more eminent, and frequently put in practice. See but with what rigour those jealous husbands tyrannize over their poor wives. In Greece, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Africa, Asia, and generally over all those hot countries, ¹ *Mulieres vestræ terra vestra, arate sicut vultis*, Mahomet in his Alcoran gives this power to men, your wives are as your land, till them, use them, entreat them fair or foul, as you will yourselves. ² *Mecastor lege durâ vivunt mulieres*, they lock them still in their houses, which are so many prisons to them, will suffer nobody to come at them, or their wives to be seen abroad,—*nec campos liceat lustrare patentes*. They must not so much as look out. And if they be great persons, they have eunuchs to keep them, as the Grand Seignior among the Turks, the Sophies of Persia, those Tartarian Mogors, and Kings of China. *Infantes masculos castrant innumeros ut regi serviant*, saith ³ Riccius, “they geld innumerable infants” to this purpose; the King of ⁴ China “maintains ten thousand eunuchs in his family to keep his wives.” The Xeriffes of Barbary keep their courtesans in such a strict manner, that if any man come but in sight of them he dies for it; and if they chance to see a man, and do not instantly cry out, though from their windows, they must be put to death. The Turks have I know not how many black, deformed eunuchs (for the white serve for other ministeries) to this purpose sent commonly from Egypt, deprived in their childhood of all their privities, and brought up in the seraglio at Constantinople to keep their wives; which are so penned up they may not confer with any living man, or converse

¹ Alcoran, cap. Bovis, interprete Ricard, præd. c. 8, Confutationis
tus. ³ Expedit. in Sinas, l. 3, c. 9.

⁴ Decem eunuchorum millia numerantur in regiâ familiâ, qui servant uxores ejus.

with younger women, have a cucumber or carrot sent in to them for their diet, but sliced for fear, &c., and so live and are left alone to their unchaste thoughts all the days of their lives. The vulgar sort of women, if at any time they come abroad, which is very seldom, to visit one another, or go to their baths, are so covered, that no man can see them, as the matrons were in old Rome, *lecticâ aut sellâ tectâ vectæ*, so ¹Dion and Seneca record, *Velatæ totæ incedunt*, which ²Alexander ab Alexandro relates of the Parthians, *lib. 5, cap. 24*, which, with Andreas Tiraquellus his commentator, I rather think should be understood of Persians. I have not yet said all, they do not only lock them up, *sed et pudendis seras adhibent*; hear what Bembus relates, *lib. 6* of his Venetian history, of those inhabitants that dwell about Quiloa in Africa. *Lusitani, inquit, quorundam civitates adierunt, qui natis statim fœminis naturam consuunt, quoad urinæ exitus ne impediatur, easque quum adoleverint sic consutas in matrimonium collocant, ut sponsi prima cura sit conglutinas puellæ oras ferro interscindere.* In some parts of Greece at this day, like those old Jews, they will not believe their wives are honest, *nisi pannum menstruatam primâ nocte videant*; our countryman ³Sands, in his peregrination, saith it is severely observed in Zazynthus, or Zante; and Leo Afer in his time at Fez, in Africa, *non credunt virginem esse nisi videant sanguineam mappam; si non, ad parentes pudore rejicitur.* Those sheets are publicly shown by their parents, and kept as a sign of incorrupt virginity. The Jews of old examined their maids *ex tenui membranâ*, called Hymen, which Laurentius in his anatomy, Columbus, *lib. 12, cap. 16*, Capivaccius, *lib. 4, cap. 11, de uteri affectibus*, Vincent, Alsarius Genuensis, *quæsit. med. cent. 4*, Hieronymus Mercurialis, *consult. Ambros. Pareus, Julius Cæsar Claudinus, Respons. 4*, as that also *de* ⁴*rupturâ venarum ut sanguis fluat*, copiously confute; 'tis no sufficient trial they contend. And yet others again defend it,

¹ Lib. 57, ep. 81. ² Semotas a viris tiones hymenis sæpe sunt a propriis digitis vel ab aliis instrumentis.
servant interioribus, ab eorum conspectu immunes. ³ Lib. 1, fol. 7. ⁴ Dirup-

Gaspar Bartholinus, *Institut. Anat. lib. 1, cap. 31*, Pinæus of Paris, Albertus Magnus, *de secret. mulier. cap. 9 & 10*, &c., and think they speak too much in favour of women. ¹ Ludovicus Boncialus, *lib. 2, cap. 2*, *muliebr. naturalem illam uteri labiorum constrictionem, in quâ virginitatem consistere volunt, astringentibus medicinis fieri posse vendicat, et si defloratæ sint, astutæ* ² *mulieres (inquit) nos fallunt in his. Idem Alsarius Crucius Genuensis iisdem ferè verbis. Idem Avicenna, lib. 3, Fen. 20, Tract 1, cap. 47.* ³ *Rhasis, Continēt. lib. 24. Rodericus à Castro, de nat. mul. lib. 1, cap. 3.* An old bawdy nurse in ⁴ *Aristænetus*, (like that Spanish Cælestina, ⁵ *quæ quinque mille virgines fecit mulieres, totidemque mulieres arte suâ virgines*) when a fair maid of her acquaintance wept and made her moan to her, how she had been deflowered, and now ready to be married, was afraid it would be perceived, comfortably replied, *Noli vereri, filia, &c.* “Fear not, daughter, I’ll teach thee a trick to help it.” *Sed hæc extra callem.* To what end are all those astrological questions, *an sit virgo, an sit casta, an sit mulier?* and such strange, absurd trials in Albertus Magnus, *Bap. Porta, Mag. lib. 2, cap. 21*, in Wecker, *lib. 5 de secret.* by stones, perfumes, to make them piss, and confess I know not what in their sleep; some jealous brain was the first founder of them. And to what passion may we ascribe those severe laws against jealousy, *Num. v. 14, Adulterers, Deut. cap. xxii. v. 22*, as amongst the Hebrews, amongst the Egyptians, (read ⁶ *Bohemus, l. 1, c. 5, de mor. gen. of the Carthaginians, cap. 6, of Turks, lib. 2, cap. 11,*) amongst the Athenians of old, Italians at this day, wherein they are to be severely punished, cut in pieces, burned, *vivi-comburio*, buried alive, with several expurgations, &c., are they not as so many symptoms of incredible jealousy? we may say the same of those vestal virgins that fetched water in a sieve, as Tatia did in Rome, *anno ab urb.*

¹ Idem Rhasis, Arab. cont. ² Ita clausæ pharmacis ut non possunt coitum exercere. ³ Qui et pharmacum præscribit docetque. ⁴ Epist. 6, Mercero Inter. ⁵ Barthius. Ludus illi temera-

tum pudicitiae florem mentitis machinis pro integro vendere. Ego docebo te quæ mulier ante nuptias sponso te probes virginem. ⁶ Qui mulierem violasset, virilia execabant, et mille virgas dabant.

conditâ 800, before the senators; and ¹ Æmilia, *virgo innocens*, that ran over hot irons, as Emma, Edward the Confessor's mother did, the king himself being a spectator, with the like. We read in Nicephorus, that Chunegunda, the wife of Henricus Bavarus, emperor, suspected of adultery, *insimulata adulterii per ignitos vomeres illæsa transiit*, trod upon redhot colters, and had no harm; such another story we find in Regino, *lib.* 2. In Aventinus and Sigonius of Charles the Third and his wife Richarda, *An.* 887, that was so purged with hot irons. Pausanias saith that he was once an eye-witness of such a miracle at Diana's temple, a maid without any harm at all walked upon burning coals. Pius Secund. in his description of Europe, *c.* 46, relates as much, that it was commonly practised at Diana's temple, for women to go barefoot over hot coals, to try their honesties; Plinius, Solinus, and many writers, make mention of ² Feronia's temple, and Dionysius Halicarnassus, *lib.* 3, of Memnon's statue, which were used to this purpose. Tatius, *lib.* 6, of Pan his cave (much like old St. Wilfrid's needle in Yorkshire), wherein they did use to try maids, ³ whether they were honest; when Leucippe went in, *suavissimus exaudiri sonus cœpit*; Austin, *de civ. Dei*, *lib.* 10, *c.* 16, relates many such examples, all which Lavater, *de spectr. part.* 1, *cap.* 19, contends to be done by the illusion of devils; though Thomas, *quæst.* 6, *de potentiâ*, &c., ascribes it to good angels. Some, saith ⁴ Austin, compel their wives to swear they be honest, as if perjury were a lesser sin than adultery; ⁵ some consult oracles, as Phærus that blind king of Egypt. Others reward, as those old Romans used to do; if a woman were contented with one man, *Coronâ pudicitiae donabatur*, she had a crown of chastity bestowed on her. When all this will not serve, saith Alexander Gaguinus, *cap.* 5, *descript. Muscoviæ*, the Muscovites, if they suspect their wives, will beat them till

¹ Dion. Halic. ² Viridi gaudens Feronia luco. Virg. ³ Ismene was so tried by Diana's well, in which maids did swim, unchaste were drowned, Eustathius, *lib.* 8. ⁴ Contra mendac. ad con-

fess. 21 cap. ⁵ Phærus, Ægypti rex, captus oculis per decennium, oraculum consuluit de uxoris pudicitia. Herod. Euterp.

they confess, and if that will not avail, like those wild Irish, be divorced at their pleasures, or else knock them on the heads, as the old ¹ Gauls have done in former ages. Of this tyranny of jealousy read more in Parthenius, *Erot. cap.* 10, Camerarius, *cap.* 53, *hor. subcis. et cent.* 2, *cap.* 34, Cælia's epistles, Tho. Chaloner, *de repub. Ang. lib.* 9, Ariosto, *lib.* 31, *staffe* 1, Felix Platerus, *observat. lib.* 1, &c.

MEMB. III.

Prognostics of Jealousy, Despair, Madness, to make away themselves and others.

THOSE which are jealous, most part, if they be not otherwise relieved, ² "proceed from suspicion to hatred, from hatred to frenzy, madness, injury, murder, and despair."

³ "A plague by whose most damnable effect,
Divers in deep despair to die have sought,
By which a man to madness near is brought,
As well with causeless as with just suspect."

In their madness many times, saith ⁴ Vives, they make away themselves and others. Which induceth Cyprian to call it, *Fæcundam et multiplicem perniciem, fontem cladum et seminarium delictorum*, a fruitful mischief, the seminary of offences, and fountain of murders. Tragical examples are too common in this kind, both new and old, in all ages, as of ⁵ Cephalus and Procris, ⁶ Phærus of Egypt, Tereus, Atreus, and Thyestes. ⁷ Alexander Phærus was murdered of his wife, *ob pellicatûs suspicionem*, Tully saith. Antoninus Verus was so made away by Lucilla; Demetrius, the son of Antig-

¹ Caesar, lib. 6, bello Gall. vitæ necisque in uxores habuerunt potestatem.

² Animi dolores et zelotypia si diutius perseverent, dementes reddunt. Acak. comment. in par. art. Galeni. ³ Ariosto, lib. 31, staff. 6. ⁴ 3, de animâ, c. 3, de zelotyp. transit in rabiem et odium, et sibi et aliis violentas sæpe manus injiciunt. ⁵ Hyginus, cap. 189, Ovid,

&c. ⁶ Phærus, Ægypti rex, de cæcitate oraculum consulens, visum ei rediturum accepit, si oculos abluisset lotio mulieris quæ aliorum virorum esset expertus; uxoris urinam expertus nihil profecit, et aliarum frustra, eas omnes (eâ exceptâ per quam curatus fuit) unum in locum coactas concremavit. Herod. Euterp. ⁷ Offic. lib. 2

onus, and Nicanor, by their wives. Hercules poisoned by Dejanira, ¹ Cæcinna murdered by Vespasian, Justina, a Roman lady, by her husband. ² Amestris, Xerxes's wife, because she found her husband's cloak in Masista's house, cut off Masista, his wife's paps, and gave them to the dogs, flayed her besides, and cut off her ears, lips, tongue, and slit the nose of Artaynta her daughter. Our late writers are full of such outrages.

³ Paulus Æmilius, in his history of France, hath a tragical story of Chilpericus the First, his death, made away by Ferdegunde his queen. In a jealous humour he came from hunting, and stole behind his wife, as she was dressing and combing her head in the sun, gave her a familiar touch with his wand, which she mistaking for her lover, said, "Ah, Landre, a good knight should strike before and not behind;" but when she saw herself betrayed by his presence, she instantly took order to make him away. Hierome Osorius, in his eleventh book of the deeds of Emanuel King of Portugal, to this effect hath a tragical narration of one Ferdinandus Chaldaria, that wounded Gotherinus, a noble countryman of his, at Goa in the East Indies, ⁴ "and cut off one of his legs, for that he looked as he thought too familiarly upon his wife, which was afterwards a cause of many quarrels, and much bloodshed." Guianerius, *cap. 36, de ægritud. matr.* speaks of a silly jealous fellow, that seeing his child new-born included in a caul, thought sure a ⁵ Franciscan that used to come to his house, was the father of it, it was so like the friar's cowl, and thereupon threatened the friar to kill him; Fulgosus of a woman in Narbonne, that cut off her husband's privities in the night, because she thought he played false with her.

¹ Aurelius Victor. ² Herod. lib. 9, in Calliope. Masistæ uxorem excarnificat, mamillas præscindit, easque canibus abjicit, filię nares præscindit, labra, linguam, &c. ³ Lib. 1. Dum formæ curandæ intenta capillum in sole pectit, a marito per lusum leviter percussa furtim superveniente virgâ, risu suborto, mi Landrice, dixit, frontem vir fortis petet, &c. Marito conspecto attonita: cum

Landrico mox in ejus mortem conspirat, et statim inter venandum efficit. ⁴ Qui Gossæ uxorem habens, Gotherinum principem quendam virum quod uxori suæ oculos adjecisset, ingenti vulnere deformavit in facie, et tibiam abscidit, unde mutus cædes. ⁵ Eo quod infans natus involutus esset panniculo, credebatur eum filium fratris Francisci, &c.

The story of Jonuses Bassa, and fair Manto his wife, is well known to such as have read the Turkish history; and that of Joan of Spain, of which I treated in my former section. Her jealousy, saith Gomesius, was the cause of both their deaths: King Philip died of grief a little after, as ¹ Martin his physician gave it out, "and she for her part after a melancholy discontented life, misspent in lurking holes and corners, made an end of her miseries." Felix Plater, in the first book of his observations, hath many such instances, of a physician of his acquaintance, ² "that was first mad through jealousy, and afterwards desperate;" of a merchant ³ "that killed his wife in the same humour, and afterwards precipitated himself;" of a doctor of law that cut off his man's nose; of a painter's wife in Basil, anno 1600, that was mother of nine children and had been twenty-seven years married, yet afterwards jealous, and so impatient that she became desperate, and would neither eat nor drink in her own house, for fear her husband should poison her. 'Tis a common sign this; for when once the humours are stirred, and the imagination misaffected, it will vary itself in divers forms; and many such absurd symptoms will accompany, even madness itself. Skenckius, *observat. lib. 4, cap. de Uter.* hath an example of a jealous woman that by this means had many fits of the mother; and in his first book of some that through jealousy ran mad; of a baker that gelded himself to try his wife's honesty, &c. Such examples are too common.

¹ Zelotypia reginæ regis mortem acceleravit paulo post, ut Martianus medicus mihi retulit. Illa autem atrâ bile inde exagitata in latebras se subducens præ ægritudine animi reliquum tempus con-

sumpsit. ² A zelotypiâ redactus ad insaniam et desperationem. ³ Uxorem interemit, inde desperabundus ex alto se præcipitavit.

MEMB. IV.

SUBJECT. I.—*Cure of Jealousy ; by avoiding Occasions, not to be Idle ; of good Counsel ; to condemn it, not to watch or lock them up ; to dissemble it, &c.*

As of all other melancholy, some doubt whether this malady may be cured or no, they think 'tis like the 'gout, or Switzers, whom we commonly call Walloons, those hired soldiers, if once they take possession of a castle, they can never be got out.

“ Qui timet ut sua sit, ne quis sibi subtrahat illam,
Ille Machaoniâ vix ope salvus erit.”

2 “ This is the cruel wound against whose smart,
No liquor's force prevails, or any plaster,
No skill of stars, no depth of magic art,
Devised by that great clerk Zoroaster,
A wound that so infects the soul and heart,
As all our sense and reason it doth master ;
A wound whose pang and torment is so durable,
As it may rightly called be incurable.”

Yet what I have formerly said of other melancholy, I will say again, it may be cured or mitigated at least by some contrary passion, good counsel and persuasion, if it be withstood in the beginning, maturely resisted, and as those ancients hold, ³ “ the nails of it be pared before they grow too long.” No better means to resist or repel it than by avoiding idleness, to be still seriously busied about some matters of importance, to drive out those vain fears, foolish fantasies, and irksome suspicions out of his head, and then to be persuaded by his judicious friends, to give ear to their good counsel and advice, and wisely to consider, how much he discredits himself, his friends, dishonours his children, disgraceth his family,

¹ Tollere nodosam nescit medicina esse radendos, priusquàm producant se podagram. ² Ariosto, lib. 31, staff. 5. nimis.

³ Veteres maturè suadent unguis amoris

publisheth his shame, and as a trumpeter of his own misery, divulgeth, macerates, grieves himself and others; what an argument of weakness it is, how absurd a thing in its own nature, how ridiculous, how brutish a passion, how sottish, how odious; for as ¹ Hierome well hath it, *Odium sui facit, et ipse novissimè sibi odio est*, others hate him, and at last he hates himself for it; how harebrain a disease, mad and furious. If he will but hear them speak, no doubt he may be cured. ² Joan, queen of Spain, of whom I have formerly spoken, under pretence of changing air was sent to Complutum, or Alcada de las Heneras, where Ximenius the archbishop of Toledo then lived, that by his good counsel (as for the present she was) she might be eased. ³ “For a disease of the soul, if concealed, tortures and overturns it, and by no physic can sooner be removed than by a discreet man’s comfortable speeches.” I will not here insert any consolatory sentences to this purpose, or forestall any man’s invention, but leave it every one to dilate and amplify as he shall think fit in his own judgment; let him advise with Siracides, *cap.* 9, 1. “Be not jealous over the wife of thy bosom;” read that comfortable and pithy speech to this purpose of Ximenius, in the author himself, as it is recorded by Gomesius; consult with Chaloner, *lib.* 9, *de repub. Anglor.* or Cælia in her epistles, &c. Only this I will add, that if it be considered aright, which causeth this jealous passion, be it just or unjust, whether with or without cause, true or false, it ought not so heinously to be taken; ’tis no such real or capital matter, that it should make so deep a wound. ’Tis a blow that hurts not, an insensible smart, grounded many times upon false suspicion alone, and so fostered by a sinister conceit. If she be not dishonest, he troubles and macerates himself without a cause; or put case which is the worst, he be a cuckold, it cannot be helped, the more he stirs in it, the more he aggravates his own misery. How much better were it in

¹ In Jovianum. ² Gomesius, lib. 3, de reb. gestis Ximenii. ³ Urit enim præcordia ægritudo animi compressa, et

in angustiis adducta mentem subvertit, nec alio medicamine facilius erigitur, quam cordati hominis sermone.

such a case to dissemble or condemn it? why should that be feared which cannot be redressed? *multæ tandem deposuerunt* (saith ¹ Vives) *quum flecti maritos non posse vident*, many women, when they see there is no remedy, have been pacified; and shall men be more jealous than women? 'Tis some comfort in such a case to have companions, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris*; Who can say he is free? Who can assure himself he is not one *de præterito*, or secure himself *de futuro*? If it were his case alone, it were hard; but being as it is almost a common calamity, 'tis not so grievously to be taken. If a man have a lock, which every man's key will open, as well as his own, why should he think to keep it private to himself? In some countries they make nothing of it, *ne nobiles quidem*, saith ² Leo Afer, in many parts of Africa (if she be past fourteen) there's not a nobleman that marries a maid, or that hath a chaste wife; 'tis so common; as the moon gives horns once a month to the world, do they to their husbands at least. And 'tis most part true which that Caledonian lady, ³ Argetocoxus, a British prince's wife, told Julia Augusta, when she took her up for dishonesty, "We Britons are naught at least with some few choice men of the better sort, but you Romans lie with every base knave, you are a company of common whores." Severus the emperor in his time made laws for the restraint of this vice; and as ⁴ Dion Nicæus relates in his life, *tria millia mæchorum*, three thousand cuckold-makers, or *naturæ monetam adulterantes*, as Philo calls them, false coiners, and clippers of nature's money, were summoned into the court at once. And yet, *Non omnem molitor quæ fluit undam videt*, "the miller sees not all the water that goes by his mill:" no doubt, but, as in our days, these were of the commonalty, all the great ones were not so much as called in question for it. ⁵ Martial's Epigram I suppose might have been generally

¹ 3, De animâ. ² Lib. 3. ³ Argetocoxi, Caledonii reguli uxor, Juliae Augustæ cùm ipsam morderet quod inhonestè versaretur, respondet, nos cum optimis

viris consuetudinem habemus; vos Romanas autem occulte passim homines constuprant. ⁴ Leges de mœchis fecit, ex civibus plures in jus vocati. ⁵ L. 3,

applied in those licentious times, *Omnia solus habes*, &c., thy goods, lands, money, wits, are thine own, *Uxorem sed habes, Candide, cum populo*; but, neighbour Candidus, your wife is common; husband and cuckold in that age it seems were reciprocal terms; the emperors themselves did wear Actæon's badge; how many Cæsars might I reckon up together, and what a catalogue of cornuted kings and princes in every story? Agamemnon, Menelaus, Philippus of Greece, Ptolemeus of Egypt, Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompeius, Cato, Augustus, Antonius, Antoninus, &c., that wore fair plumes of bull's feathers in their crests. The bravest soldiers and most heroic spirits could not avoid it. They have been active and passive in this business, they have either given or taken horns. ¹ King Arthur, whom we call one of the nine worthies, for all his great valour, was unworthily served by Mordred, one of his round-table knights; and Guithera, or Helena Alba, his fair wife, as Leland interprets it, was an arrant honest woman. *Parcerem libenter* (saith mine ² author) *Heroinarum læsæ majestati, si non historiæ veritas aurem vellicaret*, I could willingly wink at a fair lady's faults, but that I am bound by the laws of history to tell the truth: against his will, God knows, did he write it, and so do I repeat it. I speak not of our times all this while, we have good, honest, virtuous men and women, whom fame, zeal, fear of God, religion and superstition contains; and yet for all that, we have many knights of this order, so dubbed by their wives, many good women abused by dissolute husbands. In some places, and such persons you may as soon enjoin them to carry water in a sieve, as to keep themselves honest. What shall a man do now in such a case? What remedy is to be had? how shall he be eased? By suing a divorce? this is hard to be effected; *si non castè, tamen cautè*, they carry the matter so cunningly, that though it be as common as simony, as clear and as manifest as the nose in a man's

Epig. 26. ¹ Asser. Arthuri; *parcerem non historiæ veritas aurem vellicaret. libenter heroinarum læsæ majestati, si* Leland. ² Leland's assert. Arthuri.

face, yet it cannot be evidently proved, or they likely taken in the fact; they will have a knave Gallus to watch, or with that Roman ¹ Sulpitia, all made fast and sure,

“Ne se Cadurcis destitutam fasciis,
Nudam Caleno concumbentem videat.”

“She will hardly be surprised by her husband, be he never so wary.” Much better then to put it up; the more he strives in it, the more he shall divulge his own shame; make a virtue of necessity, and conceal it. Yea, but the world takes notice of it, 'tis in every man's mouth; let them talk their pleasure, of whom speak they not in this sense? From the highest to the lowest they are thus censured all; there is no remedy then but patience. It may be 'tis his own fault, and he hath no reason to complain, 'tis *quid pro quo*, she is bad, he is worse; ²“Bethink thyself, hast thou not done as much for some of thy neighbours? why dost thou require that of thy wife, which thou wilt not perform thyself? Thou rangest like a town bull, ³why art thou so incensed if she tread awry?”

“Be it that some woman break chaste wedlock's laws,
And leaves her husband and becomes unchaste:
Yet commonly it is not without cause,
She sees her man in sin her goods to waste,
She feels that he his love from her withdraws,
And hath on some perhaps less worthy placed,
Who strike with sword, the scabbard them may strike,
And sure love craveth love, like asketh like.”

Ea semper studebit, saith ⁵ Nevisanus, *pares reddere vices*, she will quit it if she can. And therefore, as well adviseth Sira- cides, *cap. ix. 1*, “teach her not an evil lesson against thyself,” which as Jansenius, Lyranus, on this text, and Carthusianus interpret, is no otherwise to be understood than that she do thee not a mischief. I do not excuse her in accusing thee;

¹ Epigram. ² Cogita an sic aliis tu dignam feceris; an hoc tibi nunc fieri dignum sit? severus aliis, indulgens tibi, cur ab uxore exigit quod non ipse præ-
tas? Plutar. ³ Vagâ libidine cum ipse quovis rapiaris, cur si vel modicum aber- ret ipsa. insanias? ⁴ Ariosto, li. 28, staffe, 80. ⁵ Sylva nupt. l. 4, num. 72.

but if both be naught, mend thyself first ; for as the old saying is, a good husband makes a good wife.

Yea, but thou repliest, 'tis not the like reason betwixt man and woman, through her fault my children are bastards, I may not endure it ; ¹ *Sit amarulenta, sit imperiosa, prodiga, &c.* Let her scold, brawl, and spend, I care not, *modò sit casta*, so she be honest, I could easily bear it ; but this I cannot, I may not, I will not ; “ my faith, my fame, mine eye must not be touched,” as the proverb is, *Non patitur tactum fama, fides, oculus*. I say the same of my wife, touch all, use all, take all but this. I acknowledge that of Seneca to be true, *Nullius boni jucunda possessio sine socio*, there is no sweet content in the possession of any good thing without a companion, this only excepted, I say *This*. And why this ? Even this which thou so much abhorrest, it may be for thy progeny's good, ² better be any man's son than thine, to be begot of base Irus, poor Scius, or mean Mevius, the town swineherd's, a shepherd's son ; and well is he, that like Hercules he hath any two fathers ; for thou thyself hast peradventure more diseases than a horse, more infirmities of body and mind, a cankered soul, crabbed conditions, make the worst of it, as it is *vulnus insanabile, sic vulnus insensibile*, as it is incurable, so it is insensible. But art thou sure it is so ? ³ *res agit ille tuas* ? “ doth he so indeed ? ” It may be thou art over-suspicious, and without a cause as some are : if it be *octimestris partus*, born at eight months, or like him, and him, they fondly suspect he got it ; if she speak or laugh familiarly with such or such men, then presently she is naught with them ; such is thy weakness ; whereas charity, or a well-disposed mind, would interpret all unto the best. St. Francis, by chance seeing a friar familiarly kissing another man's wife, was so far from misconceiving it, that he presently kneeled down and thanked God there was so much charity left ; but they on the other side will ascribe nothing to natural causes, indulge nothing to familiarity, mutual society, friend-

¹ Lemnius, lib. 4, cap. 13, de occult. nat. mir. ² Optimum bene nasci. ³ Mart.

ship; but out of a sinister suspicion, presently lock them close, watch them, thinking by those means to prevent all such inconveniences, that's the way to help it; whereas by such tricks they do aggravate the mischief. 'Tis but in vain to watch that which will away.

¹ "Nec custodiri si velit ulla potest;
Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia serves;
Omnibus exclusis, intus adulter erit."

"None can be kept resisting for her part;
Though body be kept close, within her heart
Advoutry lurks, t' exclude it there's no art."

Argus, with a hundred eyes cannot keep her, *et hunc unus sæpè fefellit amor*, as in ² Ariosto.

"If all our hearts were eyes, yet sure they said
We husbands of our wives should be betrayed."

Hierome holds, *Uxor impudica servari non potest, pudica non debet, infida custos castitatis est necessitas*, to what end is all your custody? A dishonest woman cannot be kept, an honest woman ought not to be kept, necessity is a keeper not to be trusted. *Difficile custoditur, quod plures amant*; that which many covet, can hardly be preserved, as ³ Salisburien-sis thinks. I am of Æneas Sylvius's mind, ⁴ "Those jealous Italians do very ill to lock up their wives; for women are of such a disposition, they will most covet that which is denied most, and offend least when they have free liberty to trespass." It is in vain to lock her up if she be dishonest; *et tyrannicum imperium*, as our great Mr. Aristotle calls it, too tyrannical a task, most unfit; for when she perceives her husband observes her and suspects, *liberius peccat*, saith ⁵ Nevisanus, ⁶ *Toxica Zelotypo dedit uxor mæcha marito*, she is exasperated, seeks by all means to vindicate herself, and will

¹ Ovid. amor. lib. 3, eleg. 4. ² Lib. 4, st. 72. ³ Polycrat. lib. 8, c. 11. De amor. ⁴ Euryal. et Lucret. qui uxores ocludunt, meo judicio minus utiliter faciunt; sunt enim eo ingenio mulieres ut id potissimum cupiant, quod maximè

denegatur; si liberas habent habenas, minus delinquant; frustra seram adhibes, si non sit sponte casta. ⁵ Quando cognoscunt maritos hoc advertere. ⁶ Ausonius.

therefore offend, because she is unjustly suspected. The best course then is to let them have their own wills, give them free liberty, without any keeping.

“In vain our friends from this do us dehort,
For beauty will be where is most resort.”

If she be honest as Lucretia to Collatinus, Laodamia to Protesilaus, Penelope to her Ulysses, she will so continue her honour, good name, credit, *Penelope conjux semper Ulyssis ero*; “I shall always be Penelope the wife of Ulysses.” And as Phocias’s wife, in ¹Plutarch, called her husband “her wealth, treasure, world, joy, delight, orb, and sphere,” she will hers. The vow she made unto her good man; love, virtue, religion, zeal, are better keepers than all those locks, eunuchs, prisons; she will not be moved:

²“At mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Aut pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam,
Ante pudor quam te violam, aut tua jura resolvam.”

“First I desire the earth to swallow me,
Before I violate mine honesty,
Or thunder from above drive me to hell,
With those pale ghosts, and ugly nights to dwell.”

She is resolved with Dido to be chaste; though her husband be false, she will be true; and as Octavia writ to her Antony,

³“These walls that here do keep me out of sight,
Shall keep me all unspotted unto thee,
And testify that I will do thee right,
I’ll never stain thine house, though thou shame me.”

Turn her loose to all those Tarquins and Satyrs, she will not be tempted. In the time of Valence the Emperor, saith ⁴St. Austin, one Archidamus, a Consul of Antioch, offered a hundred pounds of gold to a fair young wife, and besides to set

¹ Opes suas, mundum suum, thesaurum suum, &c. ² Virg. Æn. ³ Daniel.
⁴ 1, de serm. d. in monte ros. 16.

her husband free, who was then *sub gravissimâ custodiâ*, a dark prisoner, *pro unius noctis concubitu*; but the chaste matron would not accept of it. ¹ When Ode commended Theana's fine arm to his fellows, she took him up short, "Sir, 'tis not common;" she is wholly reserved to her husband. ² Bilia had an old man to her spouse, and his breath stunk, so that nobody could abide it abroad; "coming home one day he reprehended his wife, because she did not tell him of it; she vowed unto him she had told him, but she thought every man's breath had been as strong as his." ³ Tigranes and Armena his lady were invited to supper by King Cyrus; when they came home, Tigranes asked his wife how she liked Cyrus, and what she did especially commend in him? "she swore she did not observe him; when he replied again, what then she did observe, whom she looked on? She made answer, her husband, that said he would die for her sake." Such are the properties and conditions of good women; and if she be well given, she will so carry herself; if otherwise she be naught, use all the means thou canst, she will be naught. *Non deest animus sed corruptor*, she hath so many lies, excuses, as a hare hath muses, tricks, panders, bawds, shifts, to deceive, 'tis to no purpose to keep her up, or to reclaim her by hard usage. "Fair means peradventure may do somewhat." ⁴ *Obsequio vinces aptius ipse tuo*. Men and women are both in a predicament in this behalf, so sooner won, and better pacified. *Duci volunt, non cogi*; though she be as arrant a scold as Xantippe, as cruel as Medea, as clamorous as Hecuba, as lustful as Messalina, by such means (if at all) she may be reformed. Many patient ⁵ Grizels, by their obsequiousness in this kind, have reclaimed their husbands from their wandering lusts. In Nova Francia and Turkey (as Leah, Rachel, and Sarah did to Abraham and

¹ O quam formosus lacertus hic! quidam inquit, ad æquales conversus: at illa, publicus, inquit, non est. ² Bilia Diuturnum virum senem habuit et spiritum foetidum habentem, quem quum quidam exprobrasset, &c. ³ Numquid

tibi, Armena, Tigranes videbatur esse pulcher? et illum, inquit, ædopol, &c., Xenoph. Cyropæd., l. 3. ⁴ Ovid. ⁵ Read Petrarch's Tale of Patient Grizel in Chaucer.

Jacob) they bring their fairest damsels to their husband's beds ; Livia seconded the lustful appetites of Augustus ; Strat-onice, wife to King Diotarus, did not only bring Electra, a fair maid, to her good man's bed, but brought up the children begot on her, as carefully as if they had been her own. Ter-tius Emilius's wife, Cornelia's mother, perceiving her husband's intemperance, *rem dissimulavit*, made much of the maid, and would take no notice of it. A new-married man, when a pickthank friend of his, to curry favour, had showed him his wife, familiar in private with a young gallant, courting and dallying, &c. Tush, said he, let him do his worst, I dare trust my wife, though I dare not trust him. The best remedy then is by fair means ; if that will not take place, to dis-semble it as I say, or turn it off with a jest ; hear Guexerra's advice in this case *vel joco excipies, vel silentio eludes* ; for if you take exceptions at every thing your wife doth, Solomon's wisdom, Hercules's valour, Homer's learning, Socrates's pa-tience, Argus's vigilance, will not serve turn. Therefore *Minus malum*, ¹ a less mischief, Nevisanus holds, *dissimulare*, to be ² *Cunarum emptor*, a buyer of cradles, as the proverb is, than to be too solicitous. ³ "A good fellow, when his wife was brought to bed before her time, bought half a dozen of cradles beforehand for so many children, as if his wife should continue to bear children every two months." ⁴ Per-tinax the Emperor, when one told him a fiddler was too familiar with his empress, made no reckoning of it. And when that Macedonian Philip was upbraided with his wife's dishonesty, *cum tot victor regnorum ac populorum esset, &c.*, a conqueror of kingdoms could not tame his wife (for she thrust him out of doors), he made a jest of it. *Sapientes portant cornua in pectore, stulti in fronte*, saith Nevisanus, wise men bear their horns in their hearts, fools on their fore-heads. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was at deadly feud

¹ Silv. nupt. lib. 4, num. 80.

² Eras-mus. ³ Quum accepisset uxorem peperisse secundo a nuptiis mense, cunas quinas vel senas coemit, ut si forte uxor

singulis bimensibus pareret.

⁴ Julius Capitol. vita ejus : quum palam Citharæ-dus uxorem diligeret, minimè curiosus fuit.

with Perseus of Macedonia, insomuch that Perseus hearing of a journey he was to take to Delphos, ¹set a company of soldiers to intercept him in his passage; they did it accordingly, and as they supposed left him stoned to death. The news of this fact was brought instantly to Pergamus; Attalus, Eumenes's brother, proclaimed himself king forthwith, took possession of the crown, and married Stratonice the queen. But by and by, when contrary news was brought, that King Eumenes was alive, and now coming to the city, he laid by his crown, left his wife, as a private man went to meet him, and congratulate his return. Eumenes, though he knew all particulars passed, yet dissembling the matter, kindly embraced his brother, and took his wife into his favour again, as if no such matter had been heard of or done. Jocundo, in Ariosto, found his wife in bed with a knave, both asleep, went his ways, and would not so much as wake them, much less reprove them for it. ²An honest fellow finding in like sort his wife had played false at tables, and borne a man too many, drew his dagger, and swore if he had not been his very friend, he would have killed him. Another hearing one had done that for him, which no man desires to be done by a deputy, followed in a rage with his sword drawn, and having overtaken him, laid adultery to his charge; the offender hotly pursued, confessed it was true; with which confession he was satisfied, and so left him, swearing that if he had denied it, he would not have put it up. How much better is it to do thus, than to macerate himself, impatiently to rave and rage, to enter an action (as Arnoldus Tilius did in the court of Toulouse, against Martin Guerre, his fellow-soldier, for that he counterfeited his habit, and was too familiar with his wife), so to divulge his own shame, and to remain forever a cuckold on record? how much better be Cornelius Tacitus than

¹ Disposuit armatos qui ipsum interficerent; hi protenus mandatum exequentes, &c. Ille et rex declaratur, et Stratonicem quæ fratri nupserat, uxorem ducit; sed postquam audivit fratrem

vivere, &c. Attalum comiter accepit, pristinamque uxorem complexus, magno honore apud se habuit. ² Sir John Harrington's notes in 28th book of Ariosto.

Publius Cornutus, to condemn in such cases, or take no notice of it? *Melius sic errare quam Zelotypiæ curis*, saith Erasmus, *se conficere*, better be a wittol and put it up, than to trouble himself to no purpose. And though he will not *omnibus dormire*, be an ass, as he is an ox, yet to wink at it as many do is not amiss at some times, in some cases, to some parties, if it be for his commodity, for some great man's sake, his landlord, patron, benefactor, (as Calbas the Roman saith ¹ Plutarch did by Mæcenas, and Phayllus of Argos did by King Philip, when he promised him an office on that condition he might lie with his wife) and so let it pass :

² "pol me haud pœnitet,
Scilicet boni dimidium dividere cum Jove,"

"it never troubles me (saith Amphitrio) to be cornuted by Jupiter, let it not molest thee then ;" be friends with her ;

³ "Tu cum Alcmenâ uxore antiquam in gratiam
Redi"

"Receive Alcmena to your grace again ;" let it, I say, make no breach of love between you. Howsoever the best way is to contemn it, which ⁴ Henry II. king of France advised a courtier of his, jealous of his wife, and complaining of her unchasteness, to reject it, and comfort himself; for he that suspects his wife's incontinency, and fears the Pope's curse, shall never live a merry hour, or sleep a quiet night; no remedy but patience. When all is done according to that counsel of ⁵ Nevisanus, *si vitium uxoris corrigi non potest, ferendum est* : if it may not be helped, it must be endured. *Date veniam et sustinete taciti*, 'tis Sophocles's advice, keep it to thyself, and which Chrysostom calls *palæstram philosophiæ et domesticum gymnasium*, a school of philosophy, put it up. There is no other cure but time to wear it out, *Injuriarum remedium est oblivio*, as if they had drunk a draught of Lethe

¹ Amator. dial.
jurat. French.

² Plautus, scen. ult. Amphit.
⁵ Lib. 4, num. 80.

³ Idem.

⁴ T. Daniel, con-

in Trophonius's den ; to conclude, age will bereave her of it, *dies dolorem minuit*, time and patience must end it.

¹ "The mind's affections patience will appease,
It passions kills, and healeth each disease."

SUBJECT. II. — *By Prevention before or after Marriage, Plato's Community, marry a Courtesan, Philters, Stews, to Marry one equal in Years, Fortunes, of a good Family, Education, good Place, to use them well, &c.*

OF such medicines as conduce to the cure of this malady, I have sufficiently treated ; there be some good remedies remaining by way of prevention, precautions, or admonitions, which if rightly practised, may do much good. Plato, in his Commonwealth, to prevent this mischief, belike, would have all things, wives and children, all as one ; and which Cæsar in his Commentaries observed of those old Britons, that first inhabited this land, they had ten or twelve wives allotted to such a family, or promiscuously to be used by so many men ; not one to one as with us, or four, five, or six to one as in Turkey. The ² Nicholaites, a sect that sprang, saith Austin, from Nicholas the deacon, would have women indifferent ; and the cause of this filthy sect, was Nicholas the deacon's jealousy, for which when he was condemned to purge himself of his offence, he broached this heresy, that it was lawful to lie with one another's wives, and for any man to lie with his ; like to those ³ Anabaptists in Munster, that would consort with other men's wives as the spirit moved them ; or as ⁴ Mahomet, the seducing prophet, would needs use women as he list himself, to beget prophets ; two hundred and five, their Alcoran saith, were in love with him, and ⁵ he as able as forty men. Amongst the old Carthaginians, as ⁶ Bohemus relates out of Sabellicus, the king of the country lay with the

¹ R. T. ² Lib. de heres. Quum de zelo culparetur, purgandi se causâ permisisset fertur ut eâ qui vellet uteretur ; quod ejus factum in sectam turpissimam versum est, qua placet usus indifferens

fœminarum. ³ Sleiden, Com. ⁴ Alcoran. ⁵ Alcoran, edit. a Bibliandro. ⁶ De mor. gent. lib. 1, cap. 6, Nupturæ regi devirginandæ exhibentur.

bride the first night, and once in a year they went promiscuously all together. Munster, *Cosmog. lib. 3, cap. 497*, ascribes the beginning of this brutish custom (unjustly) to one Picardus, a Frenchman, that invented a new sect of Adamites to go naked as Adam did, and to use promiscuous venery at set times. When the priest repeated that of Genesis, "Increase and multiply," ¹ out went the candles in the place where they met, "and without all respect of age, persons, conditions, catch that catch may, every man took her that came next," &c.; some fasten this on those ancient Bohemians and Russians; ² others on the inhabitants of Mambrium, in the Lucerne valley in Piedmont; and, as I read, it was practised in Scotland amongst Christians themselves, until King Malcolm's time, the king or the lord of the town had their maidenheads. In some parts of ³ India in our age, and those ⁴ islanders, ⁵ as amongst the Babylonians of old, they will prostitute their wives and daughters (which Chalcocondila, a Greek modern writer, for want of better intelligence puts upon us Britons) to such travellers or seafaring men as come amongst them by chance, to show how far they were from this feral vice of jealousy, and how little they esteemed it. The kings of Calicut, as ⁶ Lod. Vertomannus relates, will not touch their wives, till one of their Biarmi or high priests have lain first with them, to sanctify their wombs. But those Esai and Montanists, two strange sects of old, were in another extreme, they would not marry at all, or have any society with women, ⁷ "because of their intemperance they held them all to be naught." Nevisanus the lawyer, *lib. 4, num. 33, syl. nupt.* would have him that is inclined to this malady, to pre-

¹ Lumina extinguebantur, nec personæ et ætatis habita reverentia, in quam quisque per tenebras incidit, mulierem cognoscit. ² Leander Albertus. Flagitioso ritu cuncti in ædem convenientes post impuram concionem, extinctis luminibus in Venerem ruunt. ³ Lod. Vertomannus, *navig. lib. 6, cap. 8*, et Marcus Polus, *lib. 1, cap. 46*. Uxores viatoribus prostituunt. ⁴ Dithmarus, Bleskenius, ut Agetas Aristoni, pulcher-

rimam uxorem habens prostituit. ⁵ Herodot. in Erato, Mulieres Babylonicæ cum hospite permiscuntur ob argentum quod post Veneri sacrum. Bohemus, *lib. 2*. ⁶ *Navigat. lib. 5, cap. 4*, prius thorum non init, quam a digniore sacerdote nova nupta deflorata sit. ⁷ Bohemus, *lib. 2, cap. 8*. Ideo nubere nollent ob mulierum intemperantiam, nullam servare viro fidem putabant.

vent the worst, marry a quean, *Capiens meretricem, hoc habet saltem boni quòd non decipitur, quia scit eam sic esse, quod non contingit aliis.* A fornicator in Seneca constuprated two wenches in a night; for satisfaction, the one desired to hang him, the other to marry him. ¹ Hierome, king of Syracuse in Sicily, espoused himself to Pitho, keeper of the stews; and Ptolemy took Thais a common whore to be his wife, had two sons, Leontiscus and Lagus by her, and one daughter Irene; 'tis therefore no such unlikely thing. ² A citizen of Eugubine gelded himself to try his wife's honesty, and to be freed from jealousy; so did a baker in ³ Basil, to the same intent. But of all other precedents in this kind, that of ⁴ Combalus is most memorable; who to prevent his master's suspicion, for he was a beautiful young man, and sent by Seleucus his lord and king, with Stratonice the queen to conduct her into Syria, fearing the worst, gelded himself before he went, and left his genitals behind him in a box sealed up. His mistress by the way fell in love with him, but he not yielding to her, was accused to Seleucus of incontinency (as that Bellerophon was in like case falsely traduced by Sthenobœa, to King Proetus her husband, *cum non posset ad coitum inducere*), and that by her, and was therefore at his coming home cast into prison; the day of hearing appointed, he was sufficiently cleared and acquitted by showing his privities, which to the admiration of the beholders he had formerly cut off. The Lydians used to geld women whom they suspected, saith Leonicus, *var. hist. lib. 3, cap. 49*, as well as men. To this purpose, ⁵ Saint Francis, because he used to confess women in private, to prevent suspicion, and prove himself a maid, stripped himself before the Bishop of Assise and others; and Friar Leonard for the same cause went through Viterbium in Italy, without any garments.

Our Pseudo-catholics, to help these inconveniences which

¹ Stephanus, præfat. Herod. Alius e lupanari meretricem, Pitho dictam, in uxorem duxit; Ptolemæus Thaidem nobile scortum duxit et ex eâ duos filios suscepit, &c. ² Poggius Floreno. ³ Felix Plater. ⁴ Plutarch, Lucian, Salmuth, Tit. 2. de porcellanis com. in Pancirol. de nov. rept. et Plutarchus. ⁵ Stephanus, e l. confor. Bonavent. c. 6, vit. Francisci.

proceed from jealousy, to keep themselves and their wives honest, make severe laws; against adultery present death; and withal fornication, a venial sin, as a sink to convey that furious and swift stream of concupiscence, they appoint and permit stews, those punks and pleasant sinners, the more to secure their wives in all populous cities, for they hold them as necessary as churches; and howsoever unlawful, yet to avoid a greater mischief, to be tolerated in policy, as usury, for the hardness of men's hearts; and for this end they have whole colleges of courtesans in their towns and cities. Of ¹ Cato's mind belike that would have his servants (*cum ancillis congregari coitus causâ, definito ære, ut graviora facinora evitarent, cæteris interim interdicens*) familiar with some such feminine creatures, to avoid worse mischiefs in his house, and made allowance for it. They hold it impossible for idle persons, young, rich, and lusty, so many servants, monks, friars, to live honest, too tyrannical a burden to compel them to be chaste, and most unfit to suffer poor men, younger brothers, and soldiers at all to marry, as those diseased persons, votaries, priests, servants. Therefore, as well to keep and ease the one as the other, they tolerate and wink at these kind of brothel-houses and stews. Many probable arguments they have to prove the lawfulness, the necessity, and a toleration of them, as of usury; and without question in policy they are not to be contradicted; but altogether in religion. Others prescribe filters, spells, charms to keep men and women honest. ² *Mulier ut alienum virum non admittat præter suum: Accipe fel hirci, et adipem, et exsicca, calescat in oleo, &c., et non alium præter te amabit. In Alexi, Porta, &c., plura invenies, et multò his absurdiora, uti et in Rhasi, ne mulier virum admittat, et maritum solum diligat, &c.* But these are most part Pagan, impious, irreligious, absurd, and ridiculous devices.

The best means to avoid these and like inconveniences are, to take away the causes and occasions. To this purpose

¹ Plutarch. vit. ejus.

² Vecker, lib. 7, secret.

¹ Varro writ *Satyram Menippeam*, but it is lost. ² Patritius prescribes four rules to be observed in choosing of a wife (which whoso will may read); Fonseca, the Spaniard, in his 45 c. *Amphitheat. Amoris*, sets down six special cautions for men, four for women; Sam. Neander out of Shonbernerus, five for men, five for women; Anthony Guivarra many good lessons; ³ Cleobulus two alone, others otherwise; as first to make a good choice in marriage, to invite Christ to their wedding, and which ⁴ St. Ambrose adviseth, *Deum conjugii præsidem habere*, and to pray to him for her (*A Domino enim datur uxor prudens*, Prov. xix.), not to be too rash and precipitate in his election, to run upon the first he meets, or dote upon every stout fair piece he sees, but to choose her as much by his ears as eyes, to be well-advised whom he takes, of what age, &c., and cautelous in his proceedings. An old man should not marry a young woman, nor a young woman an old man, ⁵ *Quàm malè inæquales veniunt ad aratra jувenci!* such matches must needs minister a perpetual cause of suspicion, and be distasteful to each other.

“Noctua ut in tumulis, super atque cadavera bubo,
Talis apud Sophoclem nostra puella sedet.”

“Night-crows on tombs, owl sits on carcass dead,
So lies a wench with Sophocles in bed.”

For Sophocles, as ⁷ Athenæus describes him, was a very old man, as cold as January, a bedfellow of bones, and doted yet upon Archippe, a young courtesan, than which nothing can be more odious. ⁸ *Senex maritus uxori juveni ingratus est*, an old man is a most unwelcome guest to a young wench, unable, unfit:

“Amplexus suos fugiunt puellæ,
Omnis horret amor Venusque Hymenque.”

¹ Citatur a Gellio. ² Lib. 4, Tit. 4, de instit. reipub. de officio mariti. ³ Ne cum eâ blande nimis agas, ne objurges præsentibus extraneis. ⁴ Epist. 70. ⁵ Ovid. “How badly steers of different ages are yoked to the plough.” ⁶ Al-

ciat. emb. 116. ⁷ Deipnosoph. l. 3, cap. 12. ⁸ Euripides. ⁹ Pontanus, hiarum, lib. 1. “Maidens shun their embraces; Love, Venus, Hymen, all abhor them.”

And as in like case a good fellow that had but a peck of corn weekly to grind, yet would needs build a new mill for it, found his error eftsoons, for either he must let his mill lie waste, pull it quite down, or let others grind at it. So these men, &c.

Seneca therefore disallows all such unseasonable matches, *habent enim maledicti locum crebræ nuptiæ*. And as ¹ Tully farther inveighs, “ ’tis unfit for any, but ugly and filthy in old age,” *Turpe senilis amor*, one of the three things ² God hateth. Plutarch, in his book *contra Coleten*, rails downright at such kind of marriages which are attempted by old men, *qui jam corpore impotenti, et a voluptatibus deserti, peccant animo*, and makes a question whether in some cases it be tolerable at least for such a man to marry—*qui Venerem affectat sine viribus*, “that is now past those venerous exercises,” “as a gelded man lies with a virgin and sighs,” *Ecclus. xxx. 20*, and now complains with him in Petronius, *funerata est hæc pars jam quæ fuit olim Achillea*, he is quite done,

³ “Vixit puellæ nuper idoneus,
Et militavit non sine gloriâ.”

But the question is whether he may delight himself as those Priapeian popes, which in their decrepit age, lay commonly between two wenches every night, *contactu formosarum, et contrectatione, num adhuc gaudeat*; and as many doting sires do to their own shame, their children’s undoing, and their families’ confusion; he abhors it, *tanquam ab agresti et furioso domino fugiendum*, it must be avoided as a Bedlam master, and not obeyed.

“Alecto—————
Ipsa faces præfert nubentibus, et malus Hymen
Triste ululat” ⁴

the devil himself makes such matches. ⁵ Levinus Lemnius

¹ *Offic. lib. Luxuria cum omni ætati turpis, tum senectuti fœdissima.* ² *Ecclus. xxv. 2.* “An old man that dotes,” &c. ³ *Hor. lib. 3, ode 26.* “He was lately a match for a maid, and contended not ingloriously.” ⁴ “Alecto herself

holds the torch at such nuptials, and malicious Hymen sadly howls.” ⁵ *Cap. 54, instit. ad optimam vitam, maxima mortalium pars præcipitanter et inconsideratè nubit, idque eâ ætate quæ minus apta est, quum senex adolescentulæ,*

reckons up three things which generally disturb the peace of marriage ; the first is when they marry intempestive or unseasonably, “as many mortal men marry precipitately and inconsiderately, when they are effete and old ; the second when they marry unequally for fortunes and birth ; the third, when a sick impotent person weds one that is sound,” *novæ nuptæ spes frustratur* ; many dislikes instantly follow. Many doting dizzards, it may not be denied, as Plutarch confesseth, ¹“recreate themselves with such obsolete, unseasonable, and filthy remedies (so he calls them), with a remembrance of their former pleasures, against nature they stir up their dead flesh ;” but an old lecher is abominable ; *mulier tertio nubens*, ²Nevisanus holds, *præsumitur lubrica et inconstans*, a woman that marries a third time may be presumed to be no honester than she should. Of them both, thus Ambrose concludes in his comment upon Luke, ³“they that are coupled together, not to get children, but to satisfy their lust, are not husbands but fornicators,” with whom St. Austin consents ; matrimony without hope of children, *non matrimonium, sed concubium dici debet*, is not a wedding, but a jumbling or coupling together. In a word, except they wed for mutual society, help and comfort one of another (in which respects, though ⁴Tiberius deny it, without question old folks may well marry, for sometimes a man hath most need of a wife, according to Puccius, when he hath no need of a wife ;) otherwise it is most odious, when an old acherontic dizzard, that hath one foot in his grave, a *silicernium*, shall flicker after a young wench that is blithe and bonny.

⁵“salaciorque

Verno passere, et albulis columbis.”

What can be more detestable ?

sanus morbidæ, dives pauperi, &c.
¹ Obsoleto, intempestivo, turpi remedio
 fatentur se uti ; recordatione pristina-
 rum voluptatum se recreant, et adver-
 sante naturâ, pollinctam carnem et enec-
 tam excitant. ² Lib. 2, nu. 25. ³ Qui
 vero non procreandæ prolis, sed explen-

dæ libidinis causâ sibi invicem copulan-
 tur, non tam conjuges quam fornicarii
 habentur. ⁴ Lex Papia. Sueton. Claud.
 c. 23. ⁵ Pontanus, biarum, lib. 1.
 “More salacious than the sparrow in
 spring, or the snow-white ringdoves.”

1 "Tu cano capite amas, senex nequissime,
Jam plenus ætatis, animâque foetidâ,
Senex hircosus tu osculare mulierem?
Utine adiens vomitum potius excuties."

"Thou old goat, hoary lecher, naughty man,
With stinking breath, art thou in love?
Must thou be slaving? she spews to see
Thy filthy face, it doth so move."

Yet, as some will, it is much more tolerable for an old man to marry a young woman (our ladies' match they call it) for *cras erit mulier*, as he said in Tully. Cato the Roman, Critobulus, in ² Xenophon, ³ Tiraquellus of late, Julius Scaliger, &c., and many famous precedents we have in that kind; but not *e contra*: 'tis not held fit for an ancient woman to match with a young man. For as Varro will, *Anus dum ludit mortis delicias facit*, 'tis Charon's match between ⁴ Cascus and Casca, and the devil himself is surely well pleased with it. And therefore, as the ⁵ poet inveighs, thou old Vetustina bed-ridden quean, that art now skin and bones.

"Cui tres capilli, quatuorque sunt dentes,
Pectus cicadæ, crusculumque formicæ,
Rugosiorum quæ geris stolâ frontem,
Et aranearum cassibus pares mammas."

"Thou hast three hairs, four teeth, a breast
Like grasshopper, an emmet's crest,
A skin more rugged than thy coat,
And dugs like spider's web to boot."

Must thou marry a youth again? And yet *ducentas ire nuptum post mortes amant*; howsoever it is, as ⁶ Apuleius gives out of his Meroe, *congressus annosus, pestilens, abhorrendus*, a pestilent match, abominable, and not to be endured. In such case how can they otherwise choose but be jealous, how should they agree one with another? This inequality is not in years only, but in birth, fortunes, conditions, and all good qualities, ⁷ *si quâ voles aptè nubere, nube pari*, 'tis my counsel,

1 Plautus, mercator. 2 Symposio. Epig. 6 Lib. 1, Miles. 7 Ovid. "If
3 Vide Thuani historiam. 4 Catalect. you would marry suitably, marry your
vet. poetarum. 5 Martial. lib. 3, 62 equal in every respect."

saith Anthony Guiverra, to choose such a one. *Civis Civem ducat, Nobilis Nobilem*, let a citizen match with a citizen, a gentleman with a gentlewoman; he that observes not this precept (saith he) *non generum sed malum Genium, non nulum sed Furiam, non vitæ Comitem, sed litis fomitem domi habebit*, instead of a fair wife shall have a fury, for a fit son-in-law a mere fiend, &c., examples are too frequent.

Another main caution fit to be observed is this, that though they be equal in years, birth, fortunes, and other conditions, yet they do not omit virtue and good education, which Musonius and Antipater so much inculcate in Stobæus :

“ Dos est magna parentum
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas.” ¹

If, as Plutarch adviseth, one must eat *modium salis*, a bushel of salt with him before he choose his friend, what care should be had in choosing a wife, his second self, how solicitous should he be to know her qualities and behaviour? and when he is assured of them, not to prefer birth, fortune, beauty, before bringing up, and good conditions. ² Coquage, god of cuckolds, as one merrily said, accompanies the goddess Jealousy, but both follow the fairest, by Jupiter's appointment, and they sacrifice to them together; beauty and honesty seldom agree; straight personages have often crooked manners; fair faces, foul vices; good complexions, ill conditions. *Suspicionis plena res est, et insidiarum*, beauty (saith ³ Chrysostom) is full of treachery and suspicion; he that hath a fair wife cannot have a worse mischief, and yet must covet it, as if nothing else in marriage but that and wealth were to be respected. ⁴ Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, was so curious in this behalf, that he would not marry the Duke of Mantua's daughter, except he might see her naked first; which Lycurgus appointed in his laws, and Morus in his Utopian Commonwealth approves. ⁵ In Italy, as a traveller observes, if a

¹ “ Parental virtue is a rich inheritance, as well as that chastity which habitually avoids a second husband.” ² Rabelais, hist. Pantagruel. l. 3, cap. 33. ³ Hom. 80, Qui pulchram habet uxorem, nihil pejus habere potest. ⁴ Arnisæus. ⁵ Itine-

man have three or four daughters, or more, and they prove fair, they are married eftsoons; if deformed, they change their lovely names of Lucia, Cynthia, Camæna, call them Dorothy, Ursula, Bridget, and so put them into monasteries, as if none were fit for marriage, but such as are eminently fair; but these are erroneous tenets; a modest virgin well conditioned, to such a fair snout-piece is much to be preferred. If thou wilt avoid them, take away all causes of suspicion and jealousy, marry a coarse piece, fetch her from Cassandra's ¹temple, which was wont in Italy to be a sanctuary of all deformed maids, and so thou shalt be sure that no man will make thee cuckold, but for spite. A citizen of Bizance in France had a filthy, dowdy, deformed slut to his wife, and finding her in bed with another man, cried out as one amazed: *O miser! quæ te necessitas huc adegit?* O thou wretch, what necessity brought thee hither? as well he might; for who can affect such a one? But this is warily to be understood, most offend in another extreme, they prefer wealth before beauty, and so she be rich, they care not how she look; but these are all out as faulty as the rest. *Attenda uxoris forma*, as ²Salisburyensis adviseth, *ne si alteram aspexeris, mox eam sordere putes*, as the Knight in Chaucer that was married to an old woman,

*And all day after hid him as an owl,
So woe was his wife looked so foul.*

Have a care of thy wife's complexion, lest whilst thou seest another, thou loathest her, she prove jealous, thou naught,

“Si tibi deformis conjux, si serva venusta,
Ne utaris servâ,” ³

I can perhaps give instance. *Molestum est possidere quod*

rar. Ital. Coloniae, edit. 1620, Nomine trium Ger. fol. 304, displicuit quod domine filiabus immutent nomen inditum in Baptismo, et pro Catharinâ, Margaretâ, &c., ne quid desit ad luxuriam, appellant ipsas nominibus Cynthiae, Camænae,

&c. ¹ Leonicus, de var. lib. 3, c. 43. Asylum virginum deformium Cassandrae templum. Plutarch. ² Polycrat. l. 8, cap. 11. ³ “If your wife seem deformed, your maid beautiful, still abstain from the latter.”

nemo habere dignetur, a misery to possess that which no man likes; on the other side, *Difficile custoditur quod plures amant*. And as the bragging soldier vaunted in the comedy, *nimia est miseria pulchrum esse hominem nimis*. Scipio did never so hardly besiege Carthage, as these young gallants will beset thine house, one with wit or person, another with wealth, &c. If she be fair, saith Guazzo, she will be suspected howsoever. Both extremes are naught, *Pulchra citò adamatur, fœda facile concupiscit*, the one is soon beloved, the other loves; one is hardly kept, because proud and arrogant, the other not worth keeping; what is to be done in this case? Ennius in Menelippe adviseth thee as a friend to take *statam formam, si vis habere incolumem pudicitiam*, one of a middle size, neither too fair nor too foul,¹ *Nec formosa magis quam mihi casta placet*, with old Cato, though fit let her beauty be, *neque lectissima, neque illiberalis*, between both. This I approve; but of the other two I resolve with Salisburiensis, *cæteris paribus*, both rich alike, endowed alike, *majori miseriâ deformis habetur quam formosa servatur*, I had rather marry a fair one, and put it to the hazard, than be troubled with a blowze; but do thou as thou wilt, I speak only of myself.

Howsoever, *quod iterum moneo*, I would advise thee thus much, be she fair or foul, to choose a wife out of a good kindred, parentage, well brought up, in an honest place.

² "Primum animo tibi proponas quo sanguine creta,
Quâ formâ, quâ ætate, quibusque ante omnia virgo
Moribus, in junctos veniat nova nupta penates."

He that marries a wife out of a suspected inn or alehouse, buys a horse in Smithfield, and hires a servant in Paul's, as the proverb is, shall likely have a jade to his horse, a knave for his man, an arrant honest woman to his wife. *Filia præsumitur esse matri similis*, saith³ Nevisanus? "Such⁴ a

¹ Marullus. "Not the most fair but the most virtuous pleases me." ² Chauloner, lib. 9, de repub. Ang. ³ Lib. 2, num. 159. ⁴ Si genetrix caste, caste quoque filia vivit; si meretrix mater, filia talis erit.

mother, such a daughter ;” *mali corvi malum ovum*, cat to her kind.

¹ “ Scilicet expectas ut tradat mater honestos
Atque alios mores quam quos habet ? ”

“ If the mother be dishonest, in all likelihood the daughter will *matrizare*, take after her in all good qualities,”

“ Creden’ Pasiphaë non tauripotente futuram
Tauripetam ? ”

“ If the dam trot the foal will not amble.” My last caution is, that a woman do not bestow herself upon a fool, or an apparent melancholy person ; jealousy is a symptom of that disease, and fools have no moderation. Justina, a Roman lady, was much persecuted, and after made away by her jealous husband, she caused and enjoined this epitaph, as a caveat to others, to be engraven on her tomb :

² “ Discite ab exemplo Justinæ, discite patres,
Ne nubat fatuo filia vestra viro,” &c.

“ Learn parents all, and by Justina’s case,
Your children to no dizzards for to place.”

After marriage, I can give no better admonitions than to use their wives well, and which a friend of mine told me that was a married man, I will tell you as good cheap, saith Nicostratus in ³ Stobæus, to avoid future strife, and for quietness’ sake, “ when you are in bed take heed of your wife’s flattering speeches overnight, and curtain sermons in the morning.” Let them do their endeavour likewise to maintain them to their means, which ⁴ Patricius ingeminates, and let them have liberty with discretion, as time and place requires ; many women turn queans by compulsion, as ⁵ Nevisanus observes, because their husbands are so hard, and keep them so short in diet and apparel, *paupertas cogit eas meretri-*

¹ Juven. Sat. 6. ² Camerarius, cent. 2, cap. 54, oper. subcis. ³ Ser. 72. Quod amicus quidam uxorem habens mihi dixit, dicam vobis, In cubili cavendæ adulationes vesperi, mane clamores. ⁴ Lib. 4, tit. 4, de institut. Reipub. cap. de officio mariti et uxoris. ⁵ Lib. 4, syl. nup. num. 81. Non curant de uxoribus, nec volunt iis subvenire de victu, vestitu, &c.

cari, poverty and hunger, want of means, makes them dishonest, or bad usage; their churlish behaviour forceth them to fly out, or bad examples, they do it to cry quittance. In the other extreme some are too liberal, as the proverb is, *Turdus malum sibi cacat*, they make a rod for their own tails, as Candaules did to Gyges in ¹ Herodotus, commend his wife's beauty himself, and besides would needs have him see her naked. Whilst they give their wives too much liberty to gad abroad, and bountiful allowance, they are accessory to their own miseries; *animæ uxorum pessimè olent*, as Plautus jibes, they have deformed souls, and by their paintings and colours procure *odium mariti*, their husband's hate, especially, ————² *cùm miserè viscantur labra mariti*. Besides, their wives (as ³ Basil notes) *Impudentèr se exponunt masculorum aspectibus, jactantes tunicas, et coram tripudiantes*, impudently thrust themselves into other men's companies, and by their indecent wanton carriage provoke and tempt the spectators. Virtuous women should keep house; and 'twas well performed and ordered by the Greeks,

“mulier ne quâ in publicum
Spectandam se sine arbitro præbeat viro:”⁴

which made Phidias belike at Elis paint Venus treading on a tortoise, a symbol of women's silence and housekeeping. For a woman abroad and alone, is like a deer broke out of a park, *quam mille venatores insequuntur*, whom every hunter follows; and besides in such places she cannot so well vindicate herself, but as that virgin Dinah (Gen. xxxiv. 2), “going for to see the daughters of the land,” lost her virginity, she may be defiled and overtaken of a sudden: “*Imbelles damæ quid nisi præda sumus?*”⁵

And therefore I know not what philosopher he was, that would have women come but thrice abroad all their time,

¹ In Clio. Speciem uxoris supra modum extollens, fecit ut illam nudam coram aspiceret.

² Juven. Sat. 6.

³ “He cannot kiss his wife for paint.”

⁴ Orat. contra ebr.

⁵ “That a matron should not be seen in public without her husband as her spokesman.”

⁶ “Helpless deer, what are we but a prey?”

¹ “to be baptized, married, and buried;” but he was too straight-laced. Let them have their liberty in good sort, and go in good sort, *modò non annos viginti ætatis suæ domi relinquunt*, as a good fellow said, so that they look not twenty years younger abroad than they do at home, they be not spruce, neat, angels abroad, beasts, dowdies, sluts at home; but seek by all means to please and give content to their husbands; to be quiet above all things, obedient, silent, and patient; if they be incensed, angry, chide a little, their wives must not ² cample again, but take it in good part. An honest woman, I cannot now tell where she dwelt, but by report an honest woman she was, hearing one of her gossips by chance complain of her husband’s impatience, told her an excellent remedy for it, and gave her withal a glass of water, which when he brawled she should hold still in her mouth, and that *toties quoties*, as often as he chid; she did so two or three times with good success, and at length seeing her neighbour, gave her great thanks for it, and would needs know the ingredients, ³ she told her in brief what it was, “fair water,” and no more; for it was not the water, but her silence which performed the cure. Let every froward woman imitate this example, and be quiet within doors, and (as ⁴ M. Aurelius prescribes) a necessary caution it is to be observed of all good matrons that love their credits, to come little abroad, but follow their work at home, look to their household affairs and private business, *œconomix incumbentes*, be sober, thrifty, wary, circumspect, modest, and compose themselves to live to their husbands’ means, as a good housewife should do.

⁵ “Quæ studiis gavisæ coli, partita labores
Fallet opus cantu, formæ assimilata coronæ
Cura puellaris, circum fusosque rotasque
Cum volvet,” &c.

¹ Ad baptismum, matrimonium et tumulum. ² Non vociferatur illa si maritus obganniat. ³ Fraudem aperiens ostendit ei non aquam sed silentium iracundiæ moderari. ⁴ Horol. princ. lib. 2, cap. 8. Diligenter cavendum foeminis illustribus ne frequenter exe-

ant. ⁵ Chaloner. “One who delights in the labour of the distaff, and beguiles the hours of labour with a song; her duties assume an air of virtuous beauty when she is busied at the wheel and the spindle with her maids.”

Howsoever 'tis good to keep them private, not in prison;

¹ "Quisquis custodit uxorem vectibus et seris,
Etsi sibi sapiens, stultus est, et nihil sapit."

Read more of this subject, Horol, *princ. lib. 2, per totum*. Arnisæus, *polit.* Cyprian, Tertullian, Bossus, *de mulier. apparatus.* Godefridus, *de Amor. lib. 2, cap. 4*, Levinus Lemnius, *cap. 54, de institut.* Christ. Barbarus, *de re uxor. lib. 2, cap. 2*, Franciscus Patritius, *de institut. Reipub. lib. 4, Tit. 4 et 5 de officio mariti et uoris*, Christ. Fonseca, *Amphitheat. Amor. cap. 45*, Sam. Neander, &c.

These cautions concern him; and if by those or his own discretion otherwise he cannot moderate himself, his friends must not be wanting by their wisdom, if it be possible, to give the party grieved satisfaction, to prevent and remove the occasions, objects, if it may be to secure him. If it be one alone, or many, to consider whom he suspects, or at what times, in what places he is most incensed, in what companies.

² Nevisanus makes a question whether a young physician ought to be admitted in cases of sickness, into a new-married man's house, to administer a julep, a syrup, or some such physic. The Persians of old would not suffer a young physician to come amongst women. ³ Apollonides Cous made Artaxerxes cuckold, and was after buried alive for it. A jailer in Aristænetus had a fine young gentleman to his prisoner; ⁴ in commiseration of his youth and person he let him loose, to enjoy the liberty of the prison, but he unkindly made him a cornuto. Menelaus gave good welcome to Paris, a stranger, his whole house and family were at his command, but he ungently stole away his best beloved wife. The like measure was offered to Agis, king of Lacedæmon, by ⁵ Alcibiades an exile, for his good entertainment, he was too familiar with Timea his wife, begetting a child of her, called

¹ Menander. "Whoever guards his wife with bolts and bars will repent his narrow policy." ² Lib. 5, num. 11. ³ Ctesias in Persicis finxit vulvæ morbum esse nec curari posse nisi cum viro con-

cumberet, hâc arte voti compos, &c. ⁴ Exsolvit vinculis solutumque demisit, at ille inhumanus stupravit conjugem. ⁵ Plutarch. vita ejus.

Leotichides ; and bragging moreover when he came home to Athens, that he had a son should be king of the Lacedemonians. If such objects were removed, no doubt but the parties might easily be satisfied, or that they could use them gently and entreat them well, not to revile them, scoff at, hate them, as in such cases commonly they do, 'tis a human infirmity, a miserable vexation, and they should not add grief to grief, nor aggravate their misery, but seek to please, and by all means give them content, by good counsel, removing such offensive objects, or by mediation of some discreet friends. In old Rome there was a temple erected by the matrons to that ¹ *Viriplaca Dea*, another to *Venus verticorda, quæ maritos uxoribus reddebat benevolos*, whither (if any difference happened between man and wife) they did instantly resort ; there they did offer sacrifice, a white hart, Plutarch records, *sine felle*, without the gall (some say the like of Juno's temple), and make their prayers for conjugal peace ; before some ² indifferent arbitrators and friends, the matter was heard between man and wife, and commonly composed. In our times we want no sacred churches, or good men to end such controversies, if use were made of them. Some say that precious stone called ³ beryllus, others a diamond, hath excellent virtue, *contra hostium injurias, et conjugatos invicem conciliare*, to reconcile men and wives, to maintain unity and love ; you may try this when you will, and as you see cause. If none of all these means and cautions will take place, I know not what remedy to prescribe, or whither such persons may go for ease, except they can get into the same ⁴ Turkey paradise, "Where they shall have as many fair wives as they will themselves, with clear eyes, and such as look on none but their own husbands," no fear, no danger of being cuckolds ; or else I would have them observe that strict rule of ⁵ Alphonsus to marry a deaf and dumb man to a blind woman. If this will

¹ Rosinus, lib. 2, 19. Valerius, lib. 2, cap. 1.

² Alexander ab Alexandro, l. 4, cap. 8, gen. dier.

³ Fr. Ruens de gemmis, l. 2, cap. 8 et 15.

⁴ Strozius Cicogna, lib. 2, cap. 15, spirit. et incan.

habent ibidem uxores quot volunt cum oculis clarissimis, quos nunquam in aliquem præter maritum fixuræ sunt, &c., Bredenbachius, Idem et Bohemus, &c.

⁵ Uxor cæca ducat maritum surdum, &c.

not help, let them, to prevent the worst, consult with an ¹astrologer, and see whether the significators in her horoscope agree with his, that they be not *in signis et partibus odiosè intuentibus aut imperantibus, sed mutuo et amicè antisciiis et obedientibus*, otherwise (as they hold) there will be intolerable enmities between them; or else get him *sigillum veneris*, a characteristical seal stamped in the day and hour of Venus, when she is fortunate, with such and such set words and charms, which Villanovanus and Leo Suavius prescribe, *ex sigillis magicis Salomonis, Hermetis, Raguelis, &c.*, with many such, which Alexis Albertus, and some of our natural magicians put upon us: *ut mulier cum aliquo adulterare non possit, incide de capillis ejus, &c.*, and he shall surely be gracious in all women's eyes, and never suspect or disagree with his own wife so long as he wears it. If this course be not approved, and other remedies may not be had, they must in the last place sue for a divorce; but that is somewhat difficult to effect, and not all out so fit. For as Felisacus in his Tract *de justâ uxore* urgeth, if that law of Constantine the Great, or that of Theodosius and Valentinian, concerning divorce, were in use in our times, *innumeras propemodum viduas haberemus, et cœlibes viros*, we should have almost no married couples left. Try therefore those former remedies; or as Tertullian reports of Democritus, that put out his eyes, ²because he could not look upon a woman without lust, and was much troubled to see that which he might not enjoy; let him make himself blind, and so he shall avoid that care and molestation of watching his wife. One other sovereign remedy I could repeat, an especial antidote against jealousy, an excellent cure, but I am not now disposed to tell it, not that like a covetous empiric I conceal it for any gain, but some other reasons, I am not willing to publish it; if you be very desirous to know it, when I meet you next I will peradventure tell you what it is in your

¹ See Valent. Nabod. differ. com. in Apol. quod mulieres sine concupiscentiâ Alcabitium, ubi plura.

² Cap. 46, aspicere non posset, &c.

ear. This is the best counsel I can give; which he that hath need of, as occasion serves, may apply unto himself. In the mean time, — *dii talem terris avertite pestem*,¹ as the proverb is, from heresy, jealousy, and frenzy, good Lord deliver us.

SECT. IV. MEMB. I.

SUBJECT. I.—*Religious Melancholy. Its Object God; what his Beauty is; How it allures. The Parts and Parties affected.*

THAT there is such a distinct species of love-melancholy, no man hath ever yet doubted; but whether this subdivision of ² *Religious Melancholy* be warrantable, it may be controverted.

³ “Pergite Pierides, medio nec calle vagantem
Linquite me, qua nulla pedum vestigia ducunt,
Nulla rotæ currus testantur signa priores.”

I have no pattern to follow as in some of the rest, no man to imitate. No physician hath as yet distinctly written of it as of the other; all acknowledge it a most notable symptom, some a cause, but few a species or kind. ⁴ Areteus, Alexander, Rhasis, Avicenna, and most of our late writers, as Gordonius, Fuchsius, Plater, Bruel, Montaltus, &c., repeat it as a symptom. ⁵ Some seem to be inspired of the Holy Ghost, some take upon them to be prophets, some are addicted to new opinions, some foretell strange things, *de statu mundi et Antichristi*, saith Gordonius. Some will prophesy of the end of the world to a day almost, and the fall of the Antichrist, as they have been addicted or brought up; for so melancholy works with them, as ⁶ Lauren-

¹ “Ye gods avert such a pestilence from the world.” ² Called religious because it is still conversant about religion and such divine objects. ³ Grotius. “Proceed, ye muses, nor desert me in the middle of my journey, where no footsteps lead me, no wheel-tracks indi-

cate the transit of former chariots.”

⁴ Lib. 1, cap. 16, nonnulli opinionibus addicti sunt, et futura se prædicere arbitrantur. ⁵ Aliis videtur quod sunt prophetæ et inspirati a Spiritu sancto, et incipiunt prophetare, et multa futura prædicunt. ⁶ Cap. 6, de Melanch.

tius holds. If they have been precisely given, all their meditations tend that way, and in conclusion produce strange effects, the humour imprints symptoms according to their several inclinations and conditions, which makes ¹ Guianerius and ² Felix Plater put too much devotion, blind zeal, fear for eternal punishment, and that last judgment for a cause of those enthusiastic and desperate persons; but some do not obscurely make a distinct species of it, dividing love-melancholy into that whose object is women; and into the other whose object is God. Plato, in *Convivio*, makes mention of two distinct furies: and amongst our Neoterics, *Hercules de Saxoniâ, lib. 1, pract. med. cap. 16, cap. de Melanch.* doth expressly treat of it in a distinct species. ³ "Love-melancholy (saith he) is twofold; the first is that (to which peradventure some will not vouchsafe this name or species of melancholy) affection of those which put God for their object, and are altogether about prayer, fasting, &c., the other about women." Peter Forestus in his observations delivereth as much in the same words; and Felix Platerus, *de mentis alienat. cap. 3, frequentissima est ejus species, in quâ curandâ sapissimè multum fuit impeditus*; 'tis a frequent disease; and they have a ground of what they say, forth of Areteus and Plato. ⁴ Areteus, an old author, in his third book, *cap. 6*, doth so divide love-melancholy, and derives this second from the first, which comes by inspiration or otherwise. ⁵ Plato in his *Phædrus* hath these words, "Apollo's priests in Delphos, and at Dodona, in their fury do many pretty feats, and benefit the Greeks, but never in their right wits." He makes them all mad, as well he might; and he that shall but consider that superstition of old, those prodigious effects of it (as in its place I will show the several furies of our fatidici dii, pythonissas, sibyls, enthu-

¹ Cap. 5, Tractat. multi ob timorem Dei sunt melancholici, et timorem gehennæ. They are still troubled for their sins. ² Plater, c. 13. ³ Melancholia Erotica vel quæ cum amore est, duplex est: prima quæ ab aliis forsan non meretur nomen melancholiæ, est affectio eorum qui pro objecto proponunt Deum et ideo nihil aliud curant aut cogi-

tant quam Deum, jejunia, vigilias: altera ob mulieres. ⁴ Alia reperitur furoris species a primâ vel a secundâ, deorum rogantium, vel afflatu numinum furor hic venit. ⁵ Qui in Delphis futura prædicunt vates, et in Dodonâ sacerdotes furentes quidem multa jocunda Græcis deferunt, sani vero exigua aut nulla.

siasts, pseudo-prophets, heretics, and schismatics in these our latter ages) shall instantly confess, that all the world again cannot afford so much matter of madness, so many stupendous symptoms, as superstition, heresy, schism have brought out; that this species alone may be paralleled to all the former, has a greater latitude, and more miraculous effects; that it more besots and infatuates men, than any other above named whatsoever, does more harm, works more disquietness to mankind, and has more crucified the souls of mortal men (such hath been the devil's craft) than wars, plagues, sicknesses, dearth, famine, and all the rest.

Give me but a little leave, and I will set before your eyes in brief a stupendous, vast, infinite ocean of incredible madness and folly; a sea full of shelves and rocks, sands, gulfs, euripes and contrary tides, full of fearful monsters, uncouth shapes, roaring waves, tempests, and siren calms, halcyonian seas, unspeakable misery, such comedies and tragedies, such absurd and ridiculous, feral and lamentable fits, that I know not whether they are more to be pitied or derided, or may be believed, but that we daily see the same still practised in our days, fresh examples, *nova novitia*, fresh objects of misery and madness, in this kind that are still represented unto us, abroad, at home, in the midst of us, in our bosoms.

But before I can come to treat of these several errors and obliquities, their causes, symptoms, affections, &c., I must say something necessarily of the object of this love, God himself, what this love is, how it allureth, whence it proceeds, and (which is the cause of all our miseries) how we mistake, wander and swerve from it.

Amongst all those divine attributes that God doth vindicate to himself, eternity, omnipotency, immutability, wisdom, majesty, justice, mercy, &c., his ¹ beauty is not the least; one thing, saith David, have I desired of the Lord, and that I will still desire, to behold the beauty of the Lord, Psal. xxvii. 4. And out of Sion, which is the perfection of beauty, hath

¹ Deus bonus, justus, pulcher, juxta Platonem.

God shined, Psal. 1. 2. All other creatures are fair, I confess, and many other objects do much enamour us, a fair house, a fair horse, a comely person. ¹“I am amazed,” saith Austin, “when I look up to heaven and behold the beauty of the stars, the beauty of angels, principalities, powers, who can express it? who can sufficiently commend, or set out this beauty which appears in us; so fair a body, so fair a face, eyes, nose, cheeks, chin, brows, all fair and lovely to behold; besides the beauty of the soul which cannot be discerned. If we so labour and be so much affected with the comeliness of creatures, how shall we be ravished with that admirable lustre of God himself?” If ordinary beauty have such a prerogative and power, and what is amiable and fair, to draw the eyes and ears, hearts and affections of all spectators unto it, to move, win, entice, allure; how shall this divine form ravish our souls, which is the fountain and quintessence of all beauty? *Cælum pulchrum, sed pulchrior cæli fabricator*; if heaven be so fair, the sun so fair, how much fairer shall he be, that made them fair? “For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionally, the maker of them is seen.” Wisd. xiii. 5. If there be such pleasure in beholding a beautiful person alone, and, as a plausible sermon, he so much affects us, what shall this beauty of God himself, that is infinitely fairer than all creatures, men, angels, &c. ²*Omnis pulchritudo florum, hominum, angelorum, et rerum omnium pulcherrimarum ad Dei pulchritudinem collata, nox est et tenebræ*, all other beauties are night itself, mere darkness to this our inexplicable, incomprehensible, unspeakable, eternal, infinite, admirable, and divine beauty. This lustre, *pulchritudo omnium pulcherrima*. This beauty and ³“splendour of the divine majesty,” is it that draws all creatures to it, to seek it, love, admire, and adore it; and those heathens, pagans, philosophers, out of those relics they have yet left of God’s

¹ *Miror et stupeo cum cælum aspicio et pulchritudinem siderum, angelorum. &c., et quis digne laudet quod in nobis viget, corpus tam pulchrum, frontem pulchram, nares, genas, oculos, intellec-*

tum, omnia pulchra; si sic in creaturis laboramus, quid in ipso deo?

² *Drexelius Nicet. lib. 2, cap. 11.* ³ *Fulgor divinæ majestatis. Aug.*

image, are so far forth incensed, as not only to acknowledge a God; but, though after their own inventions, to stand in admiration of his bounty, goodness, to adore and seek him; the magnificence and structure of the world itself, and beauty of all his creatures, his goodness, providence, protection, enforceth them to love him, seek him, fear him, though a wrong way to adore him; but for us that are Christians, regenerate, that are his adopted sons, illuminated by his word, having the eyes of our hearts and understandings opened; how fairly doth he offer and expose himself? *Ambit nos Deus* (Austin saith) *donis et formâ suâ*, he woos us by his beauty, gifts, promises, to come unto him; ¹“the whole Scripture is a message, an exhortation, a love-letter to this purpose;” to incite us, and invite us, ²God’s epistle, as Gregory calls it, to his creatures. He sets out his son and his church in that epithalamium or mystical song of Solomon, to enamour us the more, comparing his head “to fine gold, his locks curled and black as a raven, Cant. iv. 5, his eyes like doves on rivers of waters, washed with milk, his lips as lilies, dropping down pure juice, his hands as rings of gold, set with chrysolite; and his church to a vineyard, a garden inclosed, a fountain of living waters, an orchard of pomegranates, with sweet scents of saffron, spike, calamus, and cinnamon, and all the trees of incense, as the chief spices, the fairest amongst women, no spot in her, ³his sister, his spouse, undefiled, the only daughter of her mother, dear unto her, fair as the moon, pure as the sun, looking out as the morning;” that by these figures, that glass, these spiritual eyes of contemplation, we might perceive some resemblance of his beauty, the love between his church and him. And so in the xlv. Psalm this beauty of his church is compared to a “queen in a vesture of gold of Ophir, embroidered raiment of needlework, that the king might take pleasure in her beauty.” To incense us further yet, ⁴John, in his apocalypse,

¹ In Psal. lxiv. misit ad nos Epistolas et quid est tota scriptura nisi Epistola omnipotentis Dei ad creaturam suam? totam scripturam, quibus nobis faceret amandi desiderium. ² Epist. 48, l. 4, ³ Cap. vi. 8. ⁴ Cap. xxi. 11.

makes a description of that heavenly Jerusalem, the beauty of it, and in it the maker of it; "Likening it to a city of pure gold, like unto clear glass, shining and garnished with all manner of precious stones, having no need of sun or moon: for the Lamb is the light of it, the glory of God doth illuminate it: to give us to understand the infinite glory, beauty, and happiness of it." Not that it is no fairer than these creatures to which it is compared, but that this vision of his, this lustre of his divine majesty, cannot otherwise be expressed to our apprehensions, "no tongue can tell, no heart can conceive it," as Paul saith. Moses himself, Exod. xxxiii. 18, when he desired to see God in his glory, was answered that he might not endure it, no man could see his face and live. *Sensibile forte destruit sensum*, a strong object overcometh the sight, according to that axiom in philosophy: *fulgorem solis ferre non potes, multo magis creatoris*; if thou canst not endure the sunbeams, how canst thou endure that fulgor and brightness of Him that made the sun? The sun itself and all that we can imagine, are but shadows of it, 'tis *visio præcellens*, as ¹ Austin calls it, the quintessence of beauty this, "which far exceeds the beauty of heavens, sun and moon, stars, angels, gold and silver, woods, fair fields, and whatsoever is pleasant to behold." All those other beauties fail, vary, are subject to corruption, to loathing; ² "But this is an immortal vision, a divine beauty, an immortal love, an indefatigable love and beauty, with sight of which we shall never be tired nor wearied, but still the more we see, the more we shall covet him." ³ "For as one saith, where this vision is, there is absolute beauty; and where is that beauty, from the same fountain comes all pleasure and happiness; neither can beauty, pleasure, happiness, be separated from his vision or sight; or his vision, from beauty, pleasure, hap-

¹ In Psal. lxxxv. omnes pulchritudines terrenas auri, argenti, nemorum et camporum pulchritudinem Solis et Lunæ, stellarum, omnia pulchra superans.

² Immortalis hæc visio, immortalis amor, indefessus amor et visio. ³ Osorius;

ubicunque visio et pulchritudo divini aspectûs, ibi voluptas ex eodem fonte omnisque beatitudo, nec ab ejus aspectu voluptas, nec ab illâ voluptate aspectus separari potest.

piness." In this life we have but a glimpse of this beauty and happiness: we shall hereafter, as John saith, see him as he is: thine eyes, as Isaiah promiseth, xxxiii. 17, "shall behold the king in his glory," then shall we be perfectly enamoured, have a full fruition of it, desire, ¹ behold and love him alone as the most amiable and fairest object, or *summum bonum*, or chiefest good.

This likewise should we now have done, had not our will been corrupted; and as we are enjoined to love God with all our heart, and all our soul: for to that end were we born, to love this object, as ² Melancthon discourseth, and to enjoy it. "And him our will would have loved and sought alone as our *summum bonum*, or principal good, and all other good things for God's sake; and nature, as she proceeded from it, would have sought this fountain; but in this infirmity of human nature this order is disturbed, our love is corrupt;" and a man is like that monster in ³ Plato, composed of a Scylla, a lion and a man; we are carried away headlong with the torrent of our affections; the world, and that infinite variety of pleasing objects in it, do so allure and enamour us, that we cannot so much as look towards God, seek him, or think on him as we should; we cannot, saith Austin, *republicam cœlestem cogitare*, we cannot contain ourselves from them, their sweetness is so pleasing to us. Marriage, saith ⁴ Gualter, detains many; "A thing in itself laudable, good and necessary, but many deceived and carried away with the blind love of it, have quite laid aside the love of God, and desire of his glory. Meat and drink hath overcome as many, whilst they rather strive to please, satisfy their guts and belly, than to serve God and nature." Some are so busied about merchandise to get money, they lose their own souls, whilst covetously carried, and with an insatiable desire of gain, they

¹ Leon Hebræus. Dubitatur an humana felicitas Deo cognoscendo an amando terminetur. ² Lib. de animâ. Ad hoc objectum amandum et fruendum nati sumus; et hunc expetisset, unicum hunc amasset humana voluntas, ut summum bonum, et cæteras res omnes eo

ordine. ³ 9, de Repub. ⁴ Hom. 9, in epist. Johannis, cap. 2. Multos conjugium decipit, res aliqui salutaris et necessaria, eo quod cæco ejus amore decepti, divini amoris et gloriæ studium in universum abjecerunt; plurimos cibis et potus perdit.

forget God; as much we may say of honour, leagues, friendships, health, wealth, and all other profits or pleasures in this life whatsoever. ¹“In this world there be so many beautiful objects, splendours and brightness of gold, majesty of glory, assistance of friends, fair promises, smooth words, victories, triumphs, and such an infinite company of pleasing beauties to allure us, and draw us from God, that we cannot look after him.” And this is it which Christ himself, those prophets and apostles so much thundered against, 1 John, xvii. 15, dehort us from; “love not the world, nor the things that are in the world: if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him, 16. For all that is in the world, as lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world: and the world passeth away and the lust thereof; but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth forever. “No man,” saith our Saviour, “can serve two masters, but he must love the one and hate the other,” &c., *bonos vel malos mores, boni vel mali faciunt amores*, Austin well infers; and this is that which all the fathers inculcate. He cannot (²Austin admonisheth) be God’s friend, that is delighted with the pleasures of the world; “make clean thine heart, purify thine heart; if thou wilt see this beauty, prepare thyself for it. It is the eye of contemplation by which we must behold it, the wing of meditation which lifts us up and rears our souls with the motion of our hearts, and sweetness of contemplation:” so saith Gregory cited by ³Bonaventure. And as ⁴Philo Judæus seconds him, “He that loves God will soar aloft and take him wings; and, leaving the earth, fly up to heaven, wander with sun and moon, stars, and that heavenly troop, God himself being his

¹ In mundo splendor opum, gloriæ majestas, amicitiarum præsidia, verborum blanditiæ, voluptatum omnis generis illecebræ, victoriæ, triumphus, et infinita alia ab amore dei nos abstrahunt, &c.
² In Psal. xxxii. Dei amicus esse non potest qui mundi studiis delectatur; ut hanc formam videas munda cor, serena cor, &c. ³ Contemplationis pluma nos

sublevat atque inde erigimur intentione cordis, dulcedine contemplationis, distinct. 6, de 7 Itineribus. ⁴ Lib. de victimis: amans Deum, sublimia petit, sumptis alis et in cælum rectè volat, relictâ terrâ, cupidus aberrandi cum sole, lunâ, stellarumque sacrâ militiâ, ipso Deo duce.

guide." If we desire to see him, we must lay aside all vain objects, which detain us and dazzle our eyes, and as ¹ Ficinus adviseth us, "get us solar eyes, spectacles as they that look on the sun; to see this divine beauty, lay aside all material objects, all sense, and then thou shalt see him as he is." Thou covetous wretch, as ² Austin expostulates, "why dost thou stand gaping on this dross, muckhills, filthy excrements? behold a far fairer object, God himself woos thee; behold him, enjoy him, he is sick for love." Cant. v. he invites thee to his sight, to come into his fair garden, to eat and drink with him, to be merry with him, to enjoy his presence forever. ³ Wisdom cries out in the streets, besides the gates, in the top of high places, before the city, at the entry of the door, and bids them give ear to her instruction, which is better than gold or precious stones; no pleasures can be compared to it; leave all then and follow her, *vos exhortor o amici et obsecro*. In ⁴ Ficinus's words, "I exhort and beseech you, that you would embrace and follow this divine love with all your hearts and abilities, by all offices and endeavours make this so loving God propitious unto you." For whom alone, saith ⁵ Plotinus, "we must forsake the kingdoms and empires of the whole earth, sea, land, and air, if we desire to be ingrafted into him, leave all and follow him."

Now, forasmuch as this love of God is a habit infused of God, as ⁶ Thomas holds, 1, 2, *quæst.* 23, "by which a man is inclined to love God above all, and his neighbour as himself," we must pray to God that he will open our eyes, make clear our hearts, that we may be capable of his glorious rays, and perform those duties that he requires of us, Deut. vi. and Josh. xxiii. "to love God above all, and our neighbour as ourself, to keep his commandments. In this we know, saith

¹ In com. Plat. cap. 7, ut Solem videas oculis, fieri debes solaris: ut divinam aspicias pulchritudinem, demitte materiam, demitte sensum, et Deum qualis sit videbis. ² Avare, quid inbias his, &c., pulchrior est qui te ambit ipsum visurus, ipsum habiturus. ³ Prov. viii. ⁴ Cap. 18, Rom. Amorem hunc divinum totis

viribus amplexamini; Deum vobis omni officiorum genere propitium facite.

⁵ Cap. 7, de pulchritudine, regna et imperia totius terræ et maris et cœli oportet abjicere si ad ipsum conversus velis inseri. ⁶ Habitus a Deo infusus, per quem inclinatur homo ad diligendum Deum super omnia.

1 John, c. v. 2, we love the children of God, when we love God and keep his commandments." "This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; he that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love, (*cap.* iv. 8,) and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him;" for love presupposeth knowledge, faith, hope, and unites us to God himself, as ¹Leon Hebræus delivereth unto us, and is accompanied with the fear of God, humility, meekness, patience, all those virtues, and charity itself. For if we love God, we shall love our neighbour, and perform the duties which are required at our hands, to which we are exhorted, 1 Cor. xv. 4, 5; Ephes. iv.; Coloss. iii.; Rom. xii. We shall not be envious or puffed up, or boast, disdain, think evil, or be provoked to anger, but suffer all things; endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Forbear one another, forgive one another, clothe the naked, visit the sick, and perform all those works of mercy, which ²Clemens Alexandrinus calls *amoris et amicitiae impletionem et extentionem*, the extent and complement of love; and that not for fear or worldly respects, but *ordine ad Deum*, for the love of God himself. This we shall do if we be truly enamoured; but we come short in both, we neither love God nor our neighbour as we should. Our love in spiritual things is too ³defective, in worldly things too excessive, there is a jar in both. We love the world too much; God too little; our neighbour not at all, or for our own ends. *Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.* "The chief thing we respect is our commodity;" and what we do is for fear of worldly punishment, for vainglory, praise of men, fashion, and such by-respects, not for God's sake. We neither know God aright, nor seek, love or worship him as we should. And for these defects, we involve ourselves into a multitude of errors, we swerve from this true love and worship of God; which is a cause unto us of unspeakable miseries; running into both extremes, we become fools, madmen, without sense, as now in the next place I will show you.

¹ Dial. 1, Omnia convertit amor in ipsius pulchri naturam.

² Stromatum, lib. 2.

³ Greenham.

The parties affected are innumerable almost, and scattered over the face of the earth, far and near, and so have been in all precedent ages, from the beginning of the world to these times, of all sorts and conditions. For method's sake I will reduce them to a twofold division, according to those two extremes of excess and defect, impiety and superstition, idolatry and atheism. Not that there is any excess of divine worship or love of God ; that cannot be, we cannot love God too much, or do our duty as we ought, as Papists hold, or have any perfection in this life, much less supererogate ; when we have all done, we are unprofitable servants. But because we do *aliud agere*, zealous without knowledge, and too solicitous about that which is not necessary, busying ourselves about impertinent, needless, idle, and vain ceremonies, *populo ut placerent*, as the Jews did about sacrifices, oblations, offerings, incense, new moons, feasts, &c., but Isaiah taxeth them, i. 12, "who required this at your hands?" We have too great opinion of our own worth, that we can satisfy the law ; and do more than is required at our hands, by performing those evangelical counsels, and such works of supererogation, merit for others, which Bellarmine, Gregory de Valentia, all their Jesuits and champions defend, that if God should deal in rigour with them, some of their Franciscans and Dominicans are so pure, that nothing could be objected to them. Some of us again are too dear, as we think, more divine and sanctified than others, of a better mettle, greater gifts, and with that proud Pharisee, condemn others in respect of ourselves, we are better Christians, better learned, choice spirits, inspired, know more, have special revelation, perceive God's secrets, and thereupon presume, say and do that many times which is not befitting to be said or done. Of this number are all superstitious idolaters, ethnics, Mahometans, Jews, heretics, ¹enthusiasts, diviners, prophets, sectaries, and schismatics. Zanchius reduceth such infidels to four chief sects ; but I will insist and follow mine own intended method ;

¹ De primo præcepto.

all which with many other curious persons, monks, hermits, &c., may be ranged in this extreme, and fight under the superstitious banner, with those rude idiots, and infinite swarms of people that are seduced by them. In the other extreme or in defect, march those impious epicures, libertines, atheists, hypocrites, infidels, worldly, secure, impenitent, unthankful, and carnal-minded men, that attribute all to natural causes, that will acknowledge no supreme power; that have cauterized consciences, or live in a reprobate sense; or such desperate persons as are too distrustful of his mercies. Of these there be many subdivisions, diverse degrees of madness and folly, some more than other, as shall be shown in the symptoms; and yet all miserably out, perplexed, doting, and beside themselves for religion's sake. For as ¹ Zanchy well distinguished and all the world knows, religion is twofold, true or false; false is that vain superstition of idolaters, such as were of old, Greeks, Romans, present Mahometans, &c. *Timorem deorum inanem*, ² Tully could term it; or as Zanchy defines it, *Ubi falsi dii, aut falso cultu colitur Deus*, when false gods, or that God is falsely worshipped. And 'tis a miserable plague, a torture of the soul, a mere madness, *Religiosa insania*, ³ Meteran calls it, or *insanus error*, as ⁴ Seneca, a frantic error; or as Austin, *Insanus animi morbus*, a furious disease of the soul; *insania omnium insanissima*, a quintessence of madness; ⁵ for he that is superstitious can never be quiet. 'Tis proper to man alone, *uni superbia, avaritia, superstitio*, saith Plin. *lib. 7, cap. 1, atque etiam post sævit de futuro*, which wrings his soul for the present, and to come; the greatest misery belongs to mankind, a perpetual servitude, a slavery, ⁶ *Ex timore timor*, a heavy yoke, the seal of damnation, an intolerable burden. They that are superstitious are still fearing, suspecting, vexing themselves with auguries, prodigies, false tales, dreams, idle, vain works, unprofitable labours, as ⁷ Boterus observes, *curâ mentis ancipite*

¹ De relig. l. 2, Thes. 1. ² 2, De nat. ⁵ Nam qui superstitione imbutus est, deorum. ³ Hist. Belgic. lib. 8. ⁴ Superstitio error insanus est, epist. 223. ⁶ Greg. quietus esse nunquam potest. ⁷ Polit. lib. 1, cap. 13.

versantur: enemies to God and to themselves. In a word, as Seneca concludes, *Religio Deum colit, superstitio destruit*, superstition destroys, but true religion honours God. True religion, *ubi verus Deus verè colitur*, where the true God is truly worshipped, is the way to heaven, the mother of virtues, love, fear, devotion, obedience, knowledge, &c. It rears the dejected soul of man, and amidst so many cares, miseries, persecutions, which this world affords, it is a sole ease, an unspeakable comfort, a sweet reposal, *Jugum suave, et leve*, a light yoke, an anchor, and a haven. It adds courage, boldness, and begets generous spirits; although tyrants rage, persecute, and that bloody Lictor, or sergeant be ready to martyr them, *aut lita, aut morere* (as in those persecutions of the primitive Church, it was put in practice, as you may read in Eusebius and others), though enemies be now ready to invade, and all in an uproar, ¹ *Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidos ferient ruinæ*, though heaven should fall on his head, he would not be dismayed. But as a good Christian prince once made answer to a menacing Turk, *facile scelerata hominum arma contemnit, qui Dei præsidio tutus est*; or as ² Phalaris writ to Alexander in a wrong cause, he nor any other enemy could terrify him, for that he trusted in God. *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* In all calamities, persecutions whatsoever, as David did, 2 Sam. ii. 22, he will sing with him, “the Lord is my rock, my fortress, my strength, my refuge, the tower and horn of my salvation,” &c. In all troubles and adversities, Psal. xlv. 1, “God is my hope and help, still ready to be found, I will not therefore fear,” &c., ’tis a fear expelling fear; he hath peace of conscience, and is full of hope, which is (saith ³ Austin) *vita vitæ mortalis*, the life of this our mortal life, hope of immortality, the sole comfort of our misery; otherwise, as Paul saith, we of all others were most wretched, but this makes us happy, counterpoising our hearts in all miseries; superstition torments, and is from the devil, the author of lies; but this is

¹ Hor.² Epist. Phalar.³ In Psal. iii.

from God himself, as Lucian, that Antiochian priest, made his divine confession in ¹ Eusebius, *Auctor nobis de Deo Deus est*, God is the author of our religion himself, his word is our rule, a lantern to us, dictated by the Holy Ghost, he plays upon our hearts as so many harpstrings, and we are his temples, he dwelleth in us, and we in him.

The part affected of superstition, is the brain, heart, will, understanding, soul itself, and all the faculties of it, *totum compositum*, all is mad and dotes; now for the extent, as I say, the world itself is the subject of it (to omit that grand sin of atheism), all times have been misaffected, past, present, “there is not one that doth good, no not one, from the prophet to the priest,” &c. A lamentable thing it is to consider, how many myriads of men this idolatry and superstition (for that comprehends all) hath infatuated in all ages, besotted by this blind zeal, which is religion’s ape, religion’s bastard, religion’s shadow, false glass. For where God hath a temple, the devil will have a chapel; where God hath sacrifices, the devil will have his oblations; where God hath ceremonies, the devil will have his traditions; where there is any religion, the devil will plant superstition; and ’tis a pitiful sight to behold and read, what tortures, miseries, it hath procured, what slaughter of souls it hath made, how it rageth amongst those old Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Tuscans, Gauls, Germans, Britons, &c. *Britannia jam hodie celebrat tam attonitè*, saith ² Pliny, *tantis ceremoniis* (speaking of superstition) *ut dedisse Persis videri possit*. The Britons are so stupendly superstitious in their ceremonies, that they go beyond those Persians. He that shall but read in Pausanias alone, those gods, temples, altars, idols, statues, so curiously made with such infinite cost and charge, amongst those old Greeks, such multitudes of them and frequent varieties, as ³ Gerbelius truly observes, may stand amazed, and never enough wonder at it; and thank God

¹ Lib. 9, cap. 6. ² Lib. 8. ³ Lib. 6, tunc temporis in miserrimos mortales descript. Græc. nulla est via quæ non potentia et crudelis Tyrannidis Satan innumeris idolis est referta. Tantum exercuit.

withal, that by the light of the Gospel, we are so happily freed from that slavish idolatry in these our days. But heretofore, almost in all countries, in all places, superstition hath blinded the hearts of men; in all ages what a small portion hath the true church ever been! *Divisum imperium cum Jove Dæmon habet.*¹ The patriarchs and their families, the Israelites a handful in respect, Christ and his apostles, and not all of them, neither. Into what straits hath it been comping, a little flock! how hath superstition on the other side dilated herself, error, ignorance, barbarism, folly, madness, deceived, triumphed, and insulted over the most wise, discreet, and understanding men, philosophers, dynasts, monarchs, all were involved and overshadowed in this mist, in more than Cimmerian darkness. ² *Adeo ignara superstitio mentes hominum depravat, et nonnunquam sapientum animos transversos agit.* At this present, *quota pars!* How small a part is truly religious! How little in respect! Divide the world into six parts, and one, or not so much, is Christians; idolaters and Mahometans possess almost Asia, Africa, America, Magellanica. The kings of China, great Cham, Siam, and Borneo, Pegu, Deccan, Narsinga, Japan, &c., are gentiles, idolaters, and many other petty princes in Asia, Monomotopa, Congo, and I know not how many negro princes in Africa, all Terra Australis incognita, most of America, pagans, differing in all their several superstitions; and yet all idolaters. The Mahometans extend themselves over the great Turk's dominions in Europe, Africa, Asia, to the Xeriffes in Barbary, and his territories in Fez, Sus, Morocco, &c. The Tartar, the great Mogor, the Sophi of Persia, with most of their dominions and subjects, are at this day Mahometans. See how the devil rageth; those at odds, or differing among themselves, some for ³ Ali, some Enbocar, for Acmor, and Ozimen, those four doctors, Mahomet's successors, and are subdivided into seventy-two inferior sects, as ⁴ Leo Afer

¹ "The devil divides the empire with 26. ³ Purchas, Pilgrim. lib. 1, c. 8. Jupiter." ² Alex. ab Alex. lib. 6, cap. ⁴ Lib. 3.

reports. The Jews, as a company of vagabonds, are scattered over all parts; whose story, present estate, progress from time to time, is fully set down by ¹Mr. Thomas Jackson, Doctor of Divinity, in his comment on the creed. A fifth part of the world, and hardly that, now professeth CHRIST, but so inlarded and interlaced with several superstitions, that there is scarce a sound part to be found, or any agreement amongst them. Presbyter John, in Africa, lord of those Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, is by his profession a Christian, but so different from us, with such new absurdities and ceremonies, such liberty, such a mixture of idolatry and paganism, ²that they keep little more than a bare title of Christianity. They suffer polygamy, circumcision, stupend fastings, divorce as they will themselves, &c., and as the papists call on the Virgin Mary, so do they on Thomas Didymus before Christ. ³The Greek or Eastern Church is rent from this of the West, and as they have four chief patriarchs, so have they four subdivisions, besides those Nestorians, Jacobins, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, &c., scattered over Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, &c., Greece, Wallachia, Circassia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Albania, Illyricum, Sclavonia, Croatia, Thrace, Servia, Rascia, and a sprinkling amongst the Tartars, the Russians, Muscovites, and most of that great duke's (czar's) subjects, are part of the Greek Church, and still Christians; but as ⁴one saith, *temporis successu multas illi addiderunt superstitiones*. In process of time they have added so many superstitions, they be rather semi-Christians than otherwise. That which remains is the Western Church with us in Europe, but so eclipsed with several schisms, heresies and superstitions, that one knows not where to find it. The papists have Italy, Spain, Savoy, part of Germany, France, Poland, and a sprinkling in the rest of Europe. In America, they hold all that which Spaniards inhabit, His-

¹ 2 part. sect. 3, lib. 1, cap. et deinceps.
² Titelmannus. Maginus. Bredenbachius. Fr. Aluaresius, Itin. de Abyssinis. Herbis solum vescuntur votarii, aquis

mento tenuis dormiunt, &c. ³ Bredenbachius, Jod. à Meggen. ⁴ See Possevinus, Herberstein, Magin. D. Fletcher, Jovius, Hacluit, Purchas, &c., of their errors.

pania Nova, Castella Aurea, Peru, &c. In the East Indies, the Philippinæ, some small holds about Goa, Malacca, Zelan, Ormus, &c., which the Portuguese got not long since, and those land-leaping Jesuits have essayed in China, Japan, as appears by their yearly letters; in Africa they have Melinda, Quiloa, Mombaze, &c., and some few towns, they drive out one superstition with another. Poland is a receptacle of all religions, where Samosetans, Socinians, Photinians (now protected in Transylvania and Poland), Arians, Anabaptists are to be found, as well as in some German cities. Scandia is Christian, but ¹ Damianus A-Goes, the Portugal knight, complains, so mixed with magic, pagan rites, and ceremonies, they may be as well counted idolaters; what Tacitus formerly said of a like nation, is verified in them, ²“A people subject to superstition, contrary to religion.” And some of them as about Lapland and the Pilapians, the devil’s possession, to this day, *Misera hæc gens* (saith mine ³ author) *Satanæ hactenus possessio—et quod maxime mirandum et dolendum*, and which is to be admired and pitied; if any of them be baptized, which the kings of Sweden much labour, they die within seven or nine days after, and for that cause they will hardly be brought to Christianity, but worship still the devil, who daily appears to them. In their idolatrous courses, *Gaudentibus diis patriis quos religiose colunt*, &c. Yet are they very superstitious, like our wild Irish; though they of the better note, the kings of Denmark and Sweden themselves, that govern them, be Lutherans; the remnant are Calvinists, Lutherans, in Germany equally mixed. And yet the emperor himself, dukes of Lorraine, Bavaria, and the princes electors, are most part professed papists. And though some parts of France and Ireland, Great Britain, half the cantons in Switzerland, and the Low Countries, be Calvinists, more defecate than the rest, yet at odds amongst themselves, not free from superstition. And which ⁴ Brochard, the monk, in

¹ Deplorat. Gentis Lapp. ² Gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa.
³ Boissardus, de Magiâ. Intra septimum

aut nonum a baptismo diem moriuntur. Hinc fit, &c. ⁴ Cap. de Incolis terræ sanctæ.

his description of the Holy Land, after he had censured the Greek Church, and showed their errors, concluded at last, *Faxit Deus ne Latinis multæ irrepserint stultitiæ*, I say God grant there be no fopperies in our church. As a dam of water stopped in one place breaks out into another, so doth superstition. I say nothing of Anabaptists, Socinians, Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, &c. There is superstition in our prayers, often in our hearing of sermons, bitter contentions, invectives, persecutions, strange conceits, besides diversity of opinions, schisms, factions, &c. But as the Lord (*Job cap. xlii. v. 7.*) said to Eliphaz, the Temanite, and his two friends, “his wrath was kindled against them, for they had not spoken of him things that were right:” we may justly of these schismatics and heretics, how wise soever in their own conceits, *non recte loquuntur de Deo*, they speak not, they think not, they write not well of God, and as they ought. And therefore, *Quid quæso, mi Dorpi*, as Erasmus concludes to Dorpius, *hisce Theologis faciamus, aut quid preceris, nisi forte fidelem medicum, qui cerebro medeatur?* What shall we wish them but *sanam mentem*, and a good physician? But more of their differences, paradoxes, opinions, mad pranks, in the symptoms: I now hasten to the causes.

SUBJECT. II.—*Causes of Religious Melancholy. From the Devil by Miracles, Apparitions, Oracles. His Instruments or Factors, Politicians, Priests, Impostors, Heretics, blind Guides. In them Simplicity, Fear, blind Zeal, Ignorance, Solitariness, Curiosity, Pride, Vainglory, Presumption, &c., his Engines, Fasting, Solitariness, Hope, Fear, &c.*

WE are taught in Holy Scripture, that the “devil rangeth abroad like a roaring lion, still seeking whom he may devour:” and as in several shapes, so by several engines and devices he goeth about to seduce us; sometimes he transforms himself into an angel of light; and is so cunning that he is able, if it were possible, to deceive the very elect. He will

be worshipped, as ¹God himself, and is so adored by the heathen, and esteemed. And in imitation of that divine power, as ²Eusebius observes, ³to abuse or emulate God's glory, as Dandinus adds, he will have all homage, sacrifices, oblations, and whatsoever else belongs to the worship of God, to be done likewise unto him, *similis erit altissimo*, and by this means infatuates the world, deludes, entraps, and destroys many a thousand souls. Sometimes by dreams, visions (as God to Moses by familiar conference), the devil in several shapes talks with them; in the ⁴Indies it is common, and in China nothing so familiar as apparitions, inspirations, oracles, by terrifying them with false prodigies, counterfeit miracles, sending storms, tempests, diseases, plagues (as of old in Athens there was Apollo Alexicacus, Apollo *λοιμωος*, *pestifer et malorum depulsor*), raising wars, seditions by spectrums, troubling their consciences, driving them to despair, terrors of mind, intolerable pains; by promises, rewards, benefits, and fair means, he raiseth such an opinion of his deity and greatness, that they dare not do otherwise than adore him, do as he will have them, they dare not offend him. And to compel them more to stand in awe of him, ⁵"he sends and cures diseases, disquiets their spirits (as Cyprian saith), torments and terrifies their souls, to make them adore him; and all his study, all his endeavour, is to divert them from true religion to superstition; and because he is damned himself, and in an error, he would have all the world participate of his errors, and be damned with him. The *primum mobile*, therefore, and first mover of all superstition, is the devil, that great enemy of mankind, the principal agent, who in a thou-

¹ Plato in Crit. Dæmones custodes sunt hominum et eorum domini, ut nos animalium; nec hominibus, sed et regionibus imperant, vaticiniis, auguriis, nos regunt. Idem fere Max. Tyrius, ser. 1 et 26, 27, medios vult dæmones inter Deos et homines deorum ministros, præsidēs hominum, a cœlo ad homines descendentes.

² De præparat. Evangel.

³ Vel in abusum Dei vel in emulationem. Dandinus, com. in lib. 2, Arist. de An. Text. 29.

⁴ Dæmones consulunt, et

familiares habent dæmones plerique sacerdotes. Riccius, lib. 1, cap. 10, Expedit. Sinar.

⁵ Vitam turbant, somnos inquietant, irrepentes etiam in corpora mentes terrent, valetudinem frangunt, morbos lacessunt, ut ad cultum sui cogant, nec aliud his studium, quam ut a verâ religione, ad superstitionem vertant; cum sint ipsi pœnales, quærunt sibi ad pœnas comites, ut habeant erroris participes.

sand several shapes, after diverse fashions, with several engines, illusions, and by several names hath deceived the inhabitants of the earth, in several places and countries, still rejoicing at their falls. "All the world over before Christ's time, he freely domineered, and held the souls of men in most slavish subjection (saith ¹Eusebius) in diverse forms, ceremonies, and sacrifices, till Christ's coming," as if those devils of the air had shared the earth amongst them, which the Platonists held for gods (²*Ludus deorum sumus*), and were our governors and keepers. In several places, they had several rites, orders, names, of which read Wierus, *de præstigiis dæmonum*, lib. 1, cap. 5, ³Strozius Cicogna, and others; Adonided amongst the Syrians; Adramalech amongst the Capernaïtes, Asiniæ amongst the Emathites; Astartes with the Sidonians; Astaroth with the Palestines; Dagon with the Philistines; Tartary with the Hanæi; Melchonis amongst the Ammonites; Beli the Babylonians; Beelzebub and Baal with the Samaritans and Moabites; Apsis, Isis, and Osiris amongst the Egyptians; Apollo Pythius at Delphos, Colophon, Ancyra, Cuma, Erythra; Jupiter in Crete, Venus at Cyprus, Juno at Carthage, Æsculapius at Epidaurus, Diana at Ephesus, Pallas at Athens, &c. And even in these our days, both in the East and West Indies, in Tartary, China, Japan, &c., what strange idols, in what prodigious forms, with what absurd ceremonies are they adored? What strange sacraments, like ours of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, what goodly temples, priests, sacrifices they had in America, when the Spaniards first landed there, let Acosta the Jesuit relate, lib. 5, cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., and how the devil imitated the Ark and the children of Israel's coming out of Egypt; with many such. For as Lipsius well discourseth out of the doctrine of the Stoics, *maximè cupiunt adora-*

¹ Lib. 4, præparat. Evangel. c. Tantamque victoriam amentiam hominum consequuti sunt, ut si colligere in unum velis, universum orbem istis scelestibus spiritibus subjectum fuisse invenies; Usque ad Salvatoris adventum hominum cæde per-

niciosissimos dæmones placabant, &c.

² Plato. ³ Strozius Cicogna, omnif. mag. lib. 3, cap. 7. Ezek. viii. 10; Reg. xi. 4; Reg. 3 et 17, 4. Jer. xlix.; Num. xi. 3; Reg. xiii.

tionem hominum, now and of old, they still and most especially desire to be adored by men. See but what Vertomanus, *l. 5, c. 2*, Marcus Polus, Lerijs, Benzo, P. Martyr in his Ocean Decades, Acosta, and Mat. Riccius, *Expedit. Christ. in Sinas, lib. 1*, relate. ¹ Eusebius wonders how that wise city of Athens, and flourishing kingdoms of Greece, should be so besotted; and we in our times, how those witty Chinese, so perspicacious in all other things should be so gulled, so tortured with superstition, so blind as to worship stocks and stones. But it is no marvel, when we see all out as great effects amongst Christians themselves; how are those Anabaptists, Arians, and Papists above the rest, miserably infatuated! Mars, Jupiter, Apollo, and Æsculapius, have resigned their interest, names, and offices to St. George,

² “(Maxime bellorum rector, quem nostra juvenus
Pro Mavorte colit.)”

St. Christopher, and a company of fictitious saints, Venus to the Lady of Loretto. And as those old Romans had several distinct gods, for diverse offices, persons, places, so have they saints, as ³ Lavater well observes out of Lactantius, *mutato nomine tantum*, 'tis the same spirit or devil that deludes them still. The manner how, as I say, is by rewards, promises, terrors, affrights, punishments. In a word, fair and foul means, hope and fear. “How often hath Jupiter, Apollo, Bacchus, and the rest, sent plagues in ⁴ Greece and Italy, because their sacrifices were neglected?”

⁵ “Dii multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosæ.”

to terrify them, to arouse them up, and the like; see but Livy, Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Thucydides, Pausanias, Philostratus, * Polybius, before the battle of Cannæ, *prodigiis*,

¹ Lib. 4, cap. 8, de præpar. Evangel. 1, cap. 1, et lib. 2, cap. 9. ⁴ Polyd. Virg.
² Bapt. Mant. 4, Fast. de Sancto Georgio. lib. 1, de prodig. ⁵ Hor. l. 3, od. 6.
“O great master of war, whom our youths
* Lib. 3, hist.
worship as if he were Mars' self” ³ Part.

signis, ostentis, templa cuncta, privatae etiam aedes scatebant. Æneus reigned in Ætolia, and because he did not sacrifice to Diana with his other gods (see more in Libanius his Diana), she sent a wild boar, *insolitæ magnitudinis, qui terras et homines miserè depascebatur*, to spoil both men and country, which was afterwards killed by Meleager. So Plutarch in the Life of Lucullus relates, how Mithridates, king of Pontus, at the siege of Cyzicum, with all his navy, was overthrown by Proserpina, for neglecting of her holyday. She appeared in a vision to Aristagoras in the night. *Cras inquit tybicinem Libycum cum tybicine Pontico committam* ("to-morrow I will cause a contest between a Libyan and a Pontic minstrel"), and the day following this enigma was understood; for with a great south wind which came from Lybia, she quite overwhelmed Mithridates's army. What prodigies and miracles, dreams, visions, predictions, apparitions, oracles, have been of old at Delphos, Dodona, Trophonius Den, at Thebes, and Lebaudia, of Jupiter Ammon in Egypt, Amphiaras in Attica, &c.; what strange cures performed by Apollo and Æsculapius? Juno's image and that of ¹ Fortune spake, ² Castor and Pollux fought in person for the Romans against Hannibal's army, as Pallas, Mars, Juno, Venus, for Greeks and Trojans, &c. Amongst our pseudo-catholics nothing so familiar as such miracles; how many cures done by our Lady of Loretto at Sicheim! of old at our St. Thomas's shrine, &c. ³ St. Sabine was seen to fight for Arnulphus, duke of Spoleto. ⁴ St. George fought in person for John the Bastard of Portugal, against the Castilians; St. James for the Spaniards in America. In the battle of Bannockburn, where Edward the Second, our English king, was foiled by the Scots, St. Philanus's arm was seen to fight (if ⁵ Hector Boethius doth not impose), that was before shut up in a silver capcase; another time, in the same author, St. Magnus fought for

¹ Gratâ lege me dicastis mulieres, Dion Halicarn. ² Tully, de nat. deorum, lib. 2, Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit.

³ Jo. Molanus, lib. 3, cap. 59. ⁴ Pet. Oliver. de Johanne primo Portu-

galliae Rege strenue pugnans, et diversæ partis ictus clypeo excipiens. ⁵ L. 14, Loculos sponte aperuisse et pro iis pug-nasse.

them. Now for visions, revelations, miracles, not only out of the legend, out of purgatory, but every day comes news from the Indies, and at home read the Jesuits' Letters, Ribadeneira, Thurselinus, Acosta, Lippomanus, Xaverius, Ignatius's Lives, &c., and tell me what difference?

His ordinary instruments or factors which he useth, as God himself did good kings, lawful magistrates, patriarchs, prophets, to the establishing of his church, ¹are politicians, statesmen, priests, heretics, blind guides, impostors, pseudo-prophets, to propagate his superstition. And first to begin of politicians, it hath ever been a principal axiom with them to maintain religion or superstition, which they determine of, alter and vary upon all occasions, as to them seems best, they make religion mere policy, a cloak, a human invention, *nihil æquè valet ad regendos vulgi animos ac superstitio*, as ²Tacitus and ³Tully hold. Austin, *l. 4, de civitat. Dei, c. 9*, censures Scævola saying and acknowledging *expedire civitates religione falli*, that it was a fit thing cities should be deceived by religion, according to the proverb, *Si mundus vult decipi, decipitur*, if the world will be gulled, let it be gulled, 'tis good howsoever to keep it in subjection. 'Tis that ⁴Aristotle and ⁵Plato inculcate in their politics, "Religion neglected, brings plagues to the city, opens a gap to all naughtiness." 'Tis that which all our late politicians ingeminate. Cromerus, *l. 2, pol. hist.* Boterus, *l. 3, de incrementis urbium.* Clapmarius, *l. 2, cap. 9, de Arcanis rerumpub.* Arnisæus, *cap. 4, lib. 2, polit.* Captain Machiavel will have a prince by all means to counterfeit religion, to be superstitious in show at least, to seem to be devout, frequent holy exercises, honour divines, love the church, affect priests, as Numa, Lycurgus, and such law-makers were and did, *non ut his fidem habeant, sed ut subditos religionis metu facilius in officio contineant*, to keep people in obedience. ⁶*Nam naturaliter* (as Cardan writes), *lex*

¹ Religion, as they hold, is policy, invented alone to keep men in awe. ² *l. 1, Annal.* ³ *Omnes religione moventur. 5, in Verrem.* ⁴ Zeleuchus, præfat. legis, qui urbem aut regionem inhabitant,

persuados esse oportet esse Deos. ⁵ *l. 10, de legibus.* Religio neglecta maximam pestem in civitatem infert, omnium scelerum fenestram aperit. ⁶ Cardanus, Com. in Ptolemeum quadripart.

Christiana lex est pietatis, justitiæ, fidei, simplicitatis, &c. But this error of his, Innocentius Jentilettus, a French lawyer, theorem. 9, comment. 1, *de Relig.* and Thomas Bozius, in his book *de ruinis gentium et Regnorum*, have copiously confuted. Many politicians, I dare not deny, maintain religion as a true means, and sincerely speak of it without hypocrisy, are truly zealous and religious themselves. Justice and religion are the two chief props and supporters of a well-governed commonwealth; but most of them are but Machiavelians, counterfeits only for political ends; for *solus rex* (which Campanella, cap. 18, *atheismi triumphati*, observes), as amongst our modern Turks, *reipub. Finis*, as knowing ¹ *magnum ejus in animos imperium*; and that, as ² Sabellicus delivers, “A man without religion, is like a horse without a bridle.” No way better to curb than superstition, to terrify men’s consciences, and to keep them in awe; they make new laws, statutes, invent new religions, ceremonies, as so many stalking horses, to their ends. ³ *Hæc enim (religio) si falsa sit, dummodo vera credatur, animorum ferociam domat, libidines coeracet, subditos principi obsequentes efficit.*⁴ Therefore (saith ⁵ Polybius of Lycurgus), “did he maintain ceremonies, not that he was superstitious himself, but that he perceived mortal men more apt to embrace paradoxes than aught else, and durst attempt no evil things for fear of the gods.” This was Zamolcus’s stratagem amongst the Thracians, Numa’s plot, when he said he had conference with the nymph Ægeria, and that of Sertorius with a hart; to get more credit to their decrees, by deriving them from the gods; or else they did all by divine instinct, which Nicholas Damascen well observes of Lycurgus, Solon, and Minos, they had their laws dictated, *monte sacro*, by Jupiter himself. So Mahomet referred his new laws to the ⁶ Angel Gabriel, by whose direction he gave

¹ Lipsius, l. 1, c. 8. ² Homo sine religione, sicut equus sine fræno. ³ Vatinus, dial. 52, de oraculis. ⁴ “If a religion be false, only let it be supposed to be true, and it will tame mental ferocity, restrain lusts, and make loyal subjects.” ⁵ Lib. 10, Ideo Lycurgus, &c.,

non quod ipse superstitiosus, sed quod videret mortales paradoxa facilius amplecti, nec res graves audere sine periculo deorum. ⁶ Cleonardus, epist. 1. Novas leges suas ad Angelum Gabrielem referebat, quò monitore mentiebatur omnia se gerere.

out they were made. Caligula in Dion feigned himself to be familiar with Castor and Pollux, and many such, which kept those Romans under (who, as Machiavel proves, *lib.* 1, *disput. cap.* 11 et 12, were *Religione maxime moti*, most superstitious); and did curb the people more by this means than by force of arms, or severity of human laws. *Sola plebecula eam agnoscebat*, (saith Vaninus, *dial.* 1, *lib.* 4, *de admirandis naturæ arcanis*,) speaking of religion, *quæ facile decipitur, magnates vero et philosophi nequaquam*, your grandees and philosophers had no such conceit, *sed ad imperii confirmationem et amplificationem quam sine prætextu religionis tueri non poterant*; and many thousands in all ages have ever held as much, philosophers especially, *animadvertēbant hi semper hæc esse fabellas, attamen ob metum publicæ potestatis silere cogebantur*, they were still silent for fear of laws, &c. To this end that Syrian Phrysesides, Pythagoras his master, broached in the East amongst the heathens, first the immortality of the soul, as Trismegistus did in Egypt, with a many of feigned gods. Those French and Briton Druids in the West first taught, saith ¹ Cæsar, *non interire animas* (that souls did not die), “but after death to go from one to another, that so they might encourage them to virtue.” ’Twas for a politic end, and to this purpose the old ² poets feigned those Elysian fields, their Æacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthus, their infernal judges, and those Stygian lakes, fiery Phlegethons, Pluto’s kingdom, and variety of torments after death. Those that had done well, went to the Elysian fields, but evil-doers to Cocytus, and to that burning lake of ³ hell with fire and brimstone forever to be tormented. ’Tis this which ⁴ Plato labours for in his Phædon, et 9, *de rep.* The Turks in their Alcoran, when they set down rewards, and several punishments for every particular virtue and vice, ⁵ when they per-

¹ Lib. 16, belli Gallici. Ut metu mortis neglecto, ad virtutem incitarent.
² De his lege Lucianum de luctu, tom. 1, Homer. Odyss. 11, Virg. Æn. 6.
³ Barathro sulfure et flammâ stagnante æter-

num demergebantur. ⁴ Et 3, de repub. omnis institutio adolescentum eo referenda ut de deo bene sentiant ob commune bonum. ⁵ Boterus.

suade men, that they that die in battle shall go directly to heaven, but wicked livers to eternal torment, and all of all sorts (much like our papistical purgatory), for a set time shall be tortured in their graves, as appears by that tract which John Baptista Alfaqui, that Mauritanian priest, now turned Christian, hath written in his confutation of the Alcoran. After a man's death two black angels, Nunquir and Nequir (so they call them) come to him to his grave and punish him for his precedent sins; if he lived well, they torture him the less; if ill, *per indesinentes cruciatus ad diem judicii*, they incessantly punish him to the day of judgment. *Nemo viventium qui ad horum mentionem non totus horret et contremiscit*, the thought of this crucifies them all their lives long, and makes them spend their days in fasting and prayer, *ne mala hæc contingant*, &c. A Tartar prince, saith Marcus Polus, *lib. 1, cap. 28*, called Senex de Montibus, the better to establish his government amongst his subjects, and to keep them in awe, found a convenient place in a pleasant valley, environed with hills, in * “which he made a delicious park full of odoriferous flowers and fruits, and a palace of all worldly contents,” that could possibly be devised, music, pictures, variety of meats, &c., and chose out a certain young man, whom with a ¹ soporiferous potion he so benumbed, that he perceived nothing; “and so fast asleep as he was, caused him to be conveyed into this fair garden;” where after he had lived awhile in all such pleasures a sensual man could desire, ² “He cast him into a sleep again, and brought him forth, that when he awaked he might tell others he had been in Paradise.” The like he did for hell, and by this means brought his people to subjection. Because heaven and hell are mentioned in the scriptures, and to be believed necessary by Christians; so cunningly can the devil and his ministers, in imitation of true religion, counterfeit and forge the like, to

* Citra aquam, viridarium plantavit maximum et pulcherrimum, floribus odoriferis et suavis plenum, &c.
¹ Potum quandam dedit quo inescatus, et gravi sopore oppressus, in viridarium

interim ducebatur, &c. ² Atque iterum memoratum potum bibendum exhibuit, et sic extra Paradisum reduxit ut cum evigilaret, sopore soluto, &c.

circumvent and delude his superstitious followers. Many such tricks and impostures are acted by politicians, in China especially, but with what effect I will discourse in the symptoms.

Next to politicians, if I may distinguish them, are some of our priests (who make religion policy), if not far beyond them, for they domineer over princes and statesmen themselves. *Carnificinam exercent*, one saith they tyrannize over men's consciences more than any other tormentors whatsoever, partly for their commodity and gain; *Religionum enim omnium abusus* (as ¹ Postellus holds), *quæstus scilicet sacrificum in causâ est*; for sovereignty, credit, to maintain their state and reputation, out of ambition and avarice, which are their chief supporters: what have they not made the common people believe? Impossibilities in nature, incredible things; what devices, traditions, ceremonies, have they not invented in all ages to keep men in obedience, to enrich themselves? *Quibus quæstui sunt capti superstitione animi*, as ² Livy saith. Those Egyptian priests of old got all the sovereignty into their hands, and knowing, as ³ Curtius insinuates, *nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit quam superstitio*; *melius vatibus quam ducibus parent, vanâ religione capti, etiam impotentes fœminæ*; the common people will sooner obey priests than captains, and nothing so forcible as superstition, or better than blind zeal to rule a multitude; have so terrified and gulled them, that it is incredible to relate. All nations almost have been besotted in this kind; amongst our Britons and old Gauls the Druids; Magi in Persia; Philosophers in Greece; Chaldeans amongst the Oriental; Brachmanni in India; Gymnosophists in Ethiopia; the Turditanes in Spain; Augurs in Rome, have insulted; Apollo's priests in Greece, Phæbades and Pythonissæ, by their oracles and phantasms; Amphiaraus and his companions; now Mahometan and pagan priests, what can they not effect? How do they not infatuate the world? *Adeo ubique* (as ⁴ Scaliger writes of the Mahom-

¹ Lib. 1, de orb. Concord. cap. 7.² Lib. 4.³ Lib. 4.⁴ Exerc. 228.

etan priests), *tum gentium tum locorum, gens ista sacrorum ministra vulgi secut spes ad ea quæ ipsi fingunt somnia*, “so cunningly can they gull the commons in all places and countries.” But above all others that high priest of Rome, the dam of that monstrous and superstitious brood, the bull-bellowing pope, which now rageth in the West, that three-headed Cerberus hath played his part. ¹ “Whose religion at this day is mere policy, a state wholly composed of superstition and wit, and needs nothing but wit and superstition to maintain it, that useth colleges and religious houses to as good purpose as forts and castles, and doth more at this day” by a company of scribbling parasites, fiery-spirited friars, zealous anchorites, hypocritical confessors, and those pretorian soldiers, his Janissary Jesuits, and that dissociable society, as ² Langius terms it, *postremus diaboli conatus et sæculi excrementum*, that now stand in the fore front of the battle, will have a monopoly of, and engross all other learning, but domineer in divinity, ³ *Excipiunt soli totius vulnera belli*, and fight alone almost (for the rest are but his dromedaries and asses), than ever he could have done by garrisons and armies. What power of prince or penal law, be it never so strict, could enforce men to do that which for conscience’ sake they will voluntarily undergo? As to fast from all flesh, abstain from marriage, rise to their prayers at midnight, whip themselves, with stupendous fasting and penance, abandon the world, wilful poverty, perform canonical and blind obedience, to prostrate their goods, fortunes, bodies, lives, and offer up themselves at their superiors’ feet, at his command? What so powerful an engine as superstition? which they right well perceiving, are of no religion at all themselves: *Primum enim* (as Calvin rightly suspects, the tenor and practice of their life proves), *arcanae illius theologiæ, quod apud eos regnat, caput est, nullum esse deum*, they hold there is no God, as Leo X. did, Hildebrand the magician, Alexander VI.,

¹ S. Ed. Sands. ² In consult. de “By themselves sustain the brunt of
princ. inter provinc. Europ. ³ Lucian. every battle.”

Julius II., mere atheists, and which the common proverb amongst them approves, ¹“The worst Christians of Italy are the Romans, of the Romans the priests are wildest, the lewd-est priests are preferred to be cardinals, and the baddest man amongst the cardinals is chosen to be pope,” that is an episcure, as most part the popes are, infidels and Lucianists, for so they think and believe ; and what is said of Christ to be fables and impostures, of heaven and hell, day of judgment, paradise, immortality of the soul, are all,

²“*Rumores vacui, verbaque inania,
Et par sollicito fabula somnio.*”

“Dreams, toys, and old wives’ tales.” Yet as so many ³whetstones to make other tools cut, but cut not themselves, though they be of no religion at all, they will make others most devout and superstitious, by promises and threats, compel, enforce from, and lead them by the nose like so many bears in a line ; when as their end is not to propagate the church, advance God’s kingdom, seek His glory or common good, but to enrich themselves, to enlarge their territories, to domineer and compel them to stand in awe, to live in subjection to the See of Rome. For what otherwise care they ? *Si mundus vult decipi, decipiat*, “since the world wishes to be gulled, let it be gulled,” ’tis fit it should be so. And for which ⁴Austin cites Varro to maintain his Roman religion, we may better apply to them ; *multa vera, quæ vulgus scire non est utile ; pleraque falsa, quæ tamen aliter existimare populum expedit* ; some things are true, some false, which for their own ends they will not have the gullish commonalty take notice of. As well may witness their intolerable covetousness, strange forgeries, fopperies, fooleries, unrighteous subtleties, impostures, illusions, new doctrines, paradoxes, traditions, false miracles, which they have still forged, to enthrall, circumvent and subjugate them, to maintain their

¹ S. Ed. Sands in his Relation. ² Sen- ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi. ⁴ De
eca. ³ Vice cotis, acutum reddere quæ civ. Dei, lib. 4, cap. 31.

own estates. ¹ One while by bulls, pardons, indulgences, and their doctrines of good works, that they be meritorious, hope of heaven, by that means they have so fleeced the commonalty, and spurred on this free superstitious horse, that he runs himself blind, and is an ass to carry burdens. They have so amplified Peter's patrimony, that from a poor bishop, he is become *Rex Regum, Dominus dominantium*, a demigod, as his canonists make him (Felinus and the rest), above God himself. And for his wealth and ² temporalities, is not inferior to many kings; ³ his cardinals, princes' companions; and in every kingdom almost, abbots, priors, monks, friars, &c., and his clergy, have engrossed a ⁴ third part, half, in some places all, into their hands. Three princes, electors in Germany, bishops; besides Magdeburg, Spire, Saltsburg, Breme, Bamberg, &c. In France, as Bodine, *lib. de repub.* gives us to understand, their revenues are 12,300,000 livres; and of twelve parts of the revenues in France, the church possesseth seven. The Jesuits, a new sect, begun in this age, have, as ⁵ Middendorpius and ⁶ Pelargus reckon up, three or four hundred colleges in Europe, and more revenues than many princes. In France, as Arnoldus proves, in thirty years they have got *bis centum librarum millia annua*, 200,000*l.* I say nothing of the rest of their orders. We have had in England, as Armachanus demonstrates, above 30,000 friars at once, and as ⁷ Speed collects out of Leland and others, almost 600 religious houses, and near 200,000*l.* in revenues of the old rent belonging to them, besides images of gold, silver, plate, furniture, goods, and ornaments, as ⁸ Weever calculates, and esteems them at the dissolution of abbeys, worth a million of gold. How many towns in every kingdom hath superstition enriched? What a deal of money by musty

¹ Seeking their own, saith Paul, not Christ's. ² He hath the Duchy of Spoleto in Italy, the Marquisate of Ancona, beside Rome, and the territories adjacent, Bologna, Ferrara, &c. Avignon in France, &c. ³ Estote fratres mei, et principes hujus mundi. ⁴ The Laity suspect their greatness, witness

those statutes of mortmain. ⁵ Lib. 8, de Academ. ⁶ Præfat. lib. de paradox. Jesuit.-Rom. provincia habet Col. 36, Neapol. 23. Veneta, 13, Lucit. 15, India orient. 27, Brasil. 20, &c. ⁷ In his Chronic. vit. Hen. 8. ⁸ 15 cap. of his funeral monuments.

relics, images, idolatry, have their mass-priests engrossed, and what sums have they scraped by their other tricks! Loretto in Italy, Walsingham in England, in those days, *Ubi omnia auro nitent*, “where everything shines with gold,” saith Erasmus, St. Thomas’s shrine, &c., may witness. ¹ Delphos so renowned of old in Greece for Apollo’s oracle, *Delos commune conciliabulum et emporium solâ religione munitum*; Dodona, whose fame and wealth were sustained by religion, were not so rich, so famous. If they can get but a relic of some saint, the Virgin Mary’s picture, idols or the like, that city is forever made, it needs no other maintenance. Now if any of these their impostures or juggling tricks be controverted, or called in question; if a magnanimous or zealous Luther, an heroical Luther, as ² Dithmarus calls him, dare touch the monks’ bellies, all is in a combustion, all is in an uproar; Demetrius and his associates are ready to pull him in pieces, to keep up their trades, ³ “Great is Diana of the Ephesians;” with a mighty shout of two hours long they will roar and not be pacified.

Now for their authority, what by auricular confession, satisfaction, penance, Peter’s keys, thunderings, excommunications, &c., roaring bulls, this high priest of Rome, shaking his Gorgon’s head, hath so terrified the soul of many a silly man, insulted over majesty itself, and swaggered generally over all Europe for many ages, and still doth to some, holding them as yet in slavish subjection, as never tyrannizing Spaniards did by their poor negroes, or Turks by their galley-slaves. ⁴ “The bishop of Rome (saith Stapleton, a parasite of his, *de Mag. Eccles. lib. 2, cap. 1.*) hath done that without arms, which those Roman emperors could never achieve with forty legions of soldiers,” deposed kings, and crowned them again with his foot, made friends, and corrected at his pleasure, &c. ⁵ ’Tis a wonder, saith Machiavel, *Florentinæ his.*

¹ Pausanias, in Laconicis, lib. 3. Idem de Achaicis, lib. 7, cujus summa opes, et valde inclyta fama. ² Exercit. Eth. Colleg. 3, disp. 3. ³ Act. xix. 28. ⁴ Pontifex Romanus prorsus inermis regibus terræ jura

dat, ad regna evehit, ad pacem cogit, et peccantes castigat, &c., quod imperatores Romani 40 legionibus armati non fecerunt. ⁵ Mirum quanta passus sit H. 2, quomodo se submisit, ea se factu-

lib. 1, “what slavery King Henry II. endured for the death of Thomas à Becket, what things he was enjoined by the Pope, and how he submitted himself to do that which in our times a private man would not endure,” and all through superstition. ¹ Henry IV. disposed of his empire, stood barefooted with his wife at the gates of Canossus. ² Frederic the Emperor was trodden on by Alexander III., another held Adrian’s stirrup, King John kissed the knees of Pandulphos the Pope’s legate, &c. What made so many thousand Christians travel from France, Britain, &c., into the Holy Land, spend such huge sums of money, go a pilgrimage so familiarly to Jerusalem, to creep and crouch, but slavish superstition? What makes them so freely venture their lives, to leave their native countries, to go seek martyrdom in the Indies, but superstition? to be assassins, to meet death, murder kings, but a false persuasion of merit, of canonical or blind obedience which they instil into them, and animate them by strange illusions, hope of being martyrs and saints? such pretty feats can the devil work by priests, and so well for their own advantage can they play their parts. And if it were not yet enough, by priests and politicians to delude mankind, and crucify the souls of men, he hath more actors in his tragedy, more irons in the fire, another scene of heretics, factious, ambitious wits, insolent spirits, schismatics, impostors, false prophets, blind guides, that out of pride, singularity, vainglory, blind zeal, cause much more madness yet, set all in an uproar by their new doctrines, paradoxes, figments, crotchets, make new divisions, subdivisions, new sects, oppose one superstition to another, one kingdom to another, commit prince and subjects, brother against brother, father against son, to the ruin and destruction of a commonwealth, to the disturbance of peace, and to make a general confusion of all estates. How did those Arians rage of old? how many did they circumvent? Those Pelagians, Manichees, &c., their

rum pollicitus, quorum hodie ne privatus quidem partem faceret. ¹ Sigonius, 9, hist. Ital.

² Curio, lib. 3, Fox, Martyl.

names alone would make a just volume. How many silly souls have impostors still deluded, drawn away, and quite alienated from Christ! Lucian's Alexander, Simon Magus, whose statue was to be seen and adored in Rome, saith Justin Martyr, *Simoni deo Sancto*, &c., after his decease. ¹ Apollonius Tianæus, Cynops, Eumo, who by counterfeiting some new ceremonies and juggling tricks of that Dea Syria, by spitting fire, and the like, got an army together of 40,000 men, and did much harm; with *Eudo de stellis*, of whom Nubrigensis speaks, *lib. 1, cap. 19*, that in King Stephen's days imitated most of Christ's miracles, fed I know not how many people in the wilderness, and built castles in the air, &c., to the seducing of multitudes of poor souls. In Franconia, 1476, a base illiterate fellow took upon him to be a prophet, and preach, John Beheim by name, a neatherd at Nicholhausen, he seduced 30,000 persons, and was taken by the commonalty to be a most holy man, come from heaven. ² "Tradesmen left their shops, women their distaffs, servants ran from their masters, children from their parents, scholars left their tutors, all to hear him, some for novelty, some for zeal. He was burnt at last by the Bishop of Wartzburg, and so he and his heresy vanished together." How many such impostors, false prophets, have lived in every king's reign? what chronicles will not afford such examples? that as so many *ignes fatui*, have led men out of the way, terrified some, deluded others, that are apt to be carried about by the blast of every wind, a rude inconstant multitude, a silly company of poor souls, that follow all, and are cluttered together like so many pebbles in a tide. What prodigious follies, madness, vexations, persecutions, absurdities, impossibilities, these impostors, heretics, &c., have thrust upon the world, what strange effects shall be shown in the symptoms.

Now the means by which, or advantages the devil and his

¹ Hierocles contends Apollonius to have been as great a prophet as Christ, whom Eusebius confutes. ² Munster, Cosmog. l. 3, c. 37, *Artifices ex officinis, arator e stivâ, fœminæ e colo*, &c., quasi numine

quodam rapti, nesciis parentibus et dominis recta adeunt, &c. Combustus deum ab Herbi polensi Episcopo; hæresis evanuit.

infernal ministers take, so to delude and disquiet the world with such idle ceremonies, false doctrines, superstitious fopperies, are from themselves, innate fear, ignorance, simplicity, hope and fear, those two battering cannons and principal engines, with their objects, reward and punishment, purgatory, *Limbus Patrum*, &c., which now more than ever tyrannize; ¹ “for what province is free from atheism, superstition, idolatry, schism, heresy, impiety, their factors and followers?” thence they proceed, and from that same decayed image of God, which is yet remaining in us.

² “Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
Jussit.”

Our own conscience doth dictate so much unto us, we know there is a God and nature doth inform us; *Nulla gens tam barbara* (saith Tully) *cui non insideat hæc persuasio Deum esse; sed nec Scythæ, nec Græci, nec Persæ, nec Hyperboreus dissentiet* (as Maximus Tyrius the Platonist, *ser.* 1, farther adds,) *nec continentis nec insularum habitator*, let him dwell where he will, in what coast soever, there is no nation so barbarous that is not persuaded there is a God. It is a wonder to read of that infinite superstition amongst the Indians in this kind, of their tenets in America, *pro suo quisque libitu varias res venerabantur superstitiose, plantas, animalia, montes, &c., omne quod amabant aut horrebant* (some few places excepted as he grants, that had no God at all). So “the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handywork,” Psalm xix. “Every creature will evince it;” *Præsentemque refert quælibet herba deum. Nolentes sciunt, fatentur inviti*, as the said Tyrius proceeds, will or nill, they must acknowledge it. The philosophers, Socrates, Plato, Plotinus, Pythagoras, Trismegistus, Seneca, Epictetus, those Magi, Druids, &c., went as far as they could by the light of nature; ³ *multa præclara de naturâ*

¹ *Nulla non provincia hæresibus, Atheismis, &c., plena Nullus orbis angulus ab hisce belluis immunis.*

² Lib. 1, de

nat. Deorum. “He gave to man an upward gaze commanding him to fix his eyes on heaven.” ³ Zanchius.

Dei scripta reliquerunt, “writ many things well of the nature of God, but they had but a confused light, a glimpse,”

¹ “*Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
Est iter in sylvis,*”

“as he that walks by moonshine in a wood,” they groped in the dark; they had a gross knowledge, as he in Euripides, *O Deus quicquid es, sive cælum, sive terra, sive aliud quid*, and that of Aristotle, *Ens entium miserere mei*. And so of the immortality of the soul, and future happiness. *Immortalitatem animæ* (saith Hierom) *Pythagoras somniavit, Democritus non credidit, in consolationem damnationis suæ Socrates in carcere disputavit; Indus, Persa, Gothus, &c., Philosophantur*. So some said this, some that, as they conceived themselves, which the devil perceiving, led them farther out (as ² Lemnius observes) and made them worship him as their God with stocks and stones, and torture themselves to their own destruction, as he thought fit himself, inspired his priests and ministers with lies and fictions to prosecute the same, which they for their own ends were as willing to undergo, taking advantage of their simplicity, fear, and ignorance. For the common people are as a flock of sheep, a rude illiterate rout, void many times of common sense, a mere beast, *bellua multorum capitum*, will go whithersoever they are led; as you lead a ram over a gap by the horns, all the rest will follow, ³ *Non quâ eundum, sed quâ itur*, they will do as they see others do, and as their prince will have them, let him be of what religion he will, they are for him. Now for these idolaters, Maxentius and Licinius, then for Constantine a Christian. ⁴ *Qui Christum negant, malè pereant, acclamatum est decies*, for two hours’ space; *qui Christum non colunt, Augusti inimici sunt, acclamatum est ter decies*; and by and by idolaters again under that Apostate Julianus; all Arians under Constantius, good

¹ Virg. 6 Æn. ² Superstitio ex ignorantia divinitatis emersit, ex vitiosa æmulatione et demonis illecebris, inconsans, timens, fluctuans, et cui se addicat nesciens, quem imploret, cui se com-

mittat, a dæmone facile decepta. Lemnius, lib. 3, c. 8. ³ Seneca. ⁴ Vide Baronium, 3 Annalium ad annum 324, vit. Constantin.

Catholics again under Jovinianus, "And little difference there is between the discretion of men and children in this case, especially of old folks and women, as ¹ Cardan discourseth, when as they are tossed with fear and superstition, and with other men's folly and dishonesty." So that I may say their ignorance is a cause of their superstition, a symptom, and madness itself; *Supplicii causa est, suppliciumque sui*. Their own fear, folly, stupidity, to be deplored lethargy, is that which gives occasion to the other, and pulls these miseries on their own heads. For in all these religions and superstitions, amongst our idolaters, you shall find that the parties first affected, are silly, rude, ignorant people, old folks, that are naturally prone to superstition, weak women, or some poor, rude, illiterate persons, that are apt to be wrought upon, and gulled in this kind, prone without either examination or due consideration (for they take up religion at trust, as at mercers' they do their wares) to believe anything. And the best means they have to broach first, or to maintain it when they have done, is to keep them still in ignorance; for "ignorance is the mother of devotion," as all the world knows, and these times can amply witness. This hath been the devil's practice, and his infernal ministers' in all ages; not as our Saviour by a few silly fishermen, to confound the wisdom of the world, to save publicans and sinners, but to make advantage of their ignorance, to convert them and their associates; and that they may better effect what they intend, they begin, as I say, with poor ²stupid, illiterate persons. So Mahomet did when he published his Alcoran, which is a piece of work (saith ³Bredenbachius) "full of nonsense, barbarism, confusion, without rhyme, reason, or any good composition, first published to a company of rude rustics, hogrubbers, that had no discretion, judgment,

¹ De rerum varietate, l. 3, c. 38. *Parum vero distat sapientia virorum a puerili, multo minus senum et mulierum, cum metu et superstitione et aliena stultitia et improbitate simplices agitantur.*

² In all superstition wise men follow fools.

Bacon's Essays.

³ Peregrin. Hieros. ca. 5, totum scriptum confusum sine ordine vel colore, absque sensu et ratione ad rusticissimos idem dedit, rudissimos, et prorsus agrestes, qui nullius erant discretionis, ut dijudicare possent

art, or understanding, and is so still maintained." For it is a part of their policy to let no man comment, dare to dispute or call in question to this day any part of it, be it never so absurd, incredible, ridiculous, fabulous as it is, must be believed *implicite*, upon pain of death no man must dare to contradict it, "God and the emperor," &c. What else do our papists, but by keeping the people in ignorance vent and broach all their new ceremonies and traditions, when they conceal the Scripture, read it in Latin, and to some few alone, feeding the slavish people in the mean time with tales out of legends, and such like fabulous narrations? Whom do they begin with but collapsed ladies, some few tradesmen, superstitious old folks, illiterate persons, weak women, discontent, rude, silly companions, or sooner circumvent? so do all our schismatics and heretics. Marcus and Valentinian, heretics, in ¹ Irenæus, seduced first I know not how many women, and made them believe they were prophets. ² Friar Cornelius of Dort seduced a company of silly women. What are all our Anabaptists, Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, but a company of rude, illiterate, capricious, base fellows? What are most of our papists, but stupid, ignorant, and blind bayards? how should they otherwise be, when as they are brought up and kept still in darkness? ³ "If their pastors (saith Lavater,) had done their duties, and instructed their flocks as they ought, in the principles of Christian religion, or had not forbidden them the reading of Scriptures, they had not been as they are." But being so misled all their lives in superstition, and carried hoodwinked like hawks, how can they prove otherwise than blind idiots, and superstitious asses? what else shall we expect at their hands? Neither is it sufficient to keep them blind, and in Cimmerian darkness, but withal, as a schoolmaster doth by his boys, to make them follow their books, sometimes by good hope, promises, and encourage-

¹ Lib. 1, cap. 9, Valent. hæres. 9.
² Meteranus, li. 8, hist. Belg.
³ Si doctores suum fecissent officium, et plebem fidei commissam recte instituissent de

doctrinæ christianæ capitibus, nec sacris scripturis interdixissent, de multis proculdubio recte sensissent.

ments, but most of all by fear, strict discipline, severity, threats, and punishments, do they colloque and soothe up their silly auditors, and so bring them into a fools' paradise. *Rex eris, aiunt, si rectè facies*, do well, thou shalt be crowned; but for the most part by threats, terrors, and affrights, they tyrannize and terrify their distressed souls; knowing that fear alone is the sole and only means to keep men in obedience, according to that hemistichium of Petronius, *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*, the fear of some divine and supreme powers, keeps men in obedience, makes the people do their duties; they play upon their consciences; ¹ which was practised of old in Egypt by their priests; when there was an eclipse, they made the people believe God was angry, great miseries were to come; they take all opportunities of natural causes, to delude the people's senses, and with fearful tales out of purgatory, feigned apparitions, earthquakes in Japonia or China, tragical examples of devils, possessions, obsessions, false miracles, counterfeit visions, &c. They do so insult over and restrain them, never hobby so dared a lark, that they will not ² offend the least tradition, tread, or scarce look awry; *Deus bone*, (³ Lavater exclaims,) *quot hoc commentum de purgatorio miserè afflixit!* good God, how many men have been miserably afflicted by this fiction of purgatory!

To these advantages of hope and fear, ignorance and simplicity, he hath several engines, traps, devices, to batter and enthrall, omitting no opportunities, according to men's several inclinations, abilities, to circumvent and humour them, to maintain his superstitions, sometimes to stupefy, besot them; sometimes again by oppositions, factions, to set all at odds and in an uproar; sometimes he infects one man, and makes him a principal agent; sometimes whole cities, countries. If of meaner sort, by stupidity, canonical obedience, blind zeal, &c. If of better note, by pride, ambition, popularity, vainglory. If of the clergy, and more eminent, of better

¹ Curtius, li. 4. ² See more in Kem-
nisius's Examen Concil. Trident. de Pur-
gatorio. et 14.

³ Part 1, c. 16, part 3, cap. 18

parts than the rest, more learned, eloquent, he puffs them up with a vain conceit of their own worth, *scientiâ inflati*, they begin to swell, and scorn all the world in respect of themselves, and thereupon turn heretics, schismatics, broach new doctrines, frame new crotchets and the like; or else out of too much learning become mad, or out of curiosity they will search into God's secrets, and eat of the forbidden fruit; or out of presumption of their holiness and good gifts, inspirations, become prophets, enthusiasts, and what not? or else if they be displeased, discontent, and have not (as they suppose) preferment to their worth, have some disgrace, repulse, neglect, or not esteemed as they fondly value themselves, or out of emulation, they begin presently to rage and rave, *cælum terræ miscent*, they become so impatient in an instant, that a whole kingdom cannot contain them, they will set all in a combustion, all at a variance, to be revenged of their adversaries. ¹ Donatus, when he saw Cecilianus preferred before him in the bishopric of Carthage, turned heretic, and so did Arian, because Alexander was advanced; we have examples at home, and too many experiments of such persons. If they be laymen of better note, the same engines of pride, ambition, emulation, and jealousy, take place, they will be gods themselves; ² Alexander in India, after his victories, became so insolent, he would be adored for a god; and those Roman emperors came to that height of madness, they must have temples built to them, sacrifices to their deities, Divus Augustus, D. Claudius, D. Adrianus; ³ Heliogabalus, "put out that vestal fire at Rome, expelled the virgins, and banished all other religions all over the world, and would be the sole God himself." Our Turks, China kings, great Chams, and Mogors do little less, assuming divine and bombast titles to themselves; the meaner sort are too credulous, and led with blind zeal, blind obedience, to prosecute and maintain whatsoever their sottish leaders shall propose, what

¹ Austin. ² Curtius, lib. 8. ³ Lampridius, vita ejus. Virgines vestales, et sacrum ignem Romæ extinxit, et omnes
ubique per orbem terræ religiones, unum hoc studens ut solus deus coleretur.

they in pride and singularity, revenge, vainglory, ambition, spleen, for gain, shall rashly maintain and broach, their disciples, make a matter of conscience, of hell and damnation, if they do it not, and will rather forsake wives, children, house, and home, lands, goods, fortunes, life itself, than omit or abjure the least tittle of it, and to advance the common cause, undergo any miseries, turn traitors, assassins, pseudo-martyrs, with full assurance and hope of reward in that other world, that they shall certainly merit by it, win heaven, be canonized for saints.

Now when they are truly possessed with blind zeal, and misled with superstition, he hath many other baits to inveigle and infatuate them farther yet, to make them quite mortified and mad, and that under colour of perfection to merit by penance, going woolward, whipping, alms, fastings, &c. An. 1320 there was a sect of ¹ whippers in Germany, that, to the astonishment of the beholders, lashed, and cruelly tortured themselves. I could give many other instances of each particular. But these works so done are meritorious, *ex opere operato, ex condigno*, for themselves and others, to make them macerate and consume their bodies, *specie virtutis et umbrâ*, those evangelical counsels are propounded, as our pseudo-catholics call them, canonical obedience, wilful poverty, ² vows of chastity, monkery, and a solitary life, which extend almost to all religions and superstitions, to Turks, Chinese, Gentiles, Abyssinians, Greeks, Latins, and all countries. Amongst the rest, fasting, contemplation, solitariness, are as it were certain rams by which the devil doth batter and work upon the strongest constitutions. *Nonnulli* (saith Peter Forestus) *ob longas inedias, studia et meditationes cœlestes, de rebus sacris et religione semper agitant*, by fasting overmuch, and divine meditations, are overcome. Not that fasting is a thing itself to be discommended, for it is an excellent means to keep the body in subjection, a preparative to devotion, the

¹ Flagellatorum secta. Munster. lib 3, Cosmog. cap. 19.
monachatus.

² Votum cœlibatus,

physic of the soul, by which chaste thoughts are engendered, true zeal, a divine spirit, whence wholesome counsels do proceed, concupiscence is restrained, vicious and predominant lusts and humours are expelled. The fathers are very much in commendation of it, and, as Calvin notes, “sometimes immoderate.” ¹ The mother of health, key of heaven, a spiritual wing to ereare us, the chariot of the Holy Ghost, banner of faith,” &c. And ’tis true they say of it, if it be moderately and seasonably used, by such parties as Moses, Elias, Daniel, Christ, and his ² apostles made use of it; but when by this means they will supererogate, and as ³ Erasmus well taxeth, *Cælum non sufficere putant suis meritis*, Heaven is too small a reward for it; they make choice of times and meats, buy and sell their merits, attribute more to them than to the ten Commandments, and count it a greater sin to eat meat in Lent, than to kill a man, and as one sayeth, *Plus respiciunt assum piscem, quam Christum crucifixum, plus salmonem quam Solomonem, quibus in ore Christus, Epicurus in corde*, “pay more respect to a broiled fish than to Christ crucified, more regard to salmon than to Solomon, have Christ on their lips, but Epicurus in their hearts,” when some counterfeit, and some attribute more to such works of theirs than to Christ’s death and passion; the devil sets in a foot, strangely deludes them, and by that means makes them to overthrow the temperature of their bodies, and hazard their souls. N’ever any strange illusions of devils amongst hermits, anachorites, never any visions, phantasms, apparitions, enthusiasms, prophets, any revelations, but immoderate fasting, bad diet, sickness, melancholy, solitariness, or some such things, were the precedent causes, the forerunners or concomitants of them. The best opportunity and sole occasion the devil takes to delude them. Marcilius Cognatus, *lib. 1, cont. cap. 7*, hath many stories to this purpose, of such as after long fasting have been seduced by devils; and ⁴ “’tis a miraculous thing to re-

¹ Mater sanitatis, clavis cœlorum, ala animæ quæ leves pennas producat, ut in sublime ferat; currus Spiritus Sancti, vexillum fidei, porta paradisi, vita angelorum, &c. ² Castigo corpus meum. Paul. ³ Mor. encom. ⁴ Lib. 8, cap.

late (as Cardan writes) what strange accidents proceed from fasting; dreams, superstitions, contempt of torments, desire of death, prophecies, paradoxes, madness; fasting naturally prepares men to these things." Monks, anchorites, and the like, after much emptiness, become melancholy, vertiginous, they think they hear strange noises, confer with hobgoblins, devils, rivel up their bodies, *et dum hostem insequimur*, saith Gregory, *civem quem diligimus, trucidamus*, they become bare skeletons, skin and bones; *Carnibus abstinentes proprias carnes devorant, ut nil præter cutem et ossa sit reliquum*. Hilarion, as ¹Hierome reports in his life, and Athanasius of Antonius, was so bare with fasting, "that the skin did scarce stick to the bones; for want of vapours he could not sleep, and for want of sleep became idle-headed, heard every night infants cry, oxen low, wolves howl, lions roar, (as he thought,) clattering of chains, strange voices, and the like illusions of devils." Such symptoms are common to those that fast long, are solitary, given to contemplation, overmuch solitariness and meditation. Not that these things (as I said of fasting) are to be discommended of themselves, but very behooveful in some cases and good; sobriety and contemplation join our souls to God, as that heathen ²Porphyrie can tell us. ³"Ecstasy is a taste of future happiness, by which we are united unto God, a divine melancholy, a spiritual wing Bonaventure terms it," to lift us up to heaven; but as it is abused, a mere dotage, madness, a cause and symptom of religious melancholy. ⁴"If you shall at any time see (saith Guianerius) a religious person over-superstitious, too solitary, or much given to fasting, that man will certainly be melancholy, thou mayest boldly say it, he will be so." P. Forestus hath almost the same

10, de rerum varietate: admiratione digna sunt quæ per jejunium hoc modo contingunt: somnia, superstitio, contemptus tormentorum, mortis desiderium, obstinata opinio, insania: jejunium naturaliter præparat ad hæc omnia. ¹ Epist. l. 3. Ita attenuatus fuit jejunio et vigiliis, in tantum exeso corpore ut ossibus vix hærebat, unde nocte infans vagitus, balatus pecorum, mugitus

boum, voces et ludibria dæmonum, &c.

² Lib. de abstinentiâ. Sobrietas et continentia mentem Deo conjungunt. ³ Extasis nihil est aliud quam gustus future beatitudinis, in quâ toti absorbemur in Deum. Erasmus, epist. ad Dorpium.

⁴ Si religiosum nimis jejunia videris observantem, audaciter melancholicum pronuntiabis. Tract. 5, cap. 5.

words, and ¹ Cardan, *subtil. lib.* 18, *et cap.* 40, *lib.* 8, *de rerum varietate*, “solitariness, fasting, and that melancholy humour, are the causes of all hermits’ illusions.” Lavater, *de spect. cap.* 19, *part.* 1, and *part.* 1, *cap.* 10, puts solitariness a main cause of such spectrums and apparitions; none saith he, so melancholy as monks and hermits, the devil’s bath melancholy; ² “none so subject to visions and dotage in this kind as such as live solitary lives, they hear and act strange things in their dotage.” ³ Polydore Virgil, *lib.* 2, *de prodigiis*, “holds that those prophecies and monks’ revelations, nuns’ dreams, which they suppose come from God, to proceed wholly *ab instinctu dæmonum*, by the devil’s means; and so those enthusiasts, Anabaptists,” pseudo-prophets from the same cause. ⁴ Fracastorius, *lib.* 2, *de intellect.* will have all your Pythonesses, sibyls, and pseudo-prophets to be mere melancholy, so doth Wierus prove, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 8, *et l.* 3, *cap.* 7, and Arculanus in 9 Rhasis, that melancholy is a sole cause and the devil together, with fasting, and solitariness, of such sibylline prophecies, if there were ever such, which with ⁵ Casaubon and others I justly except at; for it is not likely that the Spirit of God should ever reveal such manifest revelations and predictions of Christ, to those Pythonissæ witches, Apollo’s priests, the devil’s ministers (they were no better), and conceal them from his own prophets; for these sibyls set down all particular circumstances of Christ’s coming, and many other future accidents far more perspicuous and plain than ever any prophet did. But howsoever there be no Phæbades or sibyls, I am assured there be other enthusiasts, prophets, *divi Fatidici*, Magi, (of which read Jo. Boissardus, who hath laboriously collected them into a great ⁶ volume of late, with elegant pictures, and epitomized their

¹ Solitudo ipsa, mens ægra laboribus anxiiis et jejuniis, tum temperatura cibis mutata agrestibus, et humor melancholicus Heremitis illusionum causæ sunt.

² Solitudo est causa apparitionum; nulli visionibus et hinc delirio magis obnoxii sunt quam qui collegiis et eremo vivunt monachi; tales plerumque melancholici ob victum, solitudinem. ³ Monachi sese

putant prophetare ex Deo, et qui solitariam agunt vitam, quum sit instinctu dæmonum; et sic falluntur fatidicæ; a malo genio habent, quæ putant a Deo, et sic enthusiastæ. ⁴ Sibyllæ, Pythii, et prophetæ qui divinare solent, omnes fanatici sunt melancholici. ⁵ Exercit. c. 1. ⁶ De divinatione et magicis præstigiis.

lives,) &c., ever have been in all ages, and still proceeding from those causes, ¹*qui visiones suas enarrant, sentiant futura, prophetisant, et ejusmodi deliriis agitati, Spiritum Sanctum sibi communicari putant.* That which is written of Saint Francis's five wounds, and other such monastical effects of him and others, may justly be referred to this our melancholy; and that which Matthew Paris relates of the ²monk of Evesham, who saw heaven and hell in a vision; of ³Sir Owen, that went down into Saint Patrick's purgatory in King Stephen's days, and saw as much; Walsingham of him that showed as much by Saint Julian. Beda, *lib. 5, cap. 13, 14, 15, et 20*, reports of King Sebba, *lib. 4, cap. 11, eccl. hist.* that saw strange ⁴visions; and Stumphius Helvet Cornic, a cobbler of Basle, that beheld rare apparitions at Augsburg, ⁵in Germany. Alexander ab Alexandro, *gen. dier. lib. 6, cap. 21*, of an enthusiastical prisoner, (all out as probable as that of Eris Armenius, in Plato's tenth dialogue *de Repub.* that revived again ten days after he was killed in a battle, and told strange wonders, like those tales Ulysses related to Alcinous in Homer, or Lucian's *vera historia* itself,) was still after much solitariness, fasting, or long sickness when their brains were addled, and their bellies as empty of meat as their heads of wit. Florilegus hath many such examples, *fol. 191*, one of Saint Gutlake of Crowald that fought with devils, but still after long fasting, overmuch solitariness, ⁶the devil persuaded him therefore to fast, as Moses and Elias did, the better to delude him. ⁷In the same author is recorded Carolus Magnus's vision *An. 185*, or ecstasies, wherein he saw heaven and hell after much fasting and meditation. So did the devil of old with Apollo's priests. Amphiaras and his fellows, those Egyptians, still enjoin long fasting before he would give any oracles, *triduum a cibo et*

¹ Idem. ² Post 15 dierum preces et jejunia, mirabiles videbat visiones.

³ Fol. 84, vita Stephani, et fol. 177, post trium mensium inedia et languorem per 9 dies nihil comedens aut bibens.

⁴ After contemplation in an ecstasy; so Hierom was whipped for reading Tully;

see millions of examples in our annals.

⁵ Bede, Gregory, Jacobus de Voragine, Lippomannus, Hieronymus, John Major, de vitis patrum, &c. ⁶ Fol. 199, post abstinentiæ curas miras illusiones dæmonum audivit. ⁷ Fol. 155, post seriam meditationem in vigiliâ diei dominicæ

vino abstinere,¹ before they gave any answers, as Volateran, *lib.* 13, *cap.* 4, records, and Strabo, *Geog. lib.* 14, describes Charon's den, in the way between Tralles and Nisum, whither the priests led sick and fanatic men; but nothing performed without long fasting, no good to be done. That scoffing² Lucian conducts his Menippus to hell by the directions of that Chaldean Mithrobarzanes, but after long fasting, and such like idle preparation. Which the Jesuits right well perceiving of what force this fasting and solitary meditation is, to alter men's minds, when they would make a man mad, ravish him, improve him beyond himself, to undertake some great business of moment, to kill a king, or the like,³ they bring him into a melancholy dark chamber, where he shall see no light for many days together, no company, little meat, ghastly pictures of devils all about him, and leave him to lie as he will himself, on the bare floor in this chamber of meditation, as they call it, on his back, side, belly, till by this strange usage they make him quite mad and beside himself. And then after some ten days, as they find him animated and resolved, they make use of him. The devil hath many such factors, many such engines, which what effect they produce, you shall hear in the following symptoms.

SUBJECT. III.—*Symptoms general, Love to their own Sect, Hate of all other Religions, Obstinacy, Peevishness, ready to undergo any Danger or Cross for it; Martyrs, blind Zeal, blind Obedience, Fastings, Vows, Belief of Incredibilities, Impossibilities: Particular of Gentiles, Mahometans, Jews, Christians; and in them, Heretics old and new, Schismatics, Schoolmen, Prophets, Enthusiasts, &c.*

FLEAT *Heraclitus*, an rideat *Democritus*? in attempting to speak of these symptoms, shall I laugh with *Democritus*, or weep with *Heraclitus*? they are so ridiculous and

visionem habuit de purgatorio. ¹ Ubi multos dies manent jejuni consilio sacerdotum auxilia invocantes. ² In Necromant. Et cibus quidem glandes erant, po-

tus aqua, lectus sub divo, &c. ³ John Everardus, Britanno-Romanus, *lib.* edit. 1611, describes all the manner of it.

absurd on the one side, so lamentable and tragical on the other : a mixed scene offers itself, so full of errors and a promiscuous variety of objects, that I know not in what strain to represent it. When I think of the Turkish paradise, those Jewish fables, and pontifical rites, those pagan superstitions, their sacrifices, and ceremonies, as to make images of all matter, and adore them when they have done, to see them kiss the pyx, creep to the cross, &c., I cannot choose but laugh with Democritus ; but when I see them whip and torture themselves, grind their souls for toys and trifles, desperate, and now ready to die, I cannot choose but weep with Heraclitus. When I see a priest say mass, with all those apish gestures, murmurings, &c., read the customs of the Jews' synagogue, or Mahometa Meschites, I must needs ¹ laugh at their folly, *risum teneatis, amici ?* but when I see them make matters of conscience of such toys and trifles, to adore the devil, to endanger their souls, to offer their children to their idols, &c., I must needs condole their misery. When I see two superstitious orders contend *pro aris et focis*, with such have and hold, *de lanâ caprinâ*, some write such great volumes to no purpose, take so much pains to so small effect, their satires, invectives, apologies, dull and gross fictions ; when I see grave learned men rail and scold like butter-women, methinks 'tis pretty sport, and fit ² for Calphurnius and Democritus to laugh at. But when I see so much blood spilt, so many murders and massacres, so many cruel battles fought, &c., 'tis a fitter subject for Heraclitus to lament. ³ As Merlin when he sat by the lake side with Vortigern, and had seen the white and red dragon fight, before he began to interpret or to speak, *in fletum prorupit*, fell a weeping, and then proceeded to declare to the king what it meant. I should first pity and bewail this misery of human kind with some passionate preface, wishing mine eyes a fountain of tears, as Jeremiah did, and then to my task. For it is that

¹ Varius mappâ componere risum vix poterat. ² Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore
Hor. ³ Alanus de Insulis.

great torture, that infernal plague of mortal men, *omnium pestium pestilentissima superstitio*, and able of itself alone to stand in opposition to all other plagues, miseries, and calamities whatsoever; far more cruel, more pestiferous, more grievous, more general, more violent, of a greater extent. Other fears and sorrows, grievances of body and mind, are troublesome for the time; but this is forever, eternal damnation, hell itself, a plague, a fire; an inundation hurts one province alone, and the loss may be recovered; but this superstition involves all the world almost, and can never be remedied. Sickness and sorrows come and go, but a superstitious soul hath no rest; ¹ *superstitione imbutus animus nunquam quietus esse potest*, no peace, no quietness. True religion and superstition are quite opposite, *longè diversa carnificina et pietas*, as Lactantius describes, the one erects, the other dejects; *illorum pietas, mera impietas*; the one is an easy yoke, the other an intolerable burden, an absolute tyranny; the one a sure anchor, a haven; the other a tempestuous ocean; the one makes, the other mars; the one is wisdom, the other is folly, madness, indiscretion; the one unfeigned, the other a counterfeit; the one a diligent observer, the other an ape; one leads to heaven, the other to hell. But these differences will more evidently appear by their particular symptoms. What religion is, and of what parts it doth consist, every catechism will tell you, what symptoms it hath, and what effects it produceth; but for their superstitions, no tongue can tell them, no pen express, they are so many, so diverse, so uncertain, so inconstant, and so different from themselves. *Tot mundi superstitiones quot cælo stellæ*, one saith, there be as many superstitions in the world, as there be stars in heaven, or devils themselves that are the first founders of them; with such ridiculous, absurd symptoms and signs, so many several rites, ceremonies, torments, and vexations accompanying, as may well express and besee the devil to be the author and maintainer of them. I will only point at some of them, *ex*

¹ Cicero, 1, de finibus.

ungue leonem, guess at the rest, and those of the chief kinds of superstition, which beside us Christians now domineer and crucify the world, Gentiles, Mahometans, Jews, &c.

Of these symptoms some be general, some particular to each private sect: general to all, are, an extraordinary love and affection they bear and show to such as are of their own sect, and more than Vatinian hate to such as are opposite in religion, as they call it, or disagree from them in their superstitious rites, blind zeal (which is as much a symptom as a cause), vain fears, blind obedience, needless works, incredibilities, impossibilities, monstrous rites and ceremonies, wilfulness, blindness, obstinacy, &c. For the first, which is love and hate, as ¹ Montanus saith, *nulla firmior amicitia quam quæ contrahitur hinc; nulla discordia major quam quæ a religione fit*; no greater concord, no greater discord than that which proceeds from religion. It is incredible to relate, did not our daily experience evince it, what factions, *quam teterimæ factiones* (as ² Rich. Dinot writes), have been of late for matters of religion in France, and what hurly-burles all over Europe for these many years. *Nihil est quod tam impotenter rapiat homines, quam suscepta de salute opinio; siquidem pro eâ omnes gentes corpora et animas deovovere solent, et arctissimo necessitudinis vinculo se invicem colligare.* We are all brethren in Christ, servants of one Lord, members of one body, and therefore are or should be at least dearly beloved, inseparably allied in the greatest bond of love and familiarity, united partakers not only of the same cross, but coadjutors, comforters, helpers, at all times, upon all occasions: as they did in the primitive church, Acts v., they sold their patrimonies, and laid them at the apostles' feet, and many such memorable examples of mutual love we have had under the ten general persecutions, many since. Examples on the other side of discord none like, as our Saviour saith, he came therefore into the world to set father against son, &c. In imitation of whom the devil belike (³ *nam superstitio*

¹ In Micah comment.² Gall. hist. lib. 1.³ Lactantius.

irrepsit veræ religionis imitatrix, superstition is still religion's ape, as in all other things, so in this) doth so combine and glue together his superstitious followers in love and affection, that they will live and die together; and what an innate hatred hath he still inspired to any other superstition opposite? How those old Romans were affected, those ten persecutions may be a witness, and that cruel executioner in Eusebius, *aut lita aut morere*, sacrifice or die. No greater hate, more continue, bitter faction, wars, persecution in all ages, than for matters of religion, no such feral opposition, father against son, mother against daughter, husband against wife, city against city, kingdom against kingdom; as of old at Tentria and Combos:

¹ "Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus,
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum solos credit habendos
Esse deos quos ipse colat."

"Immortal hate it breeds, a wound past cure,
And fury to the commons still to endure:
Because one city t' other's gods as vain
Deride, and his alone as good maintain."

The Turks at this day count no better of us than of dogs, so they commonly call us giaours, infidels, miscreants, make that their main quarrel and cause of Christian persecution. If he will turn Turk, he shall be entertained as a brother, and had in good esteem, a Mussulman or a believer, which is a greater tie to them than any affinity or consanguinity. The Jews stick together like so many burrs; but as for the rest, whom they call Gentiles, they do hate and abhor, they cannot endure their Messiah should be a common Saviour to us all, and rather, as ² Luther writes, "than they that now scoff at them, curse them, persecute and revile them, shall be coheirs and brethren with them, or have any part or fellowship with their Messiah, they would crucify their Messiah ten times over,

¹ Juv. Sat. 15. ² Comment. in Micah. *essent, ipsumque Deum si id fieri posset, unâ cum angelis et creaturis omnibus, nec absterrentur ab hoc facto etsi mille inferna subeunda forent.*
Ferre non possunt ut illorum Messias communis servator sit, nostrum gaudium, &c. Messias vel decem decies crucifixuri

and God himself, his angels, and all his creatures, if it were possible, though they endure a thousand hells for it." Such is their malice towards us. Now for Papists, what in a common cause for the advancement of their religion they will endure, our traitors and pseudo-catholics will declare unto us; and how bitter on the other side to their adversaries, how violently bent, let those Marian times record, as those miserable slaughters at Merindol and Cabriers, the Spanish inquisition, the Duke of Alva's tyranny in the Low Countries, the French massacre and civil wars. ¹ "*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*" "Such wickedness did religion persuade." Not there only, but all over Europe, we read of bloody battles, racks and wheels, seditions, factions, oppositions,

² "obvia signis

Signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis,"

Invectives and contentions. They had rather shake hands with a Jew, Turk, or, as the Spaniards do, suffer Moors to live amongst them, and Jews, than Protestants; "my name (saith ³ Luther) is more odious to them than any thief or murderer." So it is with all heretics and schismatics whatsoever; and none so passionate, violent in their tenets, opinions, obstinate, wilful, refractory, peevish, factious, singular and stiff in defence of them, they do not only persecute and hate, but pity all other religions, account them damned, blind as if they alone were the true church, they are the true heirs, have the fee-simple of heaven by a peculiar donation, 'tis entailed on them and their posterities, their doctrine sound, *per funem aureum de cælo delapsa doctrina*, "let down from heaven by a golden rope," they alone are to be saved. The Jews at this day are so incomprehensibly proud and churlish, saith ⁴ Luther, that *solī salvārī, solī domini terrarum salutārī volunt*. And as ⁵ Buxtorfius adds, "so ignorant and self-willed withal, that amongst their most understanding rabbins you shall find

¹ Lucret. ² Lucan. ³ Ad Galat. gog. Judæorum, ca. 1, Inter eorum Comment. Nomen odiosius meum quam intelligentissimos Rabbinos nil præter ullus homicida aut fur. ⁴ Comment. ignorantiam et insipientiam grandem in Micah. Adeo incomprehensibilis et invenies, horrendam indurationem, et aspera eorum superbia, &c. ⁵ Syna- obstinationem, &c.

nought but gross dotage, horrible hardness of heart, and stupendous obstinacy, in all their actions, opinions, conversations ; and yet so zealous withal, that no man living can be more, and vindicate themselves for the elect people of GOD." 'Tis so with all other superstitious sects, Mahometans, Gentiles in China, and Tartary ; our ignorant Papists, Anabaptists, Separatists, and peculiar churches of Amsterdam, they alone, and none but they can be saved. ¹ "Zealous (as Paul saith, Rom. x. 2,) without knowledge," they will endure any misery, any trouble, suffer and do that which the sunbeams will not endure to see, *Religionis acti Furiis*, all extremities, losses and dangers, take any pains, fast, pray, vow chastity, wilful poverty, forsake all and follow their idols, die a thousand deaths as some Jews did to Pilate's soldiers, in like case, *extertos præbentes jugulos et manifestè præ se ferentes*, (as Josephus hath it,) *cariorum esse vitam sibi legis patriæ observationem*, rather than abjure, or deny the least particle of that religion which their fathers profess, and they themselves have been brought up in, be it never so absurd, ridiculous, they will embrace it, and without farther inquiry or examination of the truth, though it be prodigiously false, they will believe it ; they will take much more pains to go to hell, than we shall do to heaven. Single out the most ignorant of them, convince his understanding, show him his errors, grossness, and absurdities of his sect, *Non persuadebis etiamsi persuaseris*, he will not be persuaded. As those pagans told the Jesuits in Japona, ² they would do as their forefathers have done ; and with Ratholde the Frisian Prince, go to hell for company, if most of their friends went thither ; they will not be moved, no persuasion, no torture can stir them. So that papists cannot brag of their vows, poverty, obedience, orders, merits, martyrdoms, fastings, alms, good works, pilgrimages : much and more than all this, I shall show you, is, and hath been done by these superstitious Gentiles, Pagans, Idolaters,

¹ Great is Diana of the Ephesians, Act. xix.
cum aliis bene sentire.

² Malunt cum illis insanire, quam

and Jews; their blind zeal and idolatrous superstition in all kinds is much at one; little or no difference, and it is hard to say which is the greatest, which is the grossest. For if a man shall duly consider those superstitious rites amongst the *Ethnics* in Japan, the *Bannians* in *Gusart*, the Chinese idolaters, ¹ Americans of old, in Mexico especially, Mahometan priests, he shall find the same government almost, the same orders and ceremonies, or so like, that they may seem all apparently to be derived from some heathen spirit, and the Roman hierarchy no better than the rest. In a word, this is common to all superstition, there is nothing so mad and absurd, so ridiculous, impossible, incredible, which they will not believe, observe, and diligently perform, as much as in them lies; nothing so monstrous to conceive, or intolerable to put in practice, so cruel to suffer, which they will not willingly undertake. So powerful a thing is superstition. ²“O Egypt, (as Trismegistus exclaims,) thy religion is fables, and such as posterity will not believe.” I know that in true religion itself, many mysteries are so apprehended alone by faith, as that of the Trinity, which *Turks* especially deride, Christ’s incarnation, resurrection of the body at the last day, *quod ideo credendum* (saith Tertullian) *quod incredibile*, &c., many miracles not to be controverted or disputed of. *Mirari non rimari sapientia vera est*, saith ³ Gerhardus; *et in divinis* (as a good father informs us) *quædam credenda, quædam admiranda*, &c., some things are to be believed, embraced, followed with all submission and obedience, some again admired. Though Julian the apostate scoff at Christians in this point, *quod capitivemus intellectum in obsequium fidei*, saying, that the Christian creed is like the Pythagorean *Ipse dixit*, we make our will and understanding too slavishly subject to our faith, without farther examination of the truth; yet as Saint Gregory truly answers, our creed is *altioris præstantiæ*, and much more divine; and as Thomas will, *piè consideranti semper*

¹ Acosta, l. 5. ² O Ægypte, religionis credibiles posteris tuis. ³ Meditat. 19,
tux solæ supersunt fabulæ, easque in- de cœnâ domin.

suppetunt rationes, ostendentes credibilitatem in mysteriis supernaturalibus, we do absolutely believe it, and upon good reasons, for as Gregory well informeth us; *Fides non habet meritum, ubi humana ratio quærit experimentum*; that faith hath no merit, is not worth the name of faith, that will not apprehend without a certain demonstration: we must and will believe God's word; and if we be mistaken or err in our general belief, as ¹ Richardus de *Sancto Victore* vows he will say to Christ himself at the day of judgment, "Lord, if we be deceived, thou alone hast deceived us:" thus we plead. But for the rest I will not justify that pontifical consubstantiation, that which ² Mahometans and Jews justly except at, as Campanella confesseth, *Atheismi triumphat. cap. 12, fol. 125, difficillimum dogma esse, nec aliud subjectum magis hæreticorum blasphemiiis, et stultis irrisionibus politicorum reperiri*. They hold it impossible, *Deum in pane manducari*; and besides they scoff at it, *vide gentem comedentem Deum suum, inquit quidam Maurus*. ³ *Hunc Deum muscæ et vermes irrident, quum ipsum polluant et devorant, subditus est igni, aquæ, et latrones furantur, pixidem auream humi prosternunt, et se tamen non defendit hic Deus. Quâ fieri potest, ut integer in singulis hostiæ particulis, idem corpus numero, tam multis locis, cælo, terrâ, &c.* But he that shall read the ⁴ Turks' Alcoran, the Jews' Talmud, and Papists' golden legend, in the mean time will swear that such gross fictions, fables, vain traditions, prodigious paradoxes and ceremonies, could never proceed from any other spirit, than that of the devil himself, which is the author of confusion and lies; and wonder withal how such wise men as have been of the Jews, such learned, understanding men as Averroes, Avicenna, or those heathen philosophers, could ever be persuaded to believe, or to subscribe to the least part of them; *aut fraudem non detegere*; but that as ⁵ Vaninus answers, *ob publicæ potestatis formid-*

¹ Lib. 1, de trin. cap. 2, si decepti sumus, &c. ² Vide Samsatis Isphocanis objectiones in monachum Milesium.

³ Lege Hoffman. Mus exenteratus.

⁴ As true as Homer's Iliad, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Æsop's Fables. ⁵ Dial. 52, de oraculis.

inem allatrare philosophi non audebant, they durst not speak for fear of the law. But I will descend to particulars; read their several symptoms and then guess.

Of such symptoms as properly belong to superstition, or that irreligious religion, I may say as of the rest, some are ridiculous, some again feral to relate. Of those ridiculous, there can be no better testimony than the multitude of their gods, those absurd names, actions, offices they put upon them, their feasts, holydays, sacrifices, adorations, and the like. The Egyptians that pretended so great antiquity, three hundred kings before Amasis; and as Mela writes, 13,000 years from the beginning of their Chronicles, that bragged so much of their knowledge of old, for they invented arithmetic, astronomy, geometry; of their wealth and power, that vaunted of 20,000 cities; yet at the same time their idolatry and superstition was most gross; they worshipped, as Diodorus Siculus records, sun and moon under the name of Isis and Osiris, and after, such men as were beneficial to them, or any creature that did them good. In the city of Bubasti they adored a cat, saith Herodotus, Ibis and storks, an ox (saith Pliny).¹ leeks and onions, Macrobius,

² "Porrum et cæpe deos imponere nubibus ausi,
Hos tu Nile deos colis."

Scoffing ³ Lucian in his *vera Historia*, which, as he confesseth himself, was not persuasively written as a truth, but in comical fashion to glance at the monstrous fictions and gross absurdities of writers and nations, to deride without doubt this prodigious Egyptian idolatry, feigns this story of himself; that when he had seen the Elysian fields, and was now coming away, Rhadamanthus gave him a mallow root, and bade him pray to that when he was in any peril or extremity; which he did accordingly; for when he came to Hydarnordia in the island of treacherous women, he made his prayers to his root, and was instantly delivered. The Syrians,

¹ O sanctas gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in horto Numina! Juven. Sat. 15. ² Prudentius. "Having proceeded to deify leeks and onions, you, O Egypt, worship such gods." ³ Præfat. ver. hist.

Chaldeans, had as many proper gods of their own invention ; see the said Lucian, *de deâ Syriâ*. Mornay, *cap. 22, de veritat. relig.* Guliel. Stuckius, ¹ *Sacrorum Sacrificiorumque Gentil. descript.* Peter Faber Semester, *l. 3, c. 1, 2, 3.* Selden, *de diis Syris*, Purchas's pilgrimage, ² Rosinus of the Romans, and Lilius Giraldus of the Greeks. The Romans borrowed from all, besides their own gods, which were *majorum* and *minorum gentium*, as Varro holds, certain and uncertain ; some celestial, select, and great ones, others indigenous and Semi-dei, Lares, Lemures, Dioscuri, Soteres, and Parastatæ, *dii tutelares* amongst the Greeks ; gods of all sorts, for all functions ; some for the land, some for sea ; some for heaven, some for hell ; some for passions, diseases, some for birth, some for weddings, husbandry, woods, waters, gardens, orchards, &c. All actions and offices, Pax, Quies, Salus, Libertas, Felicitas, Strenua, Stimula, Horta, Pan, Sylvanus, Priapus, Flora, Cloacina, Stercutius, Febris, Pallor, Invidia, Protervia, Risus, Angerona, Volupia, Vacuna, Viriplaca, Veneranda, Pales, Neptunia, Doris, kings, emperors, valiant men that had done any good offices for them, they did likewise canonize and adore for gods, and it was usually done, *usitatum apud antiquos*, as ³ Jac. Boissardus well observes, *deificare homines qui beneficiis mortales juvarent*, and the devil was still ready to second their intents, *statim se ingessit illorum sepulchris, statuis, templis, aris, &c.*, he crept into their temples, statues, tombs, altars, and was ready to give oracles, cure diseases, do miracles, &c., as by Jupiter, Æsculapius, Tiresias, Apollo, Mopsus, Amphiaraus, &c., *dii et Semi-dii*. For so they were *Semi-dii*, demi-gods, some *medii inter Deos et homines*, as Max. ⁴ Tyrius, the Platonist, *ser. 26, et 27*, maintains and justifies in many words. " When a good man dies, his body is buried, but his

¹ Tiguri, fol. 1494. ² Rosin. antiq. Rom. l. 2, c. 1, et deinceps. ³ Lib. de divinatione et magicis præstigiis in Mopso.

⁴ Cosmo Paccio Interpret. nihil ab æris caligine aut figurarum varietate impeditus meram pulchritudinem meruit, ex-

ultans et misericordiâ motus, cognatos amicos qui adhuc morantur in terrâ tuetur, errantibus succurrit, &c. Deus hoc jussit ut essent genii dii tutelares hominibus, bonos juvantes, malos puni- entes, &c.

soul, *ex homine dæmon evadit*, becomes forthwith a demi-god, nothing disparaged with malignity of air, or variety of forms, rejoiceth, exults and sees that perfect beauty with his eyes. Now being deified, in commiseration he helps his poor friends here on earth, his kindred and allies, informs, succours, &c., punisheth those that are bad and do amiss, as a good genius to protect and govern mortal men appointed by the gods, so they will have it, ordaining some for provinces, some for private men, some for one office, some for another. Hector and Achilles assist soldiers to this day; Æsculapius all sick men, the Dioscuri seafaring men, &c., and sometimes upon occasion they show themselves. The Dioscuri, Hercules and Æsculapius, he saw himself (or the devil in his likeness) *non somnians sed vigilans ipse vidi*:" So far Tyrius. And not good men only do they thus adore, but tyrants, monsters, devils (as ¹ Stuckius inveighs), Neros, Domitians, Heliogabaluses, beastly women, and arrant whores amongst the rest. "For all intents, places, creatures, they assign gods;"

"Et domibus, tectis, thermis et equis soleatis
Assignare solent genios"

saith Prudentius. Cuna for cradles. Diverra for sweeping houses, Nodina knots, Prema, Pramunda, Hymen, Hymenæus, for weddings; Comus the god of good fellows, gods of silence, of comfort, Hebe goddess of youth. *Mena menstruarum*, &c., male and female gods, of all ages, sexes and dimensions, with beards, without beards, married, unmarried, begot, not born at all, but, as Minerva, start out of Jupiter's head. Hesiod reckons up at least 30,000 gods, Varro, 300 Jupiters. As Jeremy told them, their gods were to the multitude of cities;

"Quicquid humus, pelagus, cælum miserabile gignit,
Id dixere deos, colles, freta, flumina, flammas."

"Whatever heavens, sea, and land begat,
Hills, seas, and rivers, God was this and that."

¹ Sacrorum gent. descript. non bene in modum portentosa immanitate divex-
meritos solum, sed et tyrannos pro diis arunt, &c., fedas meretrices, &c.
colunt, qui genus humanum horrendum

And which was most absurd, they made gods upon such ridiculous occasions; "As children make babies (so saith ¹ Morneus), their poets make gods," *et quos adorant in templis, ludunt in Theatris*, as Lactantius scoffs. Saturn, a man, gelded himself, did eat his own children, a cruel tyrant driven out of his kingdom by his son Jupiter, as good a god as himself, a wicked, lascivious paltry king of Crete, of whose rapes, lusts, murders, villanies, a whole volume is too little to relate. Venus, a notorious strumpet, as common as a barber's chair, Mars, Adonis, Anchises's whore, is a great she-goddess as well as the rest, as much renowned by their poets, with many such; and these gods so fabulously and foolishly made, *ceremoniis, hymnis, et canticis celebrant*; their errors, *luctus et gaudia, amores, iras, nuptias et liberorum procreationes* (² as Eusebius well taxeth), weddings, mirth, and mournings, loves, angers, and quarrelling they did celebrate in hymns, and sing of in their ordinary songs, as it were publishing their villanies. But see more of their originals. When Romulus was made away by the sedition of the senators, to pacify the people, ³ Julius Proculus gave out that Romulus was taken up by Jupiter into heaven, and therefore to be ever after adored for a god amongst the Romans. Syrophanes of Egypt had one only son whom he dearly loved; he erected his statue in his house, which his servants did adorn with garlands to pacify their master's wrath when he was angry, so by little and little he was adored for a god. This did Semiramis for her husband Belus, and Adrian the emperor by his minion Antinous. Flora was a rich harlot in Rome, and for that she made the commonwealth her heir, her birthday was solemnized long after; and to make it a more plausible holiday, they made her goddess of flowers, and sacrificed to her amongst the rest. The matrons of Rome, as Dionysius Halicarnassæus relates, because at their entreaty Coriolanus desisted from his wars, consecrated a church *Fortunæ muliebri*;

¹ Cap. 22, de ver. rel. Deos finxerunt eorum poetæ, ut infantium puppas.

² Proem. lib. Contra philos.

³ Livius,

lib. 1. Deus vobis in posterum propitius, Quirites.

and ¹ Venus Barbata had a temple erected, for that somewhat was amiss about hair, and so the rest. The citizens ² of Alabanda, a small town in Asia Minor, to curry favour with the Romans (who then warred in Greece with Perseus of Macedon, and were formidable to these parts), consecrated a temple to the city of Rome, and made her a goddess, with annual games and sacrifices; so a town of houses was deified, with shameful flattery on the one side to give, and intolerable arrogance on the other to accept, upon so vile and absurd an occasion. Tully writes to Atticus, that his daughter Tulliola might be made a goddess, and adored as Juno and Minerva, and as well she deserved it. Their holydays and adorations were all out as ridiculous; those Lupercals of Pan, Florales of Flora, Bona dea, Anna Perenna, Saturnals, &c., as how they were celebrated, with what lascivious and wanton gestures, bald ceremonies, ³ by what bawdy priests, how they hang their noses over the smoke of sacrifices, saith ⁴ Lucian, and lick blood like flies that was spilled about the altars. Their carved idols, gilt images of wood, iron, ivory, silver, brass, stone, *olim truncus eram*, &c. were most absurd, as being their own workmanship; for as Seneca notes, *adorant ligneos deos, et fabros interim qui fecerunt contemnunt*, they adore work, condemn the workman; and as Tertullian follows it, *Si homines non essent diis propitii non essent dii*, had it not been for men they had never been gods, but blocks still and stupid, statues in which mice, swallows, birds made their nests, spiders their webs, and in their very mouths laid their excrements. Those images, I say, were all out as gross as the shapes in which they did represent them: Jupiter with a ram's head, Mercury a dog's, Pan like a goat, Hecate with three heads, one with a beard, another without; see more in Carterius and ⁵ Verdurius of

¹ Anth. Verduce, Imag. deorum.

² Mulieris candido splendentes amicimine varioque latantes gestimine, verno florentes conamine, solum sternerentes, &c. Apuleius, lib. II, de Asino aureo.

³ Magnâ religione quæritur quæ possit

adulteria plura numerare. Minut.

⁴ Lib. de sacrificiis, fumo inhiantes, et muscarum in morem sanguinem exuentes circum aras effusum. ⁵ Imagines Deorum, lib. sic inscript.

their monstrous forms and ugly pictures; and which was absurder yet, they told them these images came from heaven, as that of Minerva in her temple at Athens, *quod e cælo cecidisse credebant accolæ*, saith Pausanias. They formed some like storks, apes, bulls, and yet seriously believed; and that which was impious and abominable, they made their gods notorious whoremasters, incestuous Sodomites (as commonly they were all, as well as Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Neptune, &c.), thieves, slaves, drudges (for Apollo and Neptune made tiles in Phrygia), kept sheep, Hercules emptied stables, Vulcan a blacksmith, unfit to dwell upon the earth for their villanies, much less in heaven, as ¹ Mornay well saith, and yet they gave them out to be such; so weak and brutish, some to whine, lament, and roar, as Isis for her son and Cenocephalus, as also her weeping priests; Mars in Homer to be wounded, vexed; Venus ran away crying, and the like; than which what can be more ridiculous? *Nonne ridiculum lugere quod colas, vel colere quod lugeas?* (which ² Minutius objects) *Si dii, cur plangitis? si mortui, cur adoratis?* that it is no marvel if ³ Lucian, that adamantine persecutor of superstition, and Pliny could so scoff at them and their horrible idolatry as they did; if Diagoras took Hercules's image, and put it under his pot to seethe his pottage, which was, as he said, his thirteenth labour. But see more of their fopperies in Cypr. 4, *tract. de Idol. varietat.* Chrysostom, *advers. Gentil.* Arnobius, *adv. Gentes.* Austin, *de civ. Dei.* Theodoret. *de curat. Græc. affec.* Clemens Alexandrinus, Minutius Felix, Eusebius, Lactantius, Stuckius, &c. Lamentable, tragical, and fearful those symptoms are, that they should be so far forth affrighted with their fictitious gods, as to spend the goods, lives, fortunes, precious time, best days in their honour, to ⁴ sacrifice unto them, to their inestimable loss, such hecatombs, so many thousand sheep,

¹ De ver. relig. cap. 22. Indigni qui terram calcant, &c.

² Octaviano.

³ Jupiter Tragædus. de sacrificiis, et passim alias.

⁴ 666 several kinds of sacrifices in Egypt Major reckons up,

tóm. 2, coll. of which read more in cap. 1 of Laurentius Pignori his Egypt characters, a cause of which Sanubius gives, subcis. lib. 3, cap. 1.

oxen with gilded horns, goats, as ¹ Cræsus, king of Lydia, ² Marcus Julianus, surnamed *ob crebras hostias Victimarius, et Tauricremus*, and the rest of the Roman emperors usually did with much labour and cost; and not emperors only and great ones, *pro communi bono*, were at this charge, but private men for their ordinary occasions. Pythagoras offered a hundred oxen for the invention of a geometrical problem, and it was an ordinary thing to sacrifice in ³ Lucian's time, "a heifer for their good health, four oxen for wealth, a hundred for a kingdom, nine bulls for their safe return from Troja to Pylus," &c. Every god almost had a peculiar sacrifice — the Sun horses, Vulcan fire, Diana a white hart, Venus a turtle, Ceres a hog, Proserpine a black lamb, Neptune, a bull (read more in ⁴ Stuckius at large), besides sheep, cocks, corals, frankincense, to their undoings, as if their gods were affected with blood or smoke. "And surely (⁵ saith he) if one should but repeat the fopperies of mortal men, in their sacrifices, feasts, worshipping their gods, their rites and ceremonies, what they think of them, of their diet, houses, orders, &c., what prayers and vows they make; if one should but observe their absurdity and madness, he would burst out a laughing, and pity their folly." For what can be more absurd than their ordinary prayers, petitions, ⁶ requests, sacrifices, oracles, devotions? of which we have a taste in Maximus Tyrius, serm. 1, Plato's Alcibiades Secundus, Persius, *Sat.* 2, Juvenal. *Sat.* 10, there likewise exploded, *Mac-tant opimas et pingues hostias deo quasi esurienti, profundunt vina tanquam sitienti, lumina accendunt velut in tenebris agenti* (Lactantius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 6.). As if their gods were hungry, athirst, in the dark, they light candles, offer meat

¹ Herod. Clio, *Immolavit lecta pecora ter mille Delphis, una cum lectis phialis tribus.* ² Superstiosus Julianus innumeras sine parsimoniâ pecudes mactavit. Ammianus, 25 Boves albi M. Cæsari salutem, si tu viceris perimus: lib. 3, Romani observantissimi sunt ceremoniarum, bello præsertim. ³ De sacrificiis: buculam pro bonâ valetudine, boves quatuor pro divitiis, centum pro regno,

novemque tauros pro sospite a Trojâ redditu, &c. ⁴ De sacris Gentil. et sacrific. Tyg. 1596. ⁵ Enimvero si quis recenseret quæ stulti mortales in festis, sacrificiis, diis adorandis, &c., quæ vota faciant, quid de iis statuunt. &c., haud scio an risurus, &c. ⁶ Max. Tyrius, ser. 1. Cræsus regum omnium stultissimus de lebetæ consulit, alius de numero arenarum, dimensione maris, &c.

and drink. And what so base as to reveal their counsels and give oracles, *e viscerum sterquiliniis*, out of the bowels and excremental parts of beasts? *sordidos deos* Varro truly calls them therefore, and well he might. I say nothing of their magnificent and sumptuous temples, those majestical structures; to the roof of Apollo Didymæus's temple, *ad branchidas*, as ¹Strabo writes, a thousand oaks did not suffice. Who can relate the glorious splendour, and stupend magnificence, the sumptuous building of Diana at Ephesus, Jupiter Ammon's temple in Africa, the Pantheon at Rome, the Capitol, the Sarapium at Alexandria, Apollo's temple at Daphne in the suburbs of Antioch. The great temple at Mexico so richly adorned, and so capacious (for 10,000 men might stand in it at once), that fair Pantheon of Cusco, described by Acosta in his Indian History, which eclipses both Jews and Christians. There were in old Jerusalem, as some write, 408 synagogues; but new Cairo reckons up (if ²Radzivilus may be believed) 6,800 mosques. Fez 400, whereof fifty are most magnificent, like St. Paul's in London. Helena built 300 fair churches in the Holy Land, but one Bassa hath built 400 mosques. The Mahometans have 1,000 monks in a monastery; the like saith Acosta of Americans; Riccius of the Chinese, for men and women, fairly built; and more richly endowed some of them, than Arras in Artois, Fulda in Germany, or St. Edmund's-Bury in England with us; who can describe those curious and costly statues, idols, images, so frequently mentioned in Pausanias? I conceal their donaries, pendants, other offerings, presents to these their fictitious gods daily consecrated. ³Alexander the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, sent two statues of pure gold to Apollo at Delphos. ⁴Cræsus, king of Lydia, dedicated a hundred golden tiles in the same place with a golden altar; no man came empty-handed to their shrines. But these are base offerings in respect; they offered men themselves alive. The Leucadians, as Strabo writes, sacrificed every year a

¹ Lib. 4. ² Perigr. Hierosol. ³ Solinus. ⁴ Herodotus.

man, *averruncandæ deorum iræ causâ*, to pacify their gods, *de montis præcipitio dejecerunt*, &c., and they did voluntarily undergo it. The Decii did so sacrifice, *Diis manibus*; Curtius did leap into the gulf. Were they not all strangely deluded to go so far to their oracles, to be so gulled by them, both in war and peace, as Polybius relates (which their augurs, priests, vestal virgins can witness), to be so superstitious, that they would rather lose goods and lives than omit any ceremonies, or offend their heathen gods? Nicias, that generous and valiant captain of the Greeks, overthrew the Athenian navy, by reason of his too much superstition, ¹ because the augurs told him it was ominous to set sail from the haven of Syracuse whilst the moon was eclipsed; he tarried so long till his enemies besieged him, he and all his army were overthrown. The ² Parthians of old were so sottiſh in this kind, they would rather lose a victory, nay lose their own lives, than fight in the night, 'twas against their religion. The Jews would make no resistance on the Sabbath, when Pompeius besieged Jerusalem; and some Jewish Christians in Africa, set upon by the Goths, suffered themselves upon the same occasion to be utterly vanquished. The superstition of the Dibrenses, a bordering town in Epirus, besieged by the Turks, is miraculous almost to report. Because a dead dog was flung into the only fountain which the city had, they would die of thirst all, rather than drink of that ³ unclean water, and yield up the city upon any conditions. Though the prætor and chief citizens began to drink first, using all good persuasions, their superstition was such, no saying would serve, they must all forthwith die or yield up the city. *Vix ausum ipse credere* (saith ⁴ Barletius) *tantam superstitionem, vel affirmare levissimam hanc causam tantæ rei vel magis ridiculam, quum non dubitem risum potius quam admirationem posteris excitaturam.* The story was too ridiculous, he was ashamed to report it, because he

¹ Boterus, polit. lib. 2, cap. 16. ² Plu- Greek church. ⁴ Lib. 5, de gestis Scand-
tarch. vit. Crassi. ³ They were of the derbegis.

thought nobody would believe it. It is stupend to relate what strange effects this idolatry and superstition hath brought forth of the latter years in the Indies and those bordering parts; ¹in what feral shapes the ²devil is adored, *ne quid mali intentent*, as they say; for in the mountains betwixt Scanderoon and Aleppo, at this day, there are dwelling a certain kind of people called Coords, coming of the race of the ancient Parthians, who worship the devil, and allege this reason in so doing: God is a good man and will do no harm, but the devil is bad and must be pleased, lest he hurt them. It is wonderful to tell how the devil deludes them, how he terrifies them, how they offer men and women sacrifices unto him, a hundred at once, as they did infants in Crete to Saturn of old, the finest children, like Agamemnon's Iphigenia, &c. At ³Mexico, when the Spaniards first overcame them, they daily sacrificed *viva hominum corda è viventium corporibus extracta*, the hearts of men yet living, 20,000 in a year (Acosta, *lib. 5, cap. 20*.) to their idols made of flour and men's blood, and every year 6000 infants of both sexes; and as prodigious to relate, ⁴how they bury their wives with husbands deceased, 'tis fearful to report, and harder to believe,

⁵ "Nam certamen habent læthi quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori,"

and burn them alive, best goods, servants, horses, when a grandee dies, ⁶twelve thousand at once amongst the Tartars, when a great cham departs, or an emperor in America; how they plague themselves, which abstain from all that hath life, like those old Pythagoreans, with immoderate fastings, ⁷as the Bannians about Surat, they of China, that for su-

¹ In templis immania Idolorum monstra conspiciuntur, marmorea, lignea, lutea, &c., Riccius. ² Deum enim placare non est opus, quia non nocet; sed dæmonem sacrificiis placent, &c. ³ Fer. Cortesius. ⁴ M. Polus, Lod. Vertomannus, navig. lib. 6, cap. 9, P. Martyr. Ocean. dec. ⁵ Propertius, lib. 3, eleg. 12. "There is a contest amongst the living wives as to which shall follow

the husband, and not be allowed to die for him is accounted a disgrace." ⁶ Matthias a Michou. ⁷ Epist. Jesuit. anno 1549, a Xaverio et sociis. Idemque Riccius, expedit. ad Sinas, l. 1, per totum Jejunatores apud eos toto die carnibus abstinent et piscibus ob religionem, nocte et die Idola colentes; nusquam egredi. entes.

perstition's sake never eat flesh nor fish all their lives, never marry, but live in deserts and by-places, and some pray to their idols twenty-four hours together without any intermission, biting of their tongues, when they have done, for devotion's sake. Some again are brought to that madness by their superstitious priests (that tell them such vain stories of immortality, and the joys of heaven in that other life), ¹ that many thousands voluntarily break their own necks, as Cleombrotus Amborciatus, auditors of old, precipitate themselves, that they may participate of that unspeakable happiness in the other world. One poisons, another strangles himself, and the King of China had done as much, deluded with the vain hope, had he not been detained by his servant. But who can sufficiently tell of their several superstitions, vexations, follies, torments? I may conclude with ² Possevinus, *Religio facit asperos mites, homines e feris; superstitio ex hominibus feras*, religion makes wild beasts civil, superstition makes wise men beasts and fools; and the discreetest that are, if they give way to it, are no better than dizzards; nay more, if that of Plotinus be true, *is unus religionis scopus ut ei quem colimus similes fiamus*, that is the drift of religion to make us like him whom we worship; what shall be the end of idolaters, but to degenerate into stocks and stones? of such as worship these heathen gods, for *diî gentium dæmonia*, ³ but to become devils themselves? 'Tis therefore *exitiosus error, et maximè periculosus*, a most perilous and dangerous error of all others, as ⁴ Plutarch holds, *turbulenta passio hominem consternans*, a pestilent, a troublesome passion, that utterly undoeth men. Unhappy superstition, ⁵ Pliny calls it, *morte non finitur*, death takes away life, but not superstition. Impious and ignorant are far more happy than they which are superstitious, no torture like to it, none so continue, so general, so destructive, so violent.

¹ Ad immortalitatem morte aspirant summi magistratus, &c. Et multi mortales hæc insanîa, et præpostero immortalitatis studio laborant, et misere pereunt: rex ipse clam venenum hausisset. nisi a servo fuisset detentus. ² Can-

tione in lib. 10. Bonini, de repub. fol. 111. ³ Quin ipsius diaboli ut nequitiam referant. ⁴ Lib. de superstit. ⁵ Homiibus vitæ finis mors, non autem superstitionis, profert hæc suos terminos ultra vitæ finem.

In this superstitious row, Jews for antiquity may go next to Gentiles; what of old they have done, what idolatries they have committed in their groves and high places, what their Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes, Essei, and such sectaries have maintained, I will not so much as mention; for the present, I presume no nation under heaven can be more sottish, ignorant, blind, superstitious, wilful, obstinate, and peevish, tiring themselves with vain ceremonies to no purpose; he that shall but read their rabbins' ridiculous comments, their strange interpretation of Scriptures, their absurd ceremonies, fables, childish tales, which they steadfastly believe, will think they be scarce rational creatures; their foolish ¹ customs, when they rise in the morning, and how they prepare themselves to prayer, to meat, with what superstitious washings, how to their Sabbath, to their other feasts, weddings, burials, &c. Last of all, the expectation of their Messiah, and those figments, miracles, vain pomp that shall attend him, as how he shall terrify the Gentiles, and overcome them by new diseases; how Michael the archangel shall sound his trumpet, how he shall gather all the scattered Jews in the Holy Land, and there make them a great banquet, ² "Wherein shall be all the birds, beasts, fishes, that ever God made, a cup of wine that grew in Paradise, and that hath been kept in Adam's cellar ever since." At the first course shall be served in that great ox in Psal. l. 10, "that every day feeds on a thousand hills," Job xli., that great Leviathan, and a great bird, that laid an egg so big, ³ "that by chance tumbling out of the nest, it knocked down three hundred tall cedars, and breaking as it fell, drowned one hundred and sixty villages;" this bird stood up to the knees in the sea, and the sea was so deep, that a hatchet would not fall to the bottom in seven years; of their Messiah's ⁴ wives and

¹ Buxtorfius, Synagog. Jud. c. 4. Inter precandum nemo pediculos attingat, vel pulicem, aut per guttur inferius ventum emittat, &c. Id. c. 5, et seq. cap. 36. ² Illic omnia animalia, pisces, aves, quos Deus unquam creavit mactabuntur, et vinum generosum, &c. ³ Cujus lapsu

cedri altissimi 300 dejecti sunt, quumque e lapsu ovum fuerat confractum, pagi 160 inde submersi, et alluvione inundati. ⁴ Every king of the world shall send him one of his daughters to be his wife, because it is written, Ps. xlv. 10, "Kings' daughters shall attend on him," &c.

children ; Adam and Eve, &c., and that one stupend fiction amongst the rest ; when a Roman prince asked of rabbi Jehosua ben Hanania, why the Jews' God was compared to a lion ; he made answer he compared himself to no ordinary lion, but to one in the wood Ela, which, when he desired to see, the rabbin prayed to God he might, and forthwith the lion set forward, ¹ “ But when he was four hundred miles from Rome he so roared that all the great-bellied women in Rome made abortions, the city walls fell down, and when he came a hundred miles nearer, and roared a second time, their teeth fell out of their heads, the emperor himself fell down dead, and so the lion went back.” With an infinite number of such lies and forgeries, which they verily believe, feed themselves with vain hope, and in the mean time will by no persuasions be diverted, but still crucify their souls with a company of idle ceremonies, live like slaves and vagabonds, will not be relieved or reconciled.

Mahometans are a compound of Gentiles, Jews, and Christians, and so absurd in their ceremonies, as if they had taken that which is most sottish out of every one of them, full of idle fables in their superstitious law, their Alcoran itself a gallimaufry of lies, tales, ceremonies, traditions, precepts, stolen from other sects, and confusedly heaped up to delude a company of rude and barbarous clowns. As how birds, beasts, stones, saluted Mahomet when he came from Mecca, the moon came down from heaven to visit him, ² how God sent for him, spake to him, &c., with a company of stupend figments of the angels, sun, moon, and stars, &c. Of the day of judgment, and three sounds to prepare it, which must last fifty thousand years, of Paradise, which wholly consists in *coeundi et comedendi voluptate*, and *pecorinis hominibus scriptum, bestialis beatitudo*, is so ridiculous, that Virgil, Dante, Lucian, nor any poet can be more fabulous. Their rites and cere-

¹ Quum quadringentis adhuc milliariibus ab imperatore Leo hic abesset, tam fortiter rugiebat, ut mulieres Romanæ abortierint omnes, murique, &c. ² Stro-

zius Cicogna, omnif. mag. lib. 1, c. 1, putida multa recenset ex Alcorano, de celo, stellis, Angelis, Lonicerus, c. 21, 22, l. 1.

monies are most vain and superstitious, wine and swine's flesh are utterly forbidden by their law,¹ they must pray five times a day; and still towards the south, wash before and after all their bodies over, with many such. For fasting, vows, religious orders, peregrinations, they go far beyond any Papists,² they fast a month together many times, and must not eat a bit till sun be set. Their kalenders, dervises, and torlachers, &c., are more³ abstemious some of them, than Carthusians, Franciscans, Anchorites, forsake all, live solitary, fare hard, go naked, &c.⁴ Their pilgrimages are as far as to the river⁵ Ganges (which the Gentiles of those tracts likewise do), to wash themselves, for that river as they hold hath a sovereign virtue to purge them of all sins, and no man can be saved that hath not been washed in it. For which reason they come far and near from the Indies; *Maximus gentium omnium confluxus est*; and infinite numbers yearly resort to it. Others go as far as Mecca to Mahomet's tomb, which journey is both miraculous and meritorious. The ceremonies of flinging stones to stone the devil, of eating a camel at Cairo by the way; their fastings, their running till they sweat, their long prayers, Mahomet's temple, tomb, and building of it, would ask a whole volume to dilate; and for their pains taken in this holy pilgrimage, all their sins are forgiven, and they reputed for so many saints. And divers of them with hot bricks, when they return, will put out their eyes,⁶ "that they never after see any profane thing, bite out their tongues," &c. They look for their prophet Mahomet as Jews do for their Messiah. Read more of their customs, rites, ceremonies, in Lonicerus, *Turcic. hist. tom.* 1, from the tenth to the twenty-fourth chapter. Bredenbachius, *cap.* 4, 5, 6. Leo Afer, *lib.* 1. Busbequius, Sabellicus, Purchas, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 3, *et* 4, 5. Theodorus Bibliander, &c.

¹ Quinquies in die orare Turcæ tenentur ad meridiem. Bredenbachius, *cap.* 5.

² In quolibet anno mensem integrum jejunant interdiu, nec comedentes nec bibentes, &c.

³ Nullis unquam multi per totam ætatem carnibus vescuntur. Leo Afer. ⁴ Lonicerus, *to.* 1, *cap.* 17,

18. ⁵ Gotardus Arthus, *ca.* 33, *hist. orient. Indiæ*: opinio est expiatorium esse Gangem; et nec mundum ab omni peccato nec saluum fieri posse, qui non hoc flumine se abluat: quam ob causam ex totâ Indiâ, &c. ⁶ Quia nil volunt deinceps videre.

Many foolish ceremonies you shall find in them ; and which is most to be lamented, the people are generally so curious in observing of them, that if the least circumstance be omitted, they think they shall be damned, 'tis an irremissible offence, and can hardly be forgiven. I kept in my house amongst my followers (saith Busbequius, sometime the Turk's orator in Constantinople) a Turkey boy, that by chance did eat shell-fish, a meat forbidden by their law, but the next day when he knew what he had done, he was not only sick to cast and vomit, but very much troubled in mind, would weep and ¹grieve many days after, torment himself for his foul offence. Another Turk being to drink a cup of wine in his cellar, first made a huge noise and filthy faces, ²“to warn his soul, as he said, that it should not be guilty of that foul fact which he was to commit.” With such toys as these are men kept in awe, and so cowed, that they dare not resist or offend the least circumstance of their law, for conscience' sake misled by superstition, which no human edict otherwise, no force of arms, could have enforced.

In the last place are Pseudo-Christians, in describing of whose superstitious symptoms, as a mixture of the rest, I may say that which St. Benedict once saw in a vision, one devil in a market-place, but ten in a monastery, because there was more work ; in populous cities they would swear and forswear, lie, falsify, deceive fast enough of themselves, one devil could circumvent a thousand ; but in their religious houses a thousand devils could scarce tempt one silly monk. All the principal devils, I think, busy themselves in subverting Christians ; Jews, Gentiles, and Mahometans, are *extra caulam*, out of the fold, and need no such attendance, they make no resistance, ³*eos enim pulsare negligit, quos quieto jure possidere se sentit*, they are his own already ; but Christians have that shield of faith, sword of the Spirit to resist, and must have a great deal of battery before they can be

¹ Nullum se conflictandi finem facit. reus fieret ejus delicti quod ipse erat ad-
² Ut in aliquem angulum se reciperet, ne missurus. ³ Gregor. Hom.

overcome. That the devil is most busy amongst us that are of the true church, appears by those several oppositions, heresies, schisms, which in all ages he hath raised to subvert it, and in that of Rome especially, wherein Antichrist himself now sits and plays his prize. This mystery of iniquity began to work even in the Apostles' time, many Antichrists and heretics were abroad, many sprung up since, many now present, and will be to the world's end, to dementate men's minds, to seduce and captivate their souls. Their symptoms I know not how better to express, than in that twofold division, of such as lead and are led. Such as lead are heretics, schismatics, false prophets, impostors, and their ministers; they have some common symptoms, some peculiar. Common, as madness, folly, pride, insolency, arrogancy, singularity, peevishness, obstinacy, impudence, scorn, and contempt of all other sects: *Nullius addicti jurare in verba magistri*; ¹ they will approve of nought but what they first invent themselves, no interpretation good but what their infallible spirit dictates; none shall be *in secundis*, no not *in tertiis*, they are only wise, only learned in the truth, all damned but they and their followers, *cædem scripturarum faciunt ad materiam suam*, saith Tertullian, they make a slaughter of Scriptures, and turn it as a nose of wax to their own ends. So irrefragable, in the meantime, that what they have once said, they must and will maintain, in whole tomes, duplications, triplications, never yield to death, so self-conceited, say what you can. As ² Bernard (erroneously some say) speaks of P. Aliardus, *omnes patres sic, atque ego sic*. Though all the fathers, councils, the whole world contradict it, they care not, they are all one; and as ³ Gregory well notes "of such as are vertiginous, they think all turns round and moves, all err; when as the error is wholly in their own brains." Magallianus, the Jesuit, in his Comment on 1 Tim. xvi. 20, and Alphonsus, *de castro lib. 1, adversus hæreses*. gives two more

¹ "Bound to the dictates of no master." *iis falsa sunt, quum error in ipsorum*
² Epist. 190. ³ Orat. 8, ut vertigine *cerebro sit.*
 correptis videntur omnia moveri, omnia

eminent notes, or probable conjectures to know such men by (they might have taken themselves by the noses when they said it), ¹“First they affect novelties and toys, and prefer falsehood before truth; ²secondly, they care not what they say, that which rashness and folly hath brought out, pride afterward, peevishness and contumacy shall maintain to the last gasp.” Peculiar symptoms are prodigious paradoxes, new doctrines, vain phantasms, which are many and diverse as they themselves. ³Nicholaites of old would have wives in common; Montanists will not marry at all, nor Tatians, forbidding all flesh, Severians wine; Adamians go naked; ⁴because Adam did so in Paradise; and some ⁵barefoot all their lives, because God, Exod. iii. and Joshua v. bid Moses so to do; and Isaiah xx. was bid put off his shoes; Manichees hold that Pythagorean transmigration of souls from men to beasts; ⁶“the Circumcellions in Africa, with a mad cruelty, made away themselves, some by fire, water, breaking their necks, and seduced others to do the like, threatening some if they did not,” with a thousand such; as you may read in ⁷Austin (for there were fourscore and eleven heresies in his times, besides schisms and smaller factions) Epiphanius, Alphonsus, *de Castro*, Danaeus, Gab. Prateolus, &c. Of prophets, enthusiasts and impostors, our Ecclesiastical stories afford many examples; of Elias and Christs, as our ⁸Eudo *de stellis*, a Briton in King Stephen’s time, that went invisible, translated himself from one to another in a moment, fed thousands with good cheer in the wilderness, and many such; nothing so common as miracles, visions, revelations, prophecies. Now what these brainsick heretics once broach, and impostors set on foot, be it never so absurd, false, and prodigious, the common people will follow and believe. It will run along like murrain in cattle, scab in sheep. *Nulla scabies,*

¹ Res novas affectant et inutiles, falsa veris præferunt. ² quod temeritas effutierit, id superbia post modum tuebitur et contumaciæ, &c. ³ See more in Vincent. Lyrin. ⁴ Aust. de hæres. usus mulierum indifferens. ⁵ Quod ante peccavit Adam, nudus erat. ⁶ Alii

nudis pedibus semper ambulant. ⁷ Insanā feritate sibi non parcant, nam per mortes varias præcipitiorum, aquarum, et ignium, seipsos necant, et in istum furorem alios cogunt, mortem minantes ni faciant. ⁸ Elench. hæret. ab orbe condito. ⁹ Nubrigensis, lib. cap. 19.

as ¹ he said, *superstitione scabiosior*; as he that is bitten with a mad dog bites others, and all in the end become mad; either out of affection of novelty, simplicity, blind zeal, hope and fear, the giddy-headed multitude will embrace it, and without farther examination approve it.

Sed vetera querimur, these are old, *hæc prius fuere*. In our days we have a new scene of superstitious impostors and heretics. A new company of actors, of Antichrists, that great Antichrist himself: a rope of popes, that by their greatness and authority bear down all before them; who from that time they proclaimed themselves universal bishops, to establish their own kingdom, sovereignty, greatness, and to enrich themselves, brought in such a company of human traditions, purgatory, *Limbus Patrum*, *Infantum*, and all that subterranean geography, mass, adoration of saints, alms, fastings, bulls, indulgences, orders, friars, images, shrines, musty relics, excommunications, confessions, satisfactions, blind obediences, vows, pilgrimages, peregrinations, with many such curious toys, intricate subtleties, gross errors, obscure questions, to vindicate the better and set a gloss upon them, that the light of the Gospel was quite eclipsed, darkness over all, the Scriptures concealed, legions brought in, religion banished, hypocritical superstition exalted, and the church itself ² obscured and persecuted, Christ and his members crucified more, saith Benzo, by a few necromantical, atheistical popes, than ever it was by ³ Julian the Apostate, Porphyrius the Platonist, Celsus the physician, Libanius the Sophister; by those heathen emperors, Huns, Goths, and Vandals. What each of them did, by what means, at what times, *quibus auxiliis*, superstition climbed to this height, traditions increased, and Antichrist himself came to his estate, let Magdeburgenses, Kemnisius, Osiander, Bale, Mornay, Fox, Usher, and many others relate. In the mean time, he that shall but see

¹ Jovian. Pont. Ant. Dial. ² Cum per Paganos nomen ejus persequi non poterat, sub specie religionis fraudulenter subvertere disponebat. ³ That writ *de professo* against Christians, et palesti-

num deum (ut Socrates, lib. 3, cap. 19), scripturam nugis plenam, &c., vide Cyrillum in Julianum, Origenem in Celsum, &c.

their profane rites and foolish customs, how superstitiously kept, how strictly observed, their multitude of saints, images, that rabble of Romish deities, for trades, professions, diseases, persons, offices, countries, places; St. George for England; St. Denis for France; Patrick, Ireland; Andrew, Scotland; Jago, Spain; &c., Gregory for students; Luke for painters; Cosmus and Damian for philosophers; Crispin, shoemakers; Katherine, spinners; &c., Anthony for pigs; Gallus, geese; Wenceslaus, sheep; Pelagius, oxen; Sebastian, the plague; Valentine, falling-sickness; Apollonia, toothache; Petronella for agues; and the Virgin Mary for sea and land, for all parties, offices; he that shall observe these things, their shrines, images, oblations, pendants, adorations, pilgrimages they make to them, what creeping to crosses, our Lady of Loretto's rich¹ gowns, her donaries, the cost bestowed on images, and number of suitors; St. Nicholas Burge in France; our St. Thomas's shrine of old at Canterbury; those relics at Rome, Jerusalem, Genoa, Lyons, Pratum, St. Denis; and how many thousands come yearly to offer to them, with what cost, trouble, anxiety, superstition (for forty several masses are daily said in some of their² churches, and they rise at all hours of the night to mass, come barefoot, &c.), how they spend themselves, times, goods, lives, fortunes, in such ridiculous observations; their tales and figments, false miracles, buying and selling of pardons, indulgences for 40,000 years to come, their processions on set days, their strict fastings, monks, anchorites, friar mendicants, Franciscans, Carthusians, &c.; their vigils and fasts, their ceremonies at Christmas, Shrove-tide, Candlemas, Palm-Sunday, Blaise, St. Martin, St. Nicholas's day; their adorations, exorcisms, &c., will think all those Grecian, Pagan, Mahometan superstitions, gods, idols, and ceremonies, the name, time and place, habit only altered, to have degenerated into Christians. Whilst they prefer traditions before Scriptures; those Evangelical Councils, pov-

¹ One image had one gown worth 400 crowns and more. ² As at our Lady's church at Bergamo in Italy.

erty, obedience, vows, alms, fasting, supererogations, before God's Commandments; their own ordinances instead of his precepts, and keep them in ignorance, blindness, they have brought the common people into such a case by their cunning conveyances, strict discipline and servile education, that upon pain of damnation they dare not break the least ceremony, tradition, edict; hold it a greater sin to eat a bit of meat in Lent, than kill a man; their consciences are so terrified, that they are ready to despair if a small ceremony be omitted; and will accuse their own father, mother, brother, sister, nearest and dearest friends of heresy, if they do not as they do, will be their chief executioners, and help first to bring a fagot to burn them. What mulct, what penance soever is enjoined, they dare not but do it, tumble with St. Francis in the mire amongst hogs, if they be appointed, go woolward, whip themselves, build hospitals, abbeys, &c., go to the East or West Indies, kill a king, or run upon a sword point; they perform all, without any muttering or hesitation, believe all.

1 "Ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia athena
Vivere, et esse homines, et sic isti omnia ficta
Vera putant, credunt signis cor inesse athenis."

"As children think their babies live to be,
Do they these brazen images they see."

And whilst the ruder sort are so carried headlong with blind zeal, are so gulled and tortured by their superstitions, their own too credulous simplicity and ignorance, their Epicurean popes and hypocritical cardinals laugh in their sleeves, and are merry in their chambers with their punks, they do *indulgere genio*, and make much of themselves. The middle sort, some for private gain, hope of ecclesiastical preferment, (*quis expedit psittaco suum χαίρει*,) popularity, base flattery, must and will believe all their paradoxes and absurd tenets, without exception, and as obstinately maintain and put in practice all their traditions and idolatrous ceremonies (for their religion is half a trade) to the death; they will defend all,

¹ Lucilius, lib. 1, cap. 22, de falsâ relig.

the golden legend itself, with all the lies and tales in it; as that of St. George, St. Christopher, St. Winifred, St. Denis, &c. It is a wonder to see how Nic. Harpsfield, that pharisaical impostor, amongst the rest, Ecclesiast. Hist. cap. 22, sæc. prim. sex. puzzles himself to vindicate that ridiculous fable of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, as when they lived,¹ how they came to Cologne, by whom martyred, &c., though he can say nothing for it, yet he must and will approve it; *nobilitavit (inquit) hoc sæculum Ursula cum comitibus, cujus historia utinam tam mihi esset expedita et certa, quam in animo meo certum ac expeditum est, eam esse cum sodalibus beatam in cœlis virginem.* They must and will (I say) either out of blind zeal believe, vary their compass with the rest, as the latitude of religion varies, apply themselves to the times and seasons, and for fear and flattery are content to subscribe and to do all that in them lies to maintain and defend their present government and slavish religious schoolmen, canonists, jesuits, friars, priests, orators, sophisters, who either for that they had nothing else to do, luxuriant wits knew not otherwise how to busy themselves in those idle times, for the Church then had few or no open adversaries, or better to defend their lies, fictions, miracles, transubstantiations, traditions, pope's pardons, purgatories, masses, impossibilities, &c., with glorious shows, fair pretences, big words, and plausible wits, have coined a thousand idle questions, nice distinctions, subtilties, Obs and Sols, such tropological, allegorical expositions, to salve all appearances, objections, such quirks and quiddities, *quodlibetaries*, as Bale saith of Ferribrigge and Strode, instances, ampliations, decrees, glosses, canons, that instead of sound commentaries, good preachers, are come in a company of mad sophisters, *primo secundo secundarii*, sectaries, canonists, Sorbonists, Minorites, with a rabble of idle controversies and questions, ²*an Papa*

¹ An. 441. ² Hospinian. Osiander. sine fundamento et termino. An levius
An hæc propositio Deus sit cucurbita vel sit hominem jugulare quam die dominico
scarabeus, sit æque possibilis ac Deus et calceum consuere?
homo? An possit respectum producere

sit Deus, an quasi Deus? An participet utramque Christi naturam? Whether it be as possible for God to be a humble-bee or a gourd, as a man? Whether he can produce respect without a foundation or term, make a whore a virgin? fetch Trajan's soul from hell, and how? with a rabble of questions about hell-fire; whether it be a greater sin to kill a man, or to clout shoes upon a Sunday? whether God can make another God like unto himself? Such, saith Kemnisius, are most of your schoolmen (mere alchemists), two hundred commentators on Peter Lambard; (*Pitsius catal. scriptorum Anglic.* reckons up one hundred and eighty English commentators alone, on the matter of the sentences), Scotists, Thomists, Reals, Nominals, &c., and so perhaps that of St. ¹Austin may be verified. *Indocti rapiunt cælum, docti interim descendunt ad infernum.* Thus they continued in such error, blindness, decrees, sophisms, superstitions; idle ceremonies and traditions were the sum of their new-coined holiness and religion, and by these knaveries and stratagems they were able to involve multitudes, to deceive the most sanctified souls, and, if it were possible, the very elect. In the mean time the true Church, as wine and water mixed, lay hid and obscure to speak of, till Luther's time, who began upon a sudden to defecate, and as another sun to drive away those foggy mists of superstition, to restore it to that purity of the primitive Church. And after him many good and godly men, divine spirits, have done their endeavours, and still do.

² "And what their ignorance esteem'd so holy,
Our wiser ages do account as folly."

But see the devil, that will never suffer the Church to be quiet or at rest; no garden so well tilled but some noxious weeds grow up in it, no wheat but it hath some tares; we have a mad giddy company of precisians, schismatics, and some heretics, even in our own bosoms in another extreme, ³ "*Dum*

¹ De doct. Christian.

² Daniel. run into another of an opposite character."

³ "Whilst these fools avoid one vice they

vitant stulti vitia in contrariâ currunt;" that out of too much zeal in opposition to Antichrist, human traditions, those Romish rites and superstitions, will quite demolish all, they will admit of no ceremonies at all, no fasting days, no cross in baptism, kneeling at communion, no church music, &c., no bishop's courts, no church government, rail at all our church discipline, will not hold their tongues, and all for the peace of thee, O Sion! No, not so much as degrees some of them will tolerate, or universities, all human learning ('tis *cloaca diaboli*), hoods, habits, cap and surplice, such as are things indifferent in themselves, and wholly for ornament, decency, or distinction's sake, they abhor, hate, and snuff at, as a stone-horse when he meets a bear; they make matters of conscience of them, and will rather forsake their livings than subscribe to them. They will admit of no holidays, or honest recreations, as of hawking, hunting, &c., no churches, no bells some of them, because papists use them; no discipline, no ceremonies but what they invent themselves; no interpretations of Scriptures, no comments of fathers, no councils, but such as their own fantastical spirits dictate, or *recta ratio*, as Socinians, by which spirit misled, many times they broach as prodigious paradoxes as papists themselves. Some of them turn prophets, have secret revelations, will be of privy council with God himself, and know all his secrets, ¹*Per capillos spiritum sanctum tenent, et omnia sciunt cum sint asini omnium obstinatissimi*, a company of giddy-heads will take upon them to define how many shall be saved and who damned in a parish, where they shall sit in heaven, interpret Apocalypses, (*Commentatores præcípites et vertiginosos*, one calls them, as well he might,) and those hidden mysteries to private persons, times, places, as their own spirit informs them, private revelations shall suggest, and precisely set down when the world shall come to an end, what year, what month, what day. Some of them again have such strong faith, so presumptuous, they will go into infected houses, expel devils, and fast forty

¹ Agrip. ep. 29.

days, as Christ himself did; some call God and his attributes into question, as Vorstius and Socinus; some princes, civil magistrates, and their authorities, as anabaptists, will do all their own private spirit dictates, and nothing else. Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, and those Amsterdamian sects and sectaries, are led all by so many private spirits. It is a wonder to reveal what passages Sleidan relates in his commentaries, of Cretinck, Knipperdoling, and their associates, those madmen of Munster in Germany; what strange enthusiasms, sottish revelations they had, how absurdly they carried themselves, deluded others; and as profane Machiavel in his political disputations holds of Christian religion, in general it doth enervate, debilitate, take away men's spirits and courage from them, *simpliciores reddit homines*, breeds nothing so courageous soldiers as that Roman; we may say of these peculiar sects, their religion takes away not spirits only, but wit and judgment, and deprives them of their understanding; for some of them are so far gone with their private enthusiasms and revelations, that they are quite mad, out of their wits. What greater madness can there be, than for a man to take upon him to be a God, as some do? to be the Holy Ghost, Elias, and what not? In ¹Poland, 1518, in the reign of King Sigismund, one said he was Christ, and got him twelve apostles, came to judge the world, and strangely deluded the commons. ²One David George, an illiterate painter, not many years since, did as much in Holland, took upon him to be the Messiah, and had many followers. Benedictus Victorinus Faventinus, *consil.* 15, writes as much of one Honorius, that thought he was not only inspired as a prophet, but that he was God himself, and had ³familiar conference with God and his angels. Lavat. *de spect.* c. 2, part. 8, hath a story of one John Sartorius, that thought he was the prophet Elias, and *cap.* 7, of divers others that had conference with angels, were saints, prophets. Wierus, *lib.* 3, *de*

¹ Alex. Gaguin. 22. Discipulis ascitis habuit assecclas ab iisdem honoratus. mirum in modum populum decepit. ³ Hen. Nicholas at Leiden 1580, such a
² Guicciard. descript. Belg. complures one.

Lamiis, c. 7, makes mention of a prophet of Groning that said he was God the Father; of an Italian and Spanish prophet that held as much. We need not rove so far abroad, we have familiar examples at home. Hackett that said he was Christ; Coppinger and Arthington his disciples; ¹ Burchet and Hovatus, burned at Norwich. We are never likely seven years together without some such new prophets that have several inspirations, some to convert the Jews, some fast forty days, go with Daniel to the lion's den; some foretell strange things, some for one thing, some for another. Great precisians of mean conditions and very illiterate, most part by a preposterous zeal, fasting, meditation, melancholy, are brought into those gross errors and inconveniences. Of those men I may conclude, generally, that howsoever they may seem to be discreet, and men of understanding in other matters, discourse well, *læsam habent imaginationem*, they are like comets, round in all places but where they blaze, *cætera sani*, they have impregnable wits many of them, and discreet otherwise, but in this their madness and folly breaks out beyond measure, in *infinitum erumpit stultitia*. They are certainly far gone with melancholy, if not quite mad, and have more need of physic than many a man that keeps his bed, more need of hellebore than those that are in Bedlam.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Prognostics of Religious Melancholy.*

YOU may guess at the prognostics by the symptoms. What can these signs foretell otherwise than folly, dotage, madness, gross ignorance, despair, obstinacy, a reprobate sense, ² a bad end? What else can superstition, heresy produce, but wars, tumults, uproars, torture of souls, and despair, a desolate land, as Jeremy teacheth, *cap.* vii. 34, when they commit idolatry, and walk after their own ways? how should it be otherwise with them? what can they expect but “blasting, famine,

¹ See Camden's Annals, fo. 242 et 285. corrigi maluerunt; tanta vis infixi semel erroris, they died blaspheming. Nubrigensis, c. 3, lib. 1, Jer. vii. 23, Amos, v. 5.

² Arius his bowels burst, Montanus hanged himself, &c. Eudo de stellis, his disciples, ardere potius quam ad vitam

dearth," and all the plagues of Egypt, as Amos denounceth, *cap. iv. vers. 9, 10*, to be led into captivity? If our hopes be frustrate, "we sow much and bring in little, eat and have not enough, drink and are not filled, clothe and be not warm, &c., Haggai, i. 6, we look for much and it comes to little, whence is it? His house was waste, they came to their own houses, *vers. 9*, therefore the heaven stayed his dew, the earth his fruit." Because we are superstitious, irreligious, we do not serve God as we ought, all these plagues and miseries come upon us; what can we look for else but mutual wars, slaughters, fearful ends in this life and in the life to come eternal damnation? What is it that hath caused so many feral battles to be fought, so much Christian bloodshed, but superstition? That Spanish inquisition, racks, wheels, tortures, torments, whence do they proceed? from superstition. Bodine, the Frenchman, in his ¹*method. hist.* accounts Englishmen barbarians, for their civil wars; but let him read those Pharsalian fields ²fought of late in France for religion, their massacres, wherein by their own relations in twenty-four years I know not how many millions have been consumed, whole families and cities, and he shall find ours to be but velitations to theirs. But it hath ever been the custom of heretics and idolaters, when they are plagued for their sins, and God's just judgments come upon them, not to acknowledge any fault in themselves, but still impute it unto others. In Cyprian's time it was much controverted between him and Demetrius an idolater, who should be the cause of those present calamities. Demetrius laid all the fault on Christians, (and so they did ever in the primitive church, as appears by the first book of ³Arnobius.) ⁴"that there were not such ordinary showers in winter, the ripening heat in summer, so seasonable springs, fruitful autumns, no marble mines in the

¹ 5 cap. ² Poplinerius Lerijs, præf. hist. Rich. Dinoth. ³ Advers. gentes, lib. 1. postquam in mundo Christiana gens coepit, terrarum orbem periisse et multis malis affectum esse genus humanum videmus. ⁴ Quod nec hyeme, nec

æstate tanta imbrum copia, nec frugibus torrendis solita flagrantia, nec vernali temperie sata tam læta sint, nec arboreis fetibus autumnus fecundi, minus de montibus marmor eruatur, minus aurum, &c.

mountains, less gold and silver than of old; that husbandmen, seamen, soldiers, all were scantied, justice, friendship, skill in arts, all was decayed," and that through Christians' default, and all their other miseries from them, *quod dii nostri a vobis non colantur*, because they did not worship their gods. But Cyprian retorts all upon him again, as appears by his tract against him. 'Tis true the world is miserably tormented and shaken with wars, dearth, famine, fire, inundations, plagues, and many feral diseases rage amongst us, *sed non ut tu queris ista accidunt quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur sed quod a vobis non colatur Deus, a quibus nec quæritur, nec timetur*, not as thou complainest, that we do not worship your gods, but because you are idolaters, and do not serve the true God, neither seek him, nor fear him as you ought. Our papists object as much to us, and account us heretics, we them; the Turks esteem of both as infidels, and we them as a company of pagans, Jews against all; when indeed there is a general fault in us all, and something in the very best, which may justly deserve God's wrath, and pull these miseries upon our heads. I will say nothing here of those vain cares, torments, needless works, penance, pilgrimages, pseudo-martyrdom, &c. We heap upon ourselves unnecessary troubles, observations; we punish our bodies, as in Turkey (saith ¹ Busbequius, *Leg. Turcic. ep. 3.*) "one did, that was much affected with music, and to hear boys sing, but very superstitious; an old sibyl coming to his house, or a holy woman (as that place yields many), took him down for it, and told him, that in that other world he should suffer for it; thereupon he flung his rich and costly instruments which he had bedecked with jewels, all at once into the fire. He was served in silver plate, and had goodly household stuff: a little after, another religious man reprehended him in like sort, and from thenceforth he was served in earthen vessels, last of all

¹ Solitus erat oblectare se fidibus, et voce musicâ canentium; sed hoc omne sublatum Sybillæ ejusdam interventu, &c. Inde quicquid erat instrumentorum

Symphoniarum, auro gemmisque egregio opere distinctorum comminuit, et in ignem injectit, &c.

a decree came forth, because Turks might not drink wine themselves, that neither Jew nor Christian then living in Constantinople, might drink any wine at all." In like sort amongst papists, fasting at first was generally proposed as a good thing; after, from such meats at set times, and then last of all so rigorously proposed, to bind the consciences upon pain of damnation. "First Friday," saith Erasmus, "then Saturday," *et nunc periclitatur dies Mercurii*, and Wednesday now is in danger of a fast. ¹ "And for such like toys, some so miserably afflict themselves to despair, and death itself, rather than offend, and think themselves good Christians in it, when as indeed they are superstitious Jews." So saith Leonardus Fuchsius, a great physician in his time. ² "We are tortured in Germany with these popish edicts, our bodies so taken down, our goods so diminished, that if God had not sent Luther, a worthy man, in time, to redress these mischiefs, we should have eaten hay with our horses before this." ³ As in fasting, so in all other superstitious edicts we crucify one another without a cause, barring ourselves of many good and lawful things, honest disports, pleasures and recreations; for wherefore did God create them but for our use? Feasts, mirth, music, hawking, hunting, singing, dancing, &c., *non tam necessitatibus nostris Deus inservit, sed in delicias amamus*, as Seneca notes, God would have it so. And as Plato, *2 de legibus*, gives out, *deos laboriosam hominum vitam miseratos*, the gods in commiseration of human estate sent Apollo, Bacchus, and the Muses, *qui cum voluptate tripudia et saltationes nobis ducant*, to be merry with mortals, to sing and dance with us. So that he that will not rejoice and enjoy himself, making good use of such things as are lawfully permitted, *non est temperatus*, as he will, *sed superstitiosus*. "There is nothing better for a man, than that he should eat

¹ Ob id genus observatiunculas videmus homines misere affligi, et denique mori, et sibi ipsis Christianos videri quum revera sint Judæi. ² Ita in corpora nostra fortunasque decretis suis sæviit, ut parum abfuerat, nisi Deus Lutherum

virum perpetuâ memoriâ dignissimum excitasset, quin nobis fœno mox communi cum jumentis cibo utendum fuisset. ³ The Gentiles in India will eat no sensible creatures, or ought that hath blood in it.

and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour," Eccles. ii. 24. And as ¹one said of hawking and hunting, *tot solatia in hâc ægri orbis calamitate mortalibus tædiis Deus objecit*, I say of all honest recreations, God hath therefore indulged them to refresh, ease, solace, and comfort us. But we are some of us too stern, too rigid, too precise, too grossly superstitious, and whilst we make a conscience of every toy, with touch not, taste not, &c., as those Pythagoreans of old, and some Indians now, that will eat no flesh, or suffer any living creature to be killed, the Bannians about Guzzerat; we tyrannize over our brother's soul, lose the right use of many good gifts, honest ²sports, games, and pleasant recreations, ³punish ourselves without a cause, lose our liberties, and sometimes our lives. Anno 1270, at ⁴Magdeburg in Germany, a Jew fell into a privy upon a Saturday, and without help could not possibly get out; he called to his fellows for succour, but they denied it, because it was their Sabbath, *non licebat opus manuum exercere*; the bishop hearing of it, the next day forbade him to be pulled out, because it was our Sunday. In the mean time the wretch died before Monday. We have myriads of examples in this kind amongst those rigid Sabbatarians, and therefore not without good cause, ⁵*Intolerabilem perturbationem* Seneca calls it, as well he might, an intolerable perturbation, that causeth such dire events, folly, madness, sickness, despair, death of body and soul, and hell itself.

SUBSECT. V.—*Cure of Religious Melancholy.*

To purge the world of idolatry and superstition, will require some monster-taming Hercules, a divine Æsculapius, or

¹ Vandormilius, de Aucupio, cap. 27.

² Some explode all human authors, arts, and sciences, poets, histories, &c., so precise, their zeal overruns their wits; and so stupid. they oppose all human learning, because they are ignorant themselves and illiterate, nothing must be read but Scriptures; but these men deserve to be pitied, rather than confuted. Others are so strict they will admit of no honest game and pleasure, no dancing, singing,

other plays, recreations, and games, hawking, hunting, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, &c., because to see one beast kill another is the fruit of our rebellion against God, &c. ³ *Nuda ac tremebunda cruentis irrepit genibus si candida jusserit Ino.* Juvenalis, Sat. 6. ⁴ Munster, Cosmog. lib. 3, cap. 444. Incidit in cloacam, unde se non possit eximere, implorat opem sociorum, sed illi negant, &c. ⁵ De benefic. 7, 2.

Christ himself to come in his own person, to reign a thousand years on earth before the end, as the Millenaries will have him. They are generally so refractory, self-conceited, obstinate, so firmly addicted to that religion in which they have been bred and brought up, that no persuasion, no terror, no persecution, can divert them. The consideration of which hath induced many commonwealths to suffer them to enjoy their consciences as they will themselves; a toleration of Jews is in most provinces of Europe. In Asia they have their synagogues; Spaniards permit Moors to live amongst them; the Mogullians, Gentiles; the Turks all religions. In Europe, Poland and Amsterdam are the common sanctuaries. Some are of opinion, that no man ought to be compelled for conscience' sake, but let him be of what religion he will, he may be saved, as Cornelius was formerly accepted, Jew, Turk, Anabaptist, &c. If he be an honest man, live soberly, and civilly in his profession, (Volkeliuſ, Crelliuſ, and the rest of the Socinians, that now nestle themselves about Cracow and Rakow in Poland, have renewed this opinion,) serve his own God, with that fear and reverence as he ought. *Sua cuique civitati* (Læli) *religio sit, nostra nobis*, Tully thought fit every city should be free in this behalf, adore their own *Custodes et Topicos deos*, tutelar and local gods, as Symmachus calls them. Isocrates adviseth Demonicus "when he came to a strange city, to ¹worship by all means the gods of the place," *et unumquemque Topicum deum sic coli oportere, quomodo ipse præceperit*: which Cecilius in ²Minutius labours, and would have every nation *sacrorum ritus gentiles habere et deos colere municipales*, keep their own ceremonies, worship their peculiar gods, which Pomponius Mela reports of the Africans, *Deos suos patrio more venerantur*, they worship their own gods according to their own ordination. For why should any one nation, as he there pleads, challenge that universality of God, *Deum suum quem nec ostendunt, nec vident, discurrentem scilicet et ubique præsentem, in omnium*

¹ Numen venerare præsertim quod civitas colit.² Octavio, dial.

mores, actus, et occultas cogitationes inquirentem, &c., as Christians do ; let every province enjoy their liberty in this behalf, worship one God, or all as they will, and are informed. The Romans built altars Diis Asiæ, Europæ, Libyæ, *diis ignotis et peregrinis* ; others otherwise, &c. Plinius Secundus, as appears by his Epistle to Trajan, would not have the Christians so persecuted, and in some time of the reign of Maximinus, as we find it registered in Eusebius, *lib. 9, cap. 9*, there was a decree made to this purpose, *Nullus cogatur invitatus ad hunc vel illum deorum cultum*, “let no one be compelled against his will to worship any particular deity,” and by Constantine in the 19th year of his reign, as ¹ Baronius informeth us, *Nemo alteri exhibeat molestiam, quod cujusque animus vult, hoc quisque transigat*, new gods, new lawgivers, new priests, will have new ceremonies, customs, and religions, to which every wise man as a good formalist should accommodate himself.

² “ Saturnus periit, perierunt et sua jura,
Sub Jove nunc mundus, jussa sequare Jovis.”

The said Constantine the Emperor, as Eusebius writes, flung down and demolished all the heathen gods, silver, gold statues, altars, images, and temples, and turned them all to Christian churches, *infestus gentilium monumentis ludibrio exposuit* ; the Turk now converts them again to Mahometan mosques. The like edict came forth in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius. ³ Symmachus, the orator, in his days, to procure a general toleration, used this argument, ⁴ “ Because God is immense and infinite, and his nature cannot perfectly be known, it is convenient he should be as diversely worshipped, as every man shall perceive or understand.” It was impossible, he thought, for one religion to be universal ; you see that one small province can hardly be ruled by one law, civil or spiritual ; and “ how shall so many distinct and vast

¹ Annal. tom. 3, ad annum 324, l. quiddam est, et infinitum, ejus natura
² Ovid. “ Saturn is dead, his laws died perfecte cognosci non potest, æquum ergo est, ut diversâ ratione colatur prout
with him ; now that Jupiter rules the world, let us obey his laws.” ³ In quisque aliquid de Deo percipit aut intel-
epist. Sym. ⁴ Quia deus immensum ligat.

empires of the world be united into one? It never was, never will be." Besides, if there be infinite planetary and firmamental worlds, as ¹ some will, there be infinite genii or commanding spirits belonging to each of them; and so, *per consequens* (for they will be all adored), infinite religions. And therefore let every territory keep their proper rites and ceremonies, as their *dii tutelares* will, so Tyrius calls them, "and according to the quarter they hold," their own institutions, revelations, orders, oracles, which they dictate from time to time, or teach their priests or ministers. This tenet was stiffly maintained in Turkey not long since, as you may read in the third epistle of Busbequius, ² "that all those should participate of eternal happiness, that lived a holy and innocent life, what religion soever they professed." Rustan Bassa was a great patron of it; though Mahomet himself was sent *virtute gladii*, to enforce all, as he writes in his Alcoran, to follow him. Some again will approve of this for Jews, Gentiles, infidels, that are out of the fold, they can be content to give them all respect and favour, but by no means to such as are within the precincts of our own church, and called Christians, to no heretics, schismatics, or the like; let the Spanish inquisition, that fourth fury, speak of some of them, the civil wars and massacres in France, our Marian times. ³ Magallianus the Jesuit will not admit of conference with a heretic, but severity and rigour to be used, *non illis verba reddere, sed furcas figere oportet*; and Theodosius is commended in Nicephorus, *lib. 12, cap. 15.* ⁴ "That he put all heretics to silence." Bernard. Epist. 190, will have club law, fire and sword for heretics, ⁵ "compel them, stop their mouths not with disputations, or refute them with reasons, but with fists;" and this is their ordinary practice. Another company are as mild on the other side; to avoid all heart-burning, and contentious wars and uproars, they would have

¹ Campanella, Calcaginus and others.
² *Æternæ beatitudinis consortes fore, qui sancte innocenterque hanc vitam traduxerint, quæcunque illi religionem sequuti sunt.* ³ Comment in 1 Tim. 6, ver. 20

et 21, *severitate cum hæreticis agendum, et non aliter.* ⁴ *Quod silentium hæreticis indixerit.* ⁵ *Ignem et fustem potius agendum cum hæreticis quam cum disputationibus; os alia loquens, &c.*

a general toleration in every kingdom, no mulct at all, no man for religion or conscience be put to death, which ¹Thuanus the French historian much favours; our late Socinians defend; Vaticanus against Calvin in a large Treatise in behalf of Servetus, vindicates; Castalio, &c., Martin Ballius and his companions, maintained this opinion not long since in France, whose error is confuted by Beza in a just volume. The medium is best, and that which Paul prescribes, Gal. i. "If any man shall fall by occasion, to restore such a one with the spirit of meekness, by all fair means, gentle admonitions;" but if that will not take place, *Post unam et alteram admonitionem hæreticum devita*, he must be excommunicate, as Paul did by Hymenæus, delivered over to Satan. *Immedicabile vulnus ense recidendum est*. As Hippocrates said in physic, I may well say in divinity, *Quæ ferro non curantur, ignis curat*. For the vulgar, restrain them by laws, mulcts, burn their books, forbid their conventicles; for when the cause is taken away, the effect will soon cease. Now for prophets, dreamers, and such rude silly fellows, that through fasting, too much meditation, preciseness, or by melancholy are distempered; the best means to reduce them *ad sanam mentem*, is to alter their course of life, and with conference, threats, promises, persuasions, to intermix physic. Hercules de Saxoniâ had such a prophet committed to his charge in Venice, that thought he was Elias, and would fast as he did; he dressed a fellow in angel's attire, that said he came from heaven to bring him divine food, and by that means stayed his fast, administered his physic; so by the mediation of this forged angel he was cured. ²Rhasis, an Arabian, *cont. lib. 1, cap. 9*, speaks of a fellow that in like case complained to him, and desired his help: "I asked him (saith he) what the matter was; he replied, I am continually meditating of heaven and hell, and methinks I see and talk

¹ Præfat. Hist. ² Quidam conquestus est mihi de hoc morbo, et deprecatus est ut ego illum curarem; ego quæsi ab eo quid sentiret; respondit, semper imaginor et cogito de Deo et angelis, &c., et ita

demersus sum hâc imaginatione, ut nec edam nec dormiam, nec negotiis, &c. Ego curavi medicinâ et persuasione; et sic plures alios.

with fiery spirits, and smell brimstone, &c., and am so carried away with these conceits, that I can neither eat, nor sleep, nor go about my business; I cured him (saith Rhasis) partly by persuasion, partly by physic, and so have I done by many others." We have frequently such prophets and dreamers amongst us, whom we persecute with fire and fagot; I think the most compendious cure, for some of them at least, had been in Bedlam. *Sed de his satis.*

MEMB. II.

SUBJECT. I.—*Religious Melancholy in Defect; Parties affected, Epicures, Atheists, Hypocrites, worldly secure, Carnalists, all impious Persons, impenitent Sinners, &c.*

IN that other extreme or defect of this love of God, knowledge, faith, fear, hope, &c., are such as err both in doctrine and manners, Sadducees, Herodians, libertines, politicians; all manner of atheists, epicures, infidels, that are secure, in a reprobate sense, fear not God at all, and such as are too distrustful and timorous, as desperate persons be. That grand sin of atheism or impiety, ¹ Melancthon calls it *monstrousam melancholiam*, monstrous melancholy; or *venenatam melancholiam*, poisoned melancholy. A company of Cyclops or giants, that war with the gods, as the poets feigned, antipodes to Christians, that scoff at all religion, at God himself, deny him and all his attributes, his wisdom, power, providence, his mercy and judgment.

² "Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna,
Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque unâ transire vadum tot millia cymbâ,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur."

¹ De animâ, c. de humoribus. ² Juvenal. "That there are many ghosts and subterranean realms, and a boat-pole and black frogs in the Stygian gulf,

and that so many thousands pass over in one boat, not even boys believe, unless those not as yet washed for money."

That there is either heaven or hell, resurrection of the dead, pain, happiness, or world to come, *credat Judæus Apella* ; for their parts they esteem them as so many poet's tales, bugbears, Lucian's Alexander ; Moses, Mahomet, and Christ are all as one in their creed. When those bloody wars in France for matters of religion (saith ¹ Richard Dinoth) were so violently pursued between Huguenots and Papists, there was a company of good fellows laughed them all to scorn, for being such superstitious fools, to lose their wives and fortunes, accounting faith, religion, immortality of the soul, mere fopperies and illusions. Such loose ²atheistical spirits are too predominant in all kingdoms. Let them contend, pray, tremble, trouble themselves that will, for their parts, they fear neither God nor the devil ; but with that Cyclops in Euripides,

"Haud ulla numina expavescent cœlitum,
Sed victimas uni deorum maximo,
Ventre offerunt, deos ignorant cæteros."

"They fear no God but one,
They sacrifice to none,
But belly, and him adore,
For gods they know no more."

"Their god is their belly," as Paul saith, *Sancta mater saturnitas* ;—*quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est*. The idol, which they worship and adore, is their mistress ; with him in Plautus, *malem hæc mulier me amet quam dii*, they had rather have her favour than the gods'. Satan is their guide, the flesh is their instructor, hypocrisy their counsellor, vanity their fellow-soldier, their will their law, ambition their captain, custom their rule ; temerity, boldness, impudence their art, toys their trading, damnation their end. All their endeavours are to satisfy their lust and appetite, how to please their genius, and to be merry for the present, *Ede, lude, bibe, post mortem nulla voluptas*.³ "The same condition is of men

¹ Li. 5. Gal. hist. quamplurimi reperti sunt qui tot pericula subeuntes irridebant ; et quæ de fide, religione, &c., dicebant, ludibrio habebant, nihil eorum

admittentes de futurâ vitâ.

² 50,000 atheists at this day in Paris, Mersennus thinks.

³ "Eat, drink, be merry ; there is no more pleasure after death."

and of beasts ; as the one dieth, so dieth the other," Eccles. iii. 19. The world goes round.

¹ "truditur dies die,
Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ:"

² They did eat and drink of old, marry, bury, bought, sold, planted, built, and will do still. ³ "Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no recovery, neither was any man known that hath returned from the grave ; for we are born at all adventure, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been ; for the breath is as smoke in our nostrils, &c., and the spirit vanisheth as the soft air. ⁴ Come let us enjoy the pleasures that are present, let us cheerfully use the creatures as in youth, let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, let not the flower of our life pass by us, let us crown ourselves with rose-buds before they are withered," &c. ⁵ *Vivamus mea Lesbia et amemus*, &c. ⁶ Come, let us take our fill of love, and pleasure in dalliance, for this is our portion, this is our lot. *Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis.*⁷ For the rest of heaven and hell, let children and superstitious fools believe it ; for their parts, they are so far from trembling at the dreadful day of judgment, that they wish with Nero, *Me vivo fiat*, let it come in their times ; so secure, so desperate, so immoderate in lust and pleasure, so prone to revenge that, as Paterculus said of some caitiffs in his time in Rome, *Quod nequiter ausi, fortiter executi* : it shall not be so wickedly attempted, but as desperately performed, whatever they take in hand. Were it not for God's restraining grace, fear and shame, temporal punishment, and their own infamy, they would Lycaon-like exenterate, as so many cannibals eat up, or Cadmus's soldiers consume one another. These are most impious, and commonly professed atheists, that never use the name of God

¹ Hor. l. 2. od. 18. "One day succeeds another, and new moons hasten to their wane."

² Luke xvii.

³ Wisd. ii. 2.

⁴ Vers. 6, 7, 8.

⁵ Catullus.

⁶ Prov.

vii. 18.

⁷ "Time glides away, and we grow old by years insensibly accumulating."

but to swear by ; that express nought else but epicurism in their carriage or hypocrisy ; with Pentheus they neglect and contemn these rites and religious ceremonies of the gods ; they will be gods themselves, or at least *socii deorum*. *Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet*. “Cæsar divides the empire with Jove.” Aproyis, an Egyptian tyrant, grew, saith ¹ Herodotus, to that height of pride, insolency of impiety, to that contempt of gods and men, that he held his kingdom so sure, *ut a nemine deorum aut hominum sibi eripi posset*, neither God nor men could take it from him. ² A certain blasphemous king of Spain (as ³ Lansius reports) made an edict, that no subject of his, for ten years’ space, should believe in, call on, or worship any god. And as ⁴ Jovius relates of “Mahomet the Second, that sacked Constantinople, he so behaved himself, that he believed neither Christ nor Mahomet ; and thence it came to pass, that he kept his word and promise no farther than for his advantage, neither did he care to commit any offence to satisfy his lust.” I could say the like of many princes, many private men (our stories are full of them) in times past, this present age, that love, fear, obey, and perform all civil duties as they shall find them expedient or behooveful to their own ends. *Securi adversus Deos, securi adversus homines, votis non est opus*, which ⁵ Tacitus reports of some Germans, they need not pray, fear, hope, for they are secure, to their thinking, both from gods and men. Bulco Opiliensis, sometime Duke of ⁶ Silesia, was such a one to a hair ; he lived (saith ⁷ Æneas Sylvius) at ⁸ Uratislavia, “and was so mad to satisfy his lust, that he believed neither heaven nor hell, or that the soul was immortal, but married wives, and turned them up as he thought fit, did murder and mischief, and what he list himself.” This duke hath too many followers in our days ; say what you

¹ Lib. 1. ² M. Montan. lib. 1, cap. 4.

³ Orat. Cont. Hispan. ne proximo decennio deum adorarent, &c. ⁴ Talem se exhibuit, ut nec in Christum, nec Mahometem crederet, unde effectum ut

promissa nisi quatenus in suum commodum cederent minime servaret, nec ullo

scelere peccatum statueret, ut suis desideriiis satisfaceret. ⁵ Lib. de mor.

Germ. ⁶ Or Breslau. ⁷ Usque adeo

insanus, ut nec inferos, nec superos esse dicat, animasque cum corporibus interire credat, &c. ⁸ Europæ deser. cap.

24.

can, dehort, exhort, persuade to the contrary, they are no more moved,—*quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*, than so many stocks and stones; tell them of heaven and hell, 'tis to no purpose, *laterem lavas*, they answer as Ataliba that Indian prince did friar Vincent, ¹ “when he brought him a book, and told him all the mysteries of salvation, heaven and hell were contained in it; he looked upon it, and said he saw no such matter, asking withal, how he knew it;” they will but scoff at it, or wholly reject it. Petronius in Tacitus, when he was now, by Nero’s command, bleeding to death, *audiebat amicos nihil referentes de immortalitate animæ, aut sapientum placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus*; instead of good counsel and divine meditations, he made his friends sing him bawdy verses and scurrilous songs. Let them take heaven, paradise, and that future happiness that will, *bonum est esse hic*, it is good being here; there is no talking to such, no hope of their conversion, they are, in a reprobate sense, mere carnalists, fleshly-minded men, which howsoever they may be applauded in this life by some few parasites, and held for worldly wise men, ² “They seem to me (saith Melancthon) to be as mad as Hercules was when he raved and killed his wife and children.” A milder sort of these atheistical spirits there are that profess religion, but *timidè et hæsitanter*, tempted thereunto out of that horrible consideration of diversity of religions, which are and have been in the world (which argument, Campanella, *Atheismi Triumphati*, cap. 9, both urgeth and answers), besides the covetousness, imposture, and knavery of priests, *quæ faciunt* (as ³ Postellus observes) *ut rebus sacris minùs faciant fidem*; and those religions some of them so fantastical, exorbitant, so violently maintained with equal constancy and assurance; whence they infer, that if there be so many religious sects, and denied by the rest, why may they not be all false? or

¹ Fratres a Bry. Amer. par. 6, librum a Vincentio monacho datum abiecit, nihil se videre ibi hujusmodi dicens rogansque unde hæc sciret, quum de cœlo et Tartaro contineri ibi diceret. ² Non minus

hi furunt quam Hercules, qui conjugem et liberos interfecit; habet hæc ætas plura hujusmodi portentosa monstra. ³ De orbis con. lib. 1, cap. 7.

why should this or that be preferred before the rest? The skeptics urge this, and amongst others it is the conclusion of Sextus Empiricus, *lib. 8, adversus Mathematicos*; after many philosophical arguments, and reasons *pro* and *con* that there are gods, and again that there are no gods, he so concludes, *cum tot inter se pugnent, &c.* *Una tantum potest esse vera*, as Tully likewise disputes: Christians say, they alone worship the true God, pity all other sects, lament their case; and yet those old Greeks and Romans that worshipped the devil, as the Chinese now do, *aut deos topicos* their own gods, as Julian the apostate, ¹ Cecilius in Minutius, Celsus and Porphyrius the philosopher object, and as Machiavel contends, were much more noble, generous, victorious, had a more flourishing commonwealth, better cities, better soldiers, better scholars, better wits. Their gods often overcame our gods, did as many miracles, &c. Saint Cyril, Arnobius, Minutius, with many other ancients of late, Lessius, Morneus, Grotius, *de Verit. Relig. Christianæ*, Savanarola, *de Verit. Fidei Christianæ*, well defend; but Zanchius, ² Campanella, Marinus Mersennus, Bozius, and Gentilletus answer all these atheistical arguments at large. But this again troubles many as of old, wicked men generally thrive, professed atheists thrive,

³ “Nullos esse deos, inane cœlum,
Affirmat Seliu: probatque, quòd se
Factum, dum negat hæc, videt beatum.”

“There are no gods, heavens are toys,
Seliu in public justifies;
Because that whilst he thus denies
Their deities, he better thrives.”

This is a prime argument; and most part your most sincere, upright, honest, and ⁴ good men are depressed, “The race is

¹ Nonne Romani sine Deo vestro regnant et fruuntur orbe toto, et vos et Deos vestros captivos tenent, &c. Minutius, Octaviano. ² Comment. in Genesin copiosus in hoc subjecto. ³ Martial, l. 4, epig. 21. ⁴ Ecce pars vestrum et major et melior alget, fame laborat, et deus

patitur, dissimulat, non vult, non potest opitulari suis, et vel invalidus vel iniquus est. Cecilius in Minut. Dum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso, Solicitor nullos esse putare deos. Ovid. Vidi ego diis fretos multos decipi. Plautus, Casina, act. 2, scen. 5.

not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, (Eccles. ix. 11,) nor yet bread to the wise, favour nor riches to men of understanding, but time and chance comes to all." There was a great plague in Athens, (as Thucydides, *lib.* 2, relates,) in which at last every man, with great licentiousness, did what he list, not caring at all for God's or men's laws. "Neither the fear of God nor laws of men (saith he) awed any man, because the plague swept all away alike, good and bad; they thence concluded it was alike to worship or not worship the gods, since they perished all alike." Some cavil and make doubts of Scripture itself: it cannot stand with God's mercy, that so many should be damned, so many bad, so few good, such have and hold about religions, all stiff on their side, factious alike, thrive alike, and yet bitterly persecuting and damning each other; "It cannot stand with God's goodness, protection, and providence (as ¹ Saint Chrysostom in the Dialect of such discontented persons) to see and suffer one man to be lame, another mad, a third poor and miserable all the days of his life, a fourth grievously tormented with sickness and aches, to his last hour. Are these signs and works of God's providence, to let one man be deaf, another dumb? A poor honest fellow lives in disgrace, woe and want, wretched he is; when as a wicked caitiff abounds in superfluity of wealth, keeps whores, parasites, and what he will himself:" *Audis, Jupiter, hæc? Talia multa connectentes, longum reprehensionis sermonem erga Dei providentiam contexunt.* ² Thus they mutter and object (see the rest of their arguments in Mersennus in Genesin, and in Campanella, amply confuted,) with many such vain cavils, well known, not worthy the recapitulation or answering; whatsoever they pretend, they are *interim* of little or no religion.

Cousin-germans to these men are many of our great philosophers and deists, who, though they be more temperate in

¹ Ser. 30. in 5 cap. ad Ephes. hic fractis est pedibus, alter furit, alius ad extremam senectam progressus omnem vitam paupertate peragit, ille morbis gravissimis: sunt hæc Providentiæ ope-

ra? hic surdus, ille mutus, &c. ² "Oh! Jupiter, do you hear those things? Collecting many such facts, they weave a tissue of reproaches against God's providence."

this life, give many good moral precepts, honest, upright, and sober in their conversation, yet in effect they are the same (accounting no man a good scholar that is not an atheist), *nimis altum sapiunt*, too much learning makes them mad. Whilst they attribute all to natural causes, ¹contingence of all things, as Melancthon calls them, *Pertinax hominum genus*, a peevish generation of men, that misled by philosophy and the devil's suggestion, their own innate blindness, deny God as much as the rest, hold all religion a fiction, opposite to reason and philosophy, though for fear of magistrates, saith ²Vaninus, they durst not publicly profess it. Ask one of them of what religion he is, he scoffingly replies, a philosopher, a Galenist, an ³Averroist, and with Rabelais a physician, a peripatetic, an epicure. In spiritual things God must demonstrate all to sense, leave a pawn with them, or else seek some other creditor. They will acknowledge Nature and Fortune, yet not God; though in effect they grant both; for as Scaliger defines, Nature signifies God's ordinary power; or, as Calvin writes, Nature is God's order, and so things extraordinary may be called unnatural; Fortune his unrevealed will; and so we call things changeable that are beside reason and expectation. To this purpose ⁴Minutius, in *Octavio*, and ⁵Seneca well discourseth with them, *lib. 4, de beneficiis, cap. 5, 6, 7*. "They do not understand what they say; what is Nature but God? call him what thou wilt, Nature, Jupiter, he hath as many names as offices; it comes all to one pass, God is the fountain of all, the first Giver and Preserver, from whom all things depend," ⁶*a quo, et per quem omnia, Nam quodcunque vides Deus est, quocunque moveris*, "God is all in all, God is everywhere, in every place." And yet this Seneca, that could confute and blame them, is all out as much to be blamed and confuted himself, as mad himself; for he holds *fatum Stoicum*, that inevitable necessity in the

¹ Omnia contingenter fieri volunt. Melancthon, in præceptum primum.

² Dial. 1, lib. 4, de admir. nat. Arcanis.

³ Anima mea sit cum animis philosophorum. ⁴ Deum unum multis designant

nominibus, &c.

⁵ Non intelligis te quum hæc dicis, negare te ipsum nomen Dei: quid enim est aliud Natura quam Deus? &c., tot habet appellationes quot munera. ⁶ Austin.

other extreme, as those Chaldean astrologers of old did, against whom the prophet Jeremiah so often thunders, and those heathen mathematicians, Nigidius Fingulus, magicians, and Priscilianists, whom St. Austin so eagerly confutes, those Arabian questionaries, Novem Judices, Albumazer, Dorotheus, &c., and our countryman ¹Estuidus, that take upon them to define out of those great conjunctions of stars, with Ptolemy, the periods of kingdoms, or religions, of all future accidents, wars, plagues, schisms, heresies, and what not? all from stars, and such things, saith Maginus, *Quæ sibi et intelligentiis suis reservavit Deus*, which God hath reserved to himself and his angels, they will take upon them to foretell, as if stars were immediate, inevitable causes of all future accidents. Cæsar Vaninus, in his book *de admirandis naturæ Arcanis*, dial. 52, *de oraculis*, is more free, copious, and open in the explication of this astrological tenet of Ptolemy, than any of our modern writers, Cardan excepted, a true disciple of his master Pomponatius; according to the doctrine of peripatetics, he refers all apparitions, prodigies, miracles, oracles, accidents, alterations of religions, kingdoms, &c., (for which he is soundly lashed by Marinus Mersennus, as well he deserves,) to natural causes (for spirits he will not acknowledge), to that light motion, influences of heavens and stars, and to the intelligences that move the orbs. *Intelligentia quæ movet orbem mediante cælo*, &c. Intelligences do all; and after a long discourse of miracles done of old, *si hæc dæmones possint, cur non et intelligentiæ cælorum motrices?* And as these great conjunctions, aspects of planets, begin or end, vary, are vertical and predominant, so have religions, rites, ceremonies, and kingdoms their beginning, progress, periods, *in urbibus, regibus, religionibus, ac in particularibus hominibus, hæc vera ac manifesta sunt, ut Aristoteles innuere videtur, et quotidiana docet experientia, ut historias perlegens videbit; quid olim in Gentili lege Jove sanctius et illustrius? quid nunc vile magis et execrandum? Ita cælestia corpora*

¹ Principio ephæmer.

*pro mortalium beneficio religiones ædificant, et cum cessat influxus, cessat lex,*¹ &c. And because, according to their tenets, the world is eternal, intelligences eternal, influences of stars eternal, kingdoms, religions, alterations shall be likewise eternal, and run round after many ages; *Atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles; renascentur religiones, et ceremoniæ, res humanæ in idem recident, nihil nunc est quod non olim fuit, et post sæculorum revolutiones alias, erit,*² &c., *idem specie,* saith Vaninus, *non individuo quod Plato significavit.* These (saith mine ³ author), these are the decrees of peripatetics, which though I recite, *in obsequium Christianæ fidei detestor*, as I am a Christian I detest and hate. Thus peripatetics and astrologers held in former times, and to this effect of old in Rome, saith Dionysius Halicarnassæus, *lib. 7*, when those meteors and prodigies appeared in the air, after the banishment of Coriolanus, ⁴ "Men were diversely affected: some said they were God's just judgments for the execution of that good man, some referred all to natural causes, some to stars, some thought they came by chance, some by necessity," decreed *ab initio*, and could not be altered. The last two opinions of necessity and chance were, it seems, of greater note than the rest.

⁵ "Sunt qui in Fortunæ jam casibus omnia ponunt,
Et mundum credunt nullo rectore moveri,
Naturâ volvente vices," &c.

For the first of chance, as ⁶ Sallust likewise informeth us,

¹ "In cities, kings, religions, and in individual men, these things are true and obvious, as Aristotle appears to imply, and daily experience teaches to the reader of history; for what was more sacred and illustrious, by Gentile law, than Jupiter? what now more vile and execrable? In this way celestial objects suggest religions for worldly motives, and when the influx ceases, so does the law," &c.

² "And again a great Achilles shall be sent against Troy: religions and their ceremonies shall be born again; however affairs relapse into the same tract, there is nothing now that was not formerly and will not be again," &c.

³ Vaninus, dial. 52, de oraculis. ⁴ Varie

homines affecti, alii dei judicium ad tam pii exilium, alii ad naturam referebant, nec ab indignatione dei, sed humanis causis, &c., 12, Natural. quæst. 33, 39. ⁵ Juv. Sat. 13. "There are those who ascribe everything to chance, and believe that the world is made without a director, *nature* influencing the vicissitudes," &c. ⁶ Epist. ad C. Cæsar. Romani olim putabant fortunam regna et imperia dare: Credebant antea mortales fortunam solam opes et honores largiri, idque duabus de causis: primum quod indignus quisque dives, honoratus, potens; alterum, vix quisquam perpetuo bonis iis frui visus. Postea prudentiores didicere fortunam suam quemque fingere.

those old Romans generally received; "They supposed fortune alone gave kingdoms and empires, wealth, honours, offices; and that for two causes: first, because every wicked base unworthy wretch was preferred, rich, potent, &c.; secondly, because of their uncertainty, though never so good, scarce any one enjoyed them long; but after, they began upon better advice to think otherwise, that every man made his own fortune." The last of necessity was Seneca's tenet, that God was *alligatus causis secundis*, so tied to second causes, to that inexorable necessity, that he could alter nothing of that which was once decreed; *sic erat in fatis*, it cannot be altered, *semel jussit, semper paret Deus, nulla vis rumpit, nullæ preces, nec ipsum fulmen*, God hath once said it, and it must forever stand good, no prayers, no threats, nor power, nor thunder itself can alter it. Zeno, Chrysippus, and these other Stoics, as you may read in Tully, 2, *de divinatione*, Gellius, *lib. 6, cap. 2*, &c., maintained as much. In all ages, there have been such, that either deny God in all, or in part; some deride him, they could have made a better world, and ruled it more orderly themselves, blaspheme him, derogate at their pleasure from him. 'Twas so in ¹Plato's time, "Some say there be no gods, others that they care not for men, a middle sort grant both." *Si non sit Deus, unde bona? si sit Deus, unde mala?* So Cotta argues in Tully, why made he not all good, or at least tenders not the welfare of such as are good? As the woman told Alexander, if he be not at leisure to hear causes, and redress them, why doth he reign? ²Sextus Empiricus hath many such arguments. Thus perverse men cavil. So it will ever be, some of all sorts, good, bad, indifferent, true, false, zealous, ambidexters, neutralists, lukewarm, libertines, atheists, &c. They will see these religious sectaries agree amongst themselves, be reconciled all, before they will participate with, or believe any; they think in the mean time (which ³Celsus objects, and

¹ 10, de legib. Alii negant esse deos, alii deos non curare res humanas, alii utraque concedunt.

mathem.

² Origen. contra Celsum, 1. 3, hos immerito nobiscum conferri fuisse declarat.

³ Lib. 8, ad

whom Origen confutes), "We Christians adore a person put to ¹death with no more reason than the barbarous Getes worshipped Zamolxis, the Cilicians Mopsus, the Thebans Amphiaraus, and the Lebadians Trophonius; one religion is as true as another, newfangled devices, all for human respects;" great-witted Aristotle's works are as much authentic to them as Scriptures, subtle Seneca's Epistles as canonical as St. Paul's, Pindarus's Odes as good as the Prophet David's Psalms, Epictetus's Enchiridion equivalent to wise Solomon's Proverbs. They do openly and boldly speak this and more, some of them, in all places and companies. ²"Claudius the emperor was angry with Heaven, because it thundered, and challenged Jupiter into the field; with what madness! saith Seneca; he thought Jupiter could not hurt him, but he could hurt Jupiter," *Diagorus, Demonax, Epicurus, Pliny, Lucian, Lucretius*,—*Contemptorque Deum Mezentius*, "professed atheists all" in their times; though not simple atheists neither, as Cicogna proves, *lib. 1, cap. 1*, they scoffed only at those Pagan gods, their plurality, base and fictitious offices. Gilbertus Cognatus labours much, and so doth Erasmus, to vindicate Lucian from scandal, and there be those that apologize for Epicurus, but all in vain; Lucian scoffs at all, Epicurus he denies all, and Lucretius his scholar defends him in it:

³ "Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret,
In terris oppressa gravi cum religione,
Quæ caput a cœli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans," &c.

"When human kind was drenched in superstition
With ghastly looks aloft, which frighted mortal men," &c.

He alone, like another Hercules, did vindicate the world from that monster. Uncle ⁴Pliny, *lib. 2, cap. 7, nat. hist.* and *lib. 7, cap. 55*, in express words denies the immortality

¹ Crucifixum deum ignominiosè Lucianus, vita peregrin. Christum vocat.

² De ira, l6, 34. Iratus cœlo quod obstreperet, ad pugnam vocans Jovem, quanta dementia? putavit sibi nocere

non posse, et se nocere tamen Jovi posse. ³ Lib. 1, l. 1.

⁴ Idem status post mortem, ac fuit antequam nasceremur, et Seneca. Idem erit post me quod ante me fuit.

of the soul. ¹ Seneca doth little less, *lib. 7, epist. 55, ad Lucilium, et lib. de consol. ad Martiam*, or rather more. Some Greek commentators would put as much upon Job, that he should deny resurrection, &c., whom Pineda copiously confutes in *cap. 7. Job, vers. 9*, Aristotle is hardly censured of some, both divines and philosophers. St. Justin, in *Parænetica ad Gentes*, Greg. Nazianzen. in *disput. adversus Eun.* Theodoret, *lib. 5, de curat. græc. affec.* Origen. *lib. de principiis*. Pomponatius justifies him in his Tract (so styled at least) *De immortalitate Animæ*, Scaliger (who would forswear himself at any time, saith Patritius, in defence of his great master Aristotle), and Dandinus, *lib. 3, de animâ*, acknowledge as much. Averroes oppugns all spirits and supreme powers; of late Brunus (*infelix Brunus*, ² Kepler calls him), Machiavel, Cæsar Vaninus lately burned at Toulouse in France, and Pet. Aretine, have publicly maintained such atheistical paradoxes, ³ with that Italian Boccaccio with his fable of three rings, &c., *ex quo infert haud posse internosci, quæ sit verior religio, Judaica, Mahometana, an Christiana, quoniam eadem signa, &c.*, “from which he infers, that it cannot be distinguished which is the true religion, Judaism, Mahommedanism, or Christianity,” &c. ⁴ Marinus Mersennus suspects Cardan for his subtleties, Campanella, and Charron’s Book of Wisdom, with some other Tracts to savour of ⁵ atheism; but amongst the rest that pestilent book *de tribus mundi impostoribus, quem sine horrore (inquit) non legas, et mundi Cymbalum dialogis quatuor contentum, anno 1538, auctore Peresio, Parisiis excusum*, ⁶ &c. And as there have been in all ages such blasphemous spirits, so there have not been wanting their patrons, protectors, disciples, and adherents. Never so many atheists in Italy and Germany, saith ⁷ Colerus, as in this age; the like complaint

¹ Lucernæ eadem conditio quum extinguitur, ac fuit antequam accendetur; ita et hominis. ² Dissert. cum nunc. sider. ³ Campanella, cap. 18. Atheism. triumphat. ⁴ Comment. in Gen. cap. 7. ⁵ So that a man may

meet an atheist as soon in his study as in the street. ⁶ Simonis religio incerto auctore Cracoviæ edit. 1588, conclusio libri est, Ede itaque, bibe, lude, &c., jam Deus figmentum est. ⁷ Lib. de immortal. animæ.

Mersennus makes in France, 50,000 in that one city of Paris. Frederic the Emperor, as ¹ Matthew Paris records, *licet non sit recitabile* (I use his own words), is reported to have said, *Tres præstigiatores, Moses, Christus, et Mahomet, uti mundo dominarentur, totum populum sibi contemporaneum seduxisse.* (Henry the Landgrave of Hesse, heard him speak it,) *Si principes imperii institutioni meæ adhærerent, ego multò meliorem modum credendi et vivendi ordinarem.*

To these professed atheists we may well add that impious and carnal crew of worldly-minded men, impenitent sinners, that go to hell in a lethargy, or in a dream ; who though they be professed Christians, yet they will *nullâ pallescere culpâ*, make a conscience of nothing they do, they have cauterized consciences, and are indeed in a reprobate sense, “past all feeling, have given themselves over to wantonness, to work all manner of uncleanness even with greediness,” Ephes. iv. 19. They do know there is a God, a day of judgment to come, and yet for all that, as Hugo saith, *ita comedunt ac dormiunt, ac si diem judicii evasissent ; ita ludunt ac rident, ac si in cælis cum Deo regnarent ;* they are as merry for all the sorrow, as if they had escaped all dangers, and were in heaven already :

² “Metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjicit pedibus, strepitumque Acheronris avari.”

Those rude idiots and ignorant persons, that neglect and condemn the means of their salvation, may march on with these ; but above all others, those Herodian temporizing statesmen, political Machiavelians and hypocrites, that make a show of religion, but in their hearts laugh at it. *Simulata sanctitas duplex iniquitas ;* they are in a double fault, “that fashion themselves to this world,” which ³ Paul forbids, and like Mercury, the planet, are good with good, bad with bad. When they are at Rome, they do there as they see done, puritans with puritans, papists with papists ; *omnium horarum*

¹ Pag. 645, an. 1238, ad finem Henrici tertii. Idem Pisterius, pag. 743, in compilat. sua. ² Virg. “They place fear, fate, and the sound of craving Acheron under their feet.” ³ Rom. xii. 2.

homines, formalists, ambidexters, lukewarm Laodiceans. ¹All their study is to please, and their god is their commodity, their labour to satisfy their lusts, and their endeavours to their own ends. Whatsoever they pretend, or in public seem to do, ²“With the fool in their hearts they say there is no God.” *Heus tu—de Jove quid sentis?* “Hulloa! what is your opinion about a ³Jupiter?” Their words are as soft as oil, but bitterness is in their hearts; like Alexander VI. so cunning dissemblers, that what they think, they never speak. Many of them are so close, you can hardly discern it, or take any just exceptions at them; they are not factious, oppressors as most are, no bribers, no simoniacal contractors, no such ambitious, lascivious persons as some others are, no drunkards, *sobrii solem vident orientem, sobrii vident occidentem*, they rise sober, and go sober to bed, plain dealing, upright, honest men, they do wrong to no man, and are so reputed in the world's esteem at least, very zealous in religion, very charitable, meek, humble, peacemakers, keep all duties, very devout, honest, well spoken of, beloved of all men; but he that knows better how to judge, he that examines the heart, saith they are hypocrites, *Cor dolo plenum; sonant vitium percussa malignè*, they are not sound within. As it is with writers ⁴oftentimes, *Plus sanctimonie in libello, quam libelli auctore*, more holiness is in the book than in the author of it; so 'tis with them; many come to church with great Bibles, whom Cardan said he could not choose but laugh at, and will now and then *dare operam Augustino*, read Austin, frequent sermons, and yet professed usurers, mere gripes, *tota vitæ ratio epicurea est*; all their life is epicurism and atheism, come to church all day, and lie with a courtesan at night. *Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt*, they have Esau's hands, and Jacob's voice; yea, and many of those holy friars, sanctified men, Cappam, saith Hierom, *et cilicium induunt, sed intus latronem tegunt*. They are wolves

¹ Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.
ciardini.

⁴ Erasmus.

² Psal. xiv. 1.

³ Guic

in sheep's clothing, *Introrsum turpes, speciosi pelle decorá*, "Fair without, and most foul within." ¹*Latet plerumque sub tristi amictu lascivia, et deformis horror vili veste tegitur*; oft-times under a mourning weed lies lust itself, and horrible vices under a poor coat. But who can examine all those kinds of hypocrites, or dive into their hearts? If we may guess at the tree by the fruit, never so many as in these days; show me a plaindealing true honest man; *Et pudor, et probitas, et timor omnis abest*. He that shall but look into their lives, and see such enormous vices, men so immoderate in lust, unspeakable in malice, furious in their rage, flattering and dissembling (all for their own ends), will surely think they are not truly religious, but of an obdurate heart, most part in a reprobate sense, as in this age. But let them carry it as they will for the present, dissemble as they can, a time will come when they shall be called to an account, their melancholy is at hand, they pull a plague and curse upon their own heads, *thesaurisant iram Dei*. Besides all such as are *in deos contumeliosi*, blaspheme, contemn, neglect God, or scoff at him, as the poets feign of Salmoneus, that would in derision imitate Jupiter's thunder, he was precipitated for his pains, Jupiter *intonuit contra*, &c., so shall they certainly rue it in the end, (²*in se spuit qui in cælum spuit*,) their doom's at hand, and hell is ready to receive them.

Some are of opinion, that it is in vain to dispute with such atheistical spirits in the mean time, 'tis not the best way to reclaim them. Atheism, idolatry, heresy, hypocrisy, though they have one common root, that is, indulgence to corrupt affection, yet their growth is different, they have divers symptoms, occasions, and must have several cures and remedies. 'Tis true some deny there is any God, some confess, yet believe it not; a third sort confess and believe, but will not live after his laws, worship and obey him; others allow God and gods subordinate, but not one God, no such general God, *non talem Deum*, but several topic gods for several places,

¹ Hierom.² Senec. consol. ad Polyb. ca. 21.

and those not to persecute one another for any difference, as Socinus will, but rather love and cherish.

To describe them in particular, to produce their arguments and reasons, would require a just volume, I refer them therefore that expect a more ample satisfaction, to those subtle and elaborate treatises, devout and famous tracts of our learned divines (schoolmen amongst the rest, and casuists), that have abundance of reasons to prove there is a God, the immortality of the soul, &c., out of the strength of wit and philosophy bring irrefragable arguments to such as are ingenuous and well disposed; at the least, answer all cavils and objections to confute their folly and madness, and to reduce them, *si fieri posset, ad sanam mentem*, to a better mind, though to small purpose many times. Amongst others consult with Julius Cæsar Lagalla, professor of philosophy in Rome, who hath written a large volume of late to confute atheists; of the immortality of the soul, Hierom. Montanus *de immortalitate Animæ*; Lelius Vincentius of the same subject. Thomas Giaminus, and Franciscus Collius *de Paganorum animabus post mortem*, a famous doctor of the Ambrosian College in Milan. Bishop Fotherby in his *Atheomastix*, Doctor Dove, Doctor Jackson, Abernethy, Corderoy, have written well of this subject in our mother tongue; in Latin, Colerus, Zanchius, Paleareus, Illyricus, ¹ Philippus, Faber Faventinus, &c. But *instar omnium*, the most copious confuter of atheists is Marinus Mersennus in his Commentaries on Genesis; ² with Campanella's *Atheismus Triumphatus*. He sets down at large the causes of this brutish passion (seventeen in number I take it), answers all their arguments and sophisms, which he reduceth to twenty-six heads, proving withal his own assertion; "There is a God, such a God, the true and sole God," by thirty-five reasons. His Colophon is how to resist and repress atheism and to that purpose he adds four especial means or ways, which whoso will may profitably peruse.

¹ Disput. 4, Philosophiæ adver. Atheos. Venetiis, 1627, quarto. fol. 1631.

² Edit. Romæ,

SUBSECT. II.—*Despair. Despairs, Equivocations, Definition, Parties and Parts affected.*

THERE be many kinds of desperation, whereof some be holy, some unholy, as ¹one distinguisheth; that unholy he defines out of Tully to be *Ægritudinem animi sine ullâ rerum expectatione meliore*, a sickness of the soul without any hope or expectation of amendment; which commonly succeeds fear; for whilst evil is expected, we fear; but when it is certain, we despair. According to Thomas, 1, 2æ, *distinct.* 40, *art.* 4, it is *Recessus a re desideratâ, propter impossibilitatem existimatam*, a restraint from the thing desired, for some impossibility supposed. Because they cannot obtain what they would, they become desperate, and many times either yield to the passion by death itself, or else attempt impossibilities, not to be performed by men. In some cases, this desperate humour is not much to be discommended, as in wars it is a cause many times of extraordinary valour; as Joseph., *lib.* 1, *de bello Jud. cap.* 14, L. Danæus, in *Aphoris. polit. pag.* 226, and many politicians hold. It makes them improve their worth beyond itself, and of a forlorn impotent company become conquerors in a moment. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*, “the only hope for the conquered is despair.” In such courses when they see no remedy, but that they must either kill or be killed, they take courage, and oftentimes, *præter spem*, beyond all hope vindicate themselves. Fifteen thousand Locrenses fought against a hundred thousand Crotonienses, and seeing now no way but one, they must all die, ²thought they would not depart unrevenge, and thereupon desperately giving an assault, conquered their enemies. *Nec alia causa victoriæ* (saith Justin mine author) *quam quòd desperaverant*. William the Conqueror, when he first landed in England, sent back his ships, that his soldiers might have no hope of retiring back. ³Bo-

¹ Abernethy, c. 24, of his *Physic of the Soul*.
² Omissâ spe victoriæ in destinatam mortem conspirant, tantusque ardor

singulos cepit, ut victores se putarent si non inulti morerentur. Justin. l. 20.

³ Method. hist. cap. 5.

dine excuseth his countrymen's overthrow at that famous battle at Agincourt, in Henry the Fifth his time (*cui simile*, saith Froissart, *tota historia producere non possit*, which no history can parallel almost, wherein one handful of Englishmen overthrew a royal army of Frenchmen), with this refuge of despair, *pauci desperati*, a few desperate fellows being compassed in by their enemies, past all hope of life, fought like so many devils; and gives a caution, that no soldiers hereafter set upon desperate persons, which ¹after Frontinus and Vegetius, Guicciardini likewise admonisheth, *Hypomnes*, *part. 2, pag. 25*, not to stop an enemy that is going his way. Many such kinds there are of desperation, when men are past hope of obtaining any suit, or in despair of better fortune; *Desperatio facit monachum*, as the saying is, and desperation causeth death itself; how many thousands in such distress have made away themselves, and many others! For he that cares not for his own, is master of another man's life. A Tuscan soothsayer, as ²Paterculus tells the story, perceiving himself and Fulvius Flaccus his dear friend, now both carried to prison by Opimius, and in despair of pardon, seeing the young man weep, *quid tu potius hoc, inquit, facis*, do as I do; and with that knocked out his brains against the door-cheek, as he was entering into prison, *protinusque illiso capite in carceris januam effuso cerebro expiravit*, and so desperately died. But these are equivocal, improper. "When I speak of despair," saith *Zanchy, "I speak not of every kind, but of that alone which concerns God. It is opposite to hope, and a most pernicious sin, wherewith the devil seeks to entrap men." Musculus makes four kinds of desperation, of God, ourselves, our neighbour, or anything to be done; but this division of his may be reduced easily to the former; all kinds are opposite to hope, that sweet moderator of passions, as Simonides calls it; I do not mean that vain hope

¹ Hosti abire volenti iter minimè inter-
scindas, &c. ² Poster. volum. * Su-
per præceptum primum de Relig. et par-
tibus ejus. Non loquor de omni despe-

ratione, sed tantum de eâ quâ desperare
solent homines de Deo; opponitur spei,
et est peccatum gravissimum, &c.

which fantastical fellows feign to themselves, which, according to Aristotle is *insomnium vigilantium*, a waking dream ; but this divine hope which proceeds from confidence, and is an anchor to a floating soul ; *spes alit agricolas*, even in our temporal affairs, hope revives us, but in spiritual it farther animateth ; and were it not for hope, “ we of all others were the most miserable,” as Paul saith, in this life ; were it not for hope, the heart would break ; “ for though they be punished in the sight of men,” (Wisdom iii. 4,) yet is “ their hope full of immortality ; ” yet doth it not so rear, as despair doth deject ; this violent and sour passion of despair, is of all perturbations most grievous, as ¹ Patritius holds. Some divide it into final and temporal ; ² final is incurable, which befalleth reprobates ; temporal is a rejection of hope and comfort for a time, which may befall the best of God’s children, and it commonly proceeds ³ “ from weakness of faith,” as in David when he was oppressed he cried out, “ O Lord, thou hast forsaken me,” but this for a time. This ebbs and flows with hope and fear ; it is a grievous sin howsoever ; although some kind of despair be not amiss, when, saith Zanchius, we despair of our own means, and rely wholly upon God ; but that species is not here meant. This pernicious kind of desperation is the subject of our discourse, *homicida animæ*, the murderer of the soul, as Austin terms it, a fearful passion, wherein the party oppressed thinks he can get no ease but by death, and is fully resolved to offer violence unto himself ; so sensible of his burden, and impatient of his cross, that he hopes by death alone to be freed of his calamity (though it prove otherwise), and chooseth with Job vi. 8, 9 ; vii. 15, “ Rather to be strangled and die, than to be in his bonds.” ⁴ The part affected is the whole soul, and all the faculties of it ; there is a privation of joy, hope, trust, confidence, of present and future good, and in their place succeed fear, sorrow, &c., as in the symptoms shall

¹ Lib. 5. tit. 21. de regis institut. persistunt. Zanchius.
Omnium perturbationum deterrima. infidelitate proficiscens.

³ Vitium ab
⁴ Abernethy.

² Reprobi usque ad finem pertinaciter thy.

be shown. The heart is grieved, the conscience wounded, the mind eclipsed with black fumes arising from those perpetual terrors.

SUBJECT. III. — *Causes of Despair, the Devil, Melancholy, Meditation, Distrust, Weakness of Faith, Rigid Ministers, Misunderstanding Scriptures, Guilty Consciences, &c.*

THE principal agent and procurer of this mischief is the devil; those whom God forsakes, the devil by his permission lays hold on. Sometimes he persecutes them with that worm of conscience, as he did Judas, ¹ Saul, and others. The poets call it Nemesis, but it is indeed God's just judgment, *sero sed serio*, he strikes home at last, and setteth upon them "as a thief in the night," 1 Thes. ii. ² This temporary passion made David cry out, "Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me in thine heavy displeasure; for thine arrows have light upon me, &c., there is nothing sound in my flesh, because of thine anger." Again, I roar for the very grief of my heart; and Psalm xxii. "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, and art so far from my health, and the words of my crying? I am like to water poured out, my bones are out of joint, mine heart is like wax, that is molten in the midst of my bowels." So Psalm lxxxviii. 15 and 16 vers. and Psalm cii. "I am in misery at the point of death, from my youth I suffer thy terrors, doubting for my life; thine indignations have gone over me, and thy fear hath cut me off." Job doth often complain in this kind; and those God doth not assist, the devil is ready to try and torment, "still seeking whom he may devour." If he find them merry, saith Gregory, "he tempts them forthwith to some dissolute act; if pensive and sad, to a desperate end." *Aut suadendo blanditur, aut minando terret*, sometimes by fair means, sometimes again by foul, as he perceives men severally inclined. His ordinary engine by which he produces this effect, is the melancholy

¹ 1 Sam. ii. 16.

² Psal. xxxviii.

humour itself, which is *balneum diaboli*, the devil's bath; and as in Saul, those evil spirits get in ¹as it were, and take possession of us. Black choler is a shoeing-horn, a bait to allure them, insomuch that many writers make melancholy an ordinary cause, and a symptom of despair, for that such men are most apt, by reason of their ill-disposed temper, to distrust, fear, grief, mistake, and amplify whatsoever they preposterously conceive, or falsely apprehend. *Conscientia scrupulosa nascitur ex vitio naturali, complexionem melancholicâ*, (saith Navarrus, *cap. 27, num. 282, tom. 2, cas. conscien.*) The body works upon the mind, by obfuscating the spirits and corrupted instruments, which ²Perkins illustrates by simile of an artificer, that hath a bad tool, his skill is good, ability correspondent, by reason of ill tools his work must needs be lame and imperfect. But melancholy and despair, though often, do not always concur; there is much difference; melancholy fears without a cause, this upon great occasion; melancholy is caused by fear and grief, but this torment procures them and all extremity of bitterness; much melancholy is without affliction of conscience, as ³Bright and Perkins illustrate by four reasons; and yet melancholy alone again may be sometimes a sufficient cause of this terror of conscience. ⁴Felix Plater so found it in his observations, *e melancholicis alii damnatos se putant, Deo curæ non sunt, nec prædestinati*, &c. "They think they are not predestinate, God hath forsaken them;" and yet otherwise very zealous and religious; and 'tis common to be seen, "melancholy for fear of God's judgment and hell-fire, drives men to desperation; fear and sorrow, if they be immoderate, end often with it." Intolerable pain and anguish, long sickness, captivity, misery, loss of goods, loss of friends, and those lesser griefs, do sometimes effect it, or such dismal accidents. *Si non statim relevantur*, ⁵Mersennus, *dubitant*

¹ Immiscent se mali genii, Lem. lib. 1, cap. 16.

² Cases of conscience, l. 1, 16.

³ Tract. Melan. cap. 33 et 34.

⁴ C. 3, de mentis alien. Deo minus se curæ esse, nec ad salutem prædestinatos esse. Ad

desperationem sæpe ducit hæc melancholia. et est frequentissima ob supplicii metum æternumque judicium; moeror et metus in desperationem plerumque desinunt.

⁵ Comment. in 1 cap. gen.

an sit Deus, if they be not eased forthwith, they doubt whether there be any God, they rave, curse, “and are desperately mad because good men are oppressed, wicked men flourish, they have not as they think to their desert,” and through impatience of calamities are so misaffected. Democritus put out his eyes, *ne malorum civium prosperos videret successus*, because he could not abide to see wicked men prosper, and was therefore ready to make away himself, as ¹ Agellius writes of him. Felix Plater hath a memorable example in this kind, of a painter’s wife in Basil, that was melancholy for her son’s death, and for melancholy became desperate; she thought God would not pardon her sins, ² “and for four months still raved, that she was in hell-fire, already damned.” When the humour is stirred up, every small object aggravates and incenseth it, as the parties are addicted. ³ The same author hath an example of a merchant man, that for the loss of a little wheat, which he had over long kept, was troubled in conscience, for that he had not sold it sooner, or given it to the poor, yet a good scholar and a great divine; no persuasion would serve to the contrary but that for this fact he was damned; in other matters very judicious and discreet. Solitariness, much fasting, divine meditation, and contemplations of God’s judgments, most part accompany this melancholy, and are main causes, as ⁴ Navarrus holds; to converse with such kind of persons so troubled, is sufficient occasion of trouble to some men. *Nonnulli ob longas inedia, studia et meditationes cælestes, de rebus sacris et religione semper agitant*, &c. Many (saith P. Forestus) through long fasting, serious meditations of heavenly things, fall into such fits; and as Lemnius adds, *lib. 4, cap. 21*, ⁵ “If they be solitary given, superstitious, precise, or

artic. 3, quia impii florent, boni opprimuntur, &c., alius ex consideratione hujus seriâ desperabundus. ¹ Lib. 20, c. 17.

² Damnata se putavit, et per quatuor menses Gehennæ poenam sentire.

³ 1566, ob triticum diutius servatum conscientie stimulis agitur, &c. ⁴ Tom.

2, c. 27, num. 282, conversatio cum scrupulosi, vigiliæ, jejunia.

⁵ Solitarios et superstitiosos plerumque exagitat conscientia, non mercatores, lenones, caupones, feneratores, &c., largiorem hi nacti sunt conscientiam. Juvenes plerumque conscientiam negligunt, senes autem, &c.

very devout ; seldom shall you find a merchant, a soldier, an innkeeper, a bawd, a host, a usurer so troubled in mind, they have cheveril consciences that will stretch, they are seldom moved in this kind or molested ; young men and middle age are more wild and less apprehensive ; but old folks, most part, such as are timorous and religiously given." Pet. Forestus, *observat. lib. 10, cap. 12, de morbis cerebri*, hath a fearful example of a minister, that through precise fasting in Lent, and overmuch meditation, contracted this mischief, and in the end became desperate, thought he saw devils in his chamber, and that he could not be saved ; he smelled nothing, as he said, but fire and brimstone, was already in hell, and would ask them, still, if they did not ¹ smell as much. I told him he was melancholy, but he laughed me to scorn, and replied that he saw devils, talked with them in good earnest, would spit in my face, and ask me if I did not smell brimstone, but at last he was by him cured. Such another story I find in Plater, *observat. lib. 1*. A poor fellow had done some foul offence, and for fourteen days would eat no meat, in the end became desperate, the divines about him could not ease him, ² but so he died. Continual meditation of God's judgments troubles many, *Multi ob timorem futuri judicii*, saith Guatinerius, *cap. 5, tract. 15, et suspicionem desperabundi sunt*. David himself complains that God's judgments terrified his soul, Psalm cxix. part 16, vers. 8, "My flesh trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy judgments." *Quoties diem illum cogito* (saith ³ Hierome) *toto corpore contremisco*, I tremble as often as I think of it. The terrible meditation of hell-fire and eternal punishment much torments a sinful silly soul. What's a thousand years to eternity ? *Ubi mæror, ubi fletus, ubi dolor sempiternus ? Mors sine morte, finis sine fine* ; a finger burnt by chance we may not endure, the pain is so grievous, we may not abide an

¹ An non sentis sulphur, inquit ? absint ab insaniâ ; neque tamen aliud

² Desperabundus misere perit.

³ In hac mentis anxietate efficiunt, quam ut 17 Johannis. Non pauci se cruciant, et diabolo potestatem faciant ipsos per desperationem ad inferos producendi.

hour, a night is intolerable ; and what shall this unspeakable fire then be that burns forever, innumerable infinite millions of years, *in omne ævum, in æternum*. O eternity !

1“ *Æternitas est illa vox,
Vox illa fulminatrix,
Tonitruis minacior,
Fragoribusque cœli,
Æternitas est illa vox,
—metâ carens et ortu, &c.
Tormenta nulla teritant,
Quæ finiuntur annis;
Æternitas, æternitas
Versat coquitque pectus.
Auget hæc pœnas indies,
Centuplicatque flammas,” &c.*

This meditation terrifies these poor distressed souls, especially if their bodies be predisposed by melancholy, they religiously given, and have tender consciences, every small object affrights them, the very inconsiderate reading of Scripture itself, and misinterpretation of some places of it ; as, “Many are called, few are chosen. Not every one that saith Lord. Fear not little flock. He that stands, let him take heed lest he fall. Work out your salvation with fear and trembling. That night two shall be in a bed, one received, the other left. Strait is the way that leads to heaven, and few there are that enter therein.” The parable of the seed and of the sower, “some fell on barren ground, some was choked. Whom he hath predestinated he hath chosen. He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy.” *Non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei*. These and the like places terrify the souls of many ; election, predestination, reprobation, preposterously conceived, offend divers, with a deal of foolish presumption, curiosity, needless speculation, contemplation, solicitude, wherein they trouble and puzzle

¹ Drexelius Nicet. lib. 2. cap. 11. torments affright us which are limited to years: Eternity, eternity, occupies and inflames the heart—this it is that daily and the artillery of heaven—Eternity, augments our sufferings, and multiplies that word, without end or origin. No our heart-burnings a hundred-fold.”

themselves about those questions of grace, freewill, perseverance, God's secrets; they will know more than is revealed of God in his word, human capacity, or ignorance can apprehend, and too importunate inquiry after that which is revealed; mysteries, ceremonies, observation of Sabbaths, laws, duties, &c., with many such which the casuists discuss, and schoolmen broach, which divers mistake, misconstrue, misapply to themselves, to their own undoing, and so fall into this gulf. "They doubt of their election, how they shall know it, by what signs. And so far forth," saith Luther, "with such nice points, torture and crucify themselves, that they are almost mad, and all they get by it is this, they lay open a gap to the devil by desperation to carry them to hell;" but the greatest harm of all proceeds from those thundering ministers, a most frequent cause they are of this malady; ¹"and do more harm in the church (saith Erasmus) than they that flatter; great danger on both sides, the one lulls them asleep in carnal security, the other drives them to despair." Whereas, St. Bernard well adviseth, ²"We should not meddle with the one without the other, nor speak of judgment without mercy; the one alone brings desperation, the other security." But these men are wholly for judgment; of a rigid disposition themselves, there is no mercy with them, no salvation, no balsam for their diseased souls, they can speak of nothing but reprobation, hell-fire, and damnation; as they did, Luke xi. 46, lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, which they themselves touch not with a finger. 'Tis familiar with our papists to terrify men's souls with purgatory, tales, visions, apparitions, to daunt even the most generous spirits, "to ³require charity," as Brentius observes, "of others, bounty, meekness, love, patience, when they themselves breathe nought but lust, envy, covetousness."

¹ Ecclesiast. i. l. Haud scio an majus discrimen ab his qui blandiuntur, an ab his qui terriant; ingens utrinque periculum; alii ad securitatem ducunt, alii afflictionum magnitudine mentem absorbent, et in desperationem trahunt.

² Bern. sup. 16, cant. 1, alterum sine

altero proferre non expedit; recordatio solius judicii in desperationem præcipitat, et misericordiæ fallax ostentatio pessimam generat securitatem.

³ In Luc. hom. 103, exigunt ab aliis charitatem, beneficentiam, cum ipsi nil spectent præter libidinem, invidiam, avaritiam.

They teach others to fast, give alms, do penance, and crucify their mind with superstitious observations, bread and water, hair clothes, whips, and the like, when they themselves have all the dainties the world can afford, lie on a down-bed with a courtesan in their arms; *Heu quantum patimur pro Christo*, as ¹ he said, what a cruel tyranny is this, so to insult over and terrify men's souls! Our indiscreet pastors many of them come not far behind, whilst in their ordinary sermons they speak so much of election, predestination, reprobation, *ab æterno*, subtraction of grace, preterition, voluntary permission, &c., by what signs and tokens they shall discern and try themselves, whether they be God's true children elect, *an sint reprobī, prædestinati*, &c., with such scrupulous points, they still aggravate sin, thunder out God's judgments without respect, intempestively rail at and pronounce them damned in all auditories, for giving so much to sports and honest recreations, making every small fault and thing indifferent an irremissible offence, they so rent, tear and wound men's consciences, that they are almost mad, and at their wits' end.

"These bitter potions (saith ² Erasmus) are still in their mouths, nothing but gall and horror, and a mad noise, they make all their auditors desperate;" many are wounded by this means, and they commonly that are most devout and precise, have been formerly presumptuous, and certain of their salvation; they that have tender consciences, that follow sermons, frequent lectures, that have indeed least cause, they are most apt to mistake, and fall into these miseries. I have heard some complain of Parson's Resolution, and other books of like nature (good otherwise), they are too tragical, too much dejecting men, aggravating offences; great care and choice, much discretion is required in this kind.

The last and greatest cause of this malady, is our own conscience, sense of our sins, and God's anger justly deserved, a guilty conscience for some foul offence formerly committed,

¹ Leo decimus. ² De futuro judicio, habent, ut multos inde in desperationem de damnatione horrendum crepunt, et cogant.
amaras illas potiones in ore semper

——¹ *O miser Oreste, quid morbi te perdit?* Or: *Conscientia, Sum enim mihi conscius de malis perpetratis.*² “A good conscience is a continual feast,” but a galled conscience is as great a torment as can possibly happen, a still baking oven, (so Pierius in his Hieroglyph. compares it,) another hell. Our conscience, which is a great ledger-book, wherein are written all our offences, a register to lay them up, (which those ³ Egyptians in their hieroglyphics expressed by a mill, as well for the continuance, as for the torture of it,) grinds our souls with the remembrance of some precedent sins, makes us reflect upon, accuse and condemn our own selves. ⁴ “Sin lies at door,” &c. I know there be many other causes assigned by Zanchius, ⁵ Musculus, and the rest; as incredulity, infidelity, presumption, ignorance, blindness, ingratitude, discontent; those five grand miseries in Aristotle, ignominy, need, sickness, enmity, death, &c.; but this of conscience is the greatest, ⁶ *Instar ulceris corpus jugiter percellens*; The scrupulous conscience (as ⁷ Peter Forestus calls it) which tortures so many, that either out of a deep apprehension of their unworthiness, and consideration of their own dissolute life, “accuse themselves and aggravate every small offence, when there is no such cause, misdoubting in the mean time God’s mercies, they fall into these inconveniences.” The poet calls them ⁸ *furies dire*, but it is the conscience alone which is a thousand witnesses to accuse us, ⁹ *Nocte dieque suum gestant in pectore testem*. A continual testor to give in evidence, to empanel a jury to examine us, to cry guilty, a persecutor with hue and cry to follow, an apparitor to summon us, a bailiff to carry us, a serjeant to arrest, an attorney to plead against us, a jailer to torment, a judge to condemn, still accusing, denouncing, torturing, and molesting. And as the statue of Juno in that holy city near Euphrates in ¹⁰As-

¹ Euripides. “O wretched Orestes, what malady consumes you?” ² “Conscience, for I am conscious of evil.” ³ Pierius. ⁴ Gen. iv. ⁵ 9 causes Musculus makes. ⁶ Plutarch. ⁷ Alios misere castigat plena scrupulis concien-

tia, nodum in scirpo quærunt, et ubi nulla causa subest, misericordiæ divinæ diffidentes, se Orco destinant. ⁸ Cœlius, lib. 6. ⁹ Juvenal. “Night and day they carry their witnesses in the breast.” ¹⁰ Lucian. de deâ Syriâ. Si

syria will look still towards you, sit where you will in her temple, she stares full upon you, if you go by, she follows with her eye, in all sites, places, conventicles, actions, our conscience will be still ready to accuse us. After many pleasant days, and fortunate adventures, merry tides, this conscience at last doth arrest us. Well he may escape temporal punishment, ¹ bribe a corrupt judge, and avoid the censure of law, and flourish for a time; “for ² who ever saw (saith Chrysostom) a covetous man troubled in mind when he is telling of his money, an adulterer mourn with his mistress in his arms? we are then drunk with pleasure, and perceive nothing;” yet as the prodigal son had dainty fare, sweet music at first, merry company, jovial entertainment, but a cruel reckoning in the end, as bitter as wormwood, a fearful visitation commonly follows. And the devil that then told thee that it was a light sin, or no sin at all, now aggravates on the other side, and telleth thee, that it is a most irremissible offence, as he did by Cain and Judas, to bring them to despair; every small circumstance before neglected and condemned, will now amplify itself, rise up in judgment, and accuse the dust of their shoes, dumb creatures, as to Lucian’s tyrant, *lectus et candela*, the bed and candle did bear witness, to torment their souls for their sins past. Tragical examples in this kind are too familiar and common: Adrian, Galba, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Caracalla, were in such horror of conscience for their offences committed, murders, rapes, extortions, injuries, that they were weary of their lives, and could get nobody to kill them. ³ Kennetus, King of Scotland, when he had murdered his nephew Malcolm, King Duffe’s son, Prince of Cumberland, and with counterfeit tears and protestations dissembled the matter a long time, ⁴ “at last his conscience accused him, his unquiet soul could not rest day

adstiteris, te aspicit; si transeas, visu te sequitur. ¹ Prima hæc est ultio, quod se iudice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis gratia fallacis prætoris vicerit urnam. Juvenal. ² Quis unquam vidit avarum ringi dum lucrum adest, adulterum dum potitur voto lu-

gere in perpetrando scelere? voluptate sumus ebrii, proinde non sentimus, &c. ³ Buchanan. lib. 6, Hist. Scot. ⁴ Animus conscientia sceleris inquietus, nullum admisit gaudium, sed semper vexatus noctu et interdiu per somnum visis horrore plenis pertremefactus, &c.

or night, he was terrified with fearful dreams, visions, and so miserably tormented all his life." It is strange to read what

¹ Comineus hath written of Louis XI. that French king; of Charles VIII.; of Alphonsus, King of Naples; in the fury of his passion how he came into Sicily, and what pranks he played. Guicciardini, a man most unapt to believe lies, relates how that Ferdinand his father's ghost who before had died for grief, came and told him, that he could not resist the French king, he thought every man cried France, France; the reason of it (saith Comineus) was because he was a vile tyrant, a murderer, an oppressor of his subjects, he bought up all commodities, and sold them at his own price, sold abbeys to Jews and Falconers; both Ferdinand his father, and he himself never made conscience of any committed sin; and to conclude, saith he, it was impossible to do worse than they did. Why was Pausanius the Spartan tyrant, Nero, Otho, Galba, so persecuted with spirits in every house they came, but for their murders which they had committed?

² Why doth the devil haunt many men's houses after their deaths, appear to them living, and take possession of their habitations, as it were, of their palaces, but because of their several villanies? Why had Richard the Third such fearful dreams, saith Polydore, but for his frequent murders? Why was Herod so tortured in his mind? because he had made away Mariamne his wife. Why was Theodoric, the King of the Goths, so suspicious, and so affrighted with a fish head alone, but that he had murdered Symmachus, and Boethius, his son-in-law, those worthy Romans? Cælius, *lib. 27, cap. 22*. See more in Plutarch, in his tract *De his qui sero a Numine puniuntur*, and in his book *De tranquillitate animi*, &c. Yea, and sometimes God himself hath a hand in it, to show his power, humiliate, exercise, and to try their faith, (divine temptation, Perkins calls it, *Cas. cons. lib. 1, cap. 8, sect. 1.*) to punish them for their sins. God the avenger, as ³ David

¹ De bello Neapol.
was still in his eyes.

² Thireus, de locis infestis, part. 1, cap. 2. Nero's mother
³ Psal. xliv. 1.

terms him, *ultor a tergo Deus*, his wrath is apprehended of a guilty soul, as by Saul and Judas, which the poets expressed by Adrastia, or Nemesis :

“ Assequitur Nemesisque virūm vestigia servat,
Ne male quid facias.” ¹

And she is, as ² Ammianus, *lib.* 14, describes her, “ the queen of causes, and moderator of things, now she pulls down the proud, now she rears and encourageth those that are good ;” he gives instance in his Eusebius ; Nicephorus, *lib.* 10, *cap.* 35, *eccles. hist.* in Maximinus and Julian. Fearful examples of God’s just judgment, wrath, and vengeance, are to be found in all histories, of some that have been eaten to death with rats and mice, as ³ Pompelius, the second King of Poland, ann. 830, his wife and children ; the like story is of Hatto, Archbishop of Mentz, ann. 969, so devoured by these vermin, which howsoever Serrarius the Jesuit, *Mogunt. rerum*, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 5, impugn by twenty-two arguments, Tritemius, ⁴ Munster, Magdeburgenses, and many others relate for a truth. Such another example I find in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Cam. lib.* 2, *cap.* 2, and where not ?

And yet for all these terrors of conscience, affrighting punishments which are so frequent, or whatsoever else may cause or aggravate this fearful malady in other religions, I see no reason at all why a papist at any time should despair, or be troubled for his sins ; for let him be never so dissolute a caitiff, so notorious a villain, so monstrous a sinner, out of that treasure of indulgences and merits of which the pope is dispensator, he may have free pardon and plenary remission of all his sins. There be so many general pardons for ages to come, forty thousand years to come, so many jubilees, so frequent jail deliveries out of purgatory for all souls, now living, or after dissolution of the body, so many particular masses daily said in several churches, so many altars conse-

¹ “ And Nemesis pursues and notices the steps of men, lest you commit any evil.” ² Regina caesarum et arbitra

rerum, nunc erectas cervices opprimit. &c. ³ Alex. Gaguinus, catal. reg. Pol. ⁴ Cosmog. Munster. et Magde.

erated to this purpose, that if a man have either money or friends, or will take any pains to come to such an altar, hear a mass, say so many paternosters, undergo such and such penance, he cannot do amiss, it is impossible his mind should be troubled, or he have any scruple to molest him. Besides that *Taxa Cameræ Apostolicæ*, which was first published to get money in the days of Leo Decimus, that sharking pope, and since divulged to the same ends, sets down such easy rates and dispensations for all offences, for perjury, murder, incest, adultery, &c., for so many grosses or dollars (able to invite any man to sin, and provoke him to offend, methinks, that otherwise would not) such comfortable remission, so gentle and parable a pardon, so ready at hand, with so small cost and suit obtained, that I cannot see how he that hath any friends amongst them (as I say) or money in his purse, or will at least to ease himself, can any way miscarry or be misaffected, how he should be desperate, in danger of damnation, or troubled in mind. Their ghostly fathers can so readily apply remedies, so cunningly string and unstring, wind and unwind their devotions, play upon their consciences with plausible speeches and terrible threats, for their best advantage settle and remove, erect with such facility and deject, let in and out, that I cannot perceive how any man amongst them should much or often labour of this disease, or finally miscarry. The causes above named must more frequently therefore take hold in others.

SUBJECT. IV.—*Symptoms of Despair, Fear, Sorrow, Suspicion, Anxiety, Horror of Conscience, Fearful Dreams and Visions.*

As shoemakers do when they bring home shoes, still cry leather is dearer and dearer, may I justly say of those melancholy symptoms; these of despair are most violent, tragical, and grievous, far beyond the rest, not to be expressed but negatively, as it is privation of all happiness, not to be endured; “for a wounded spirit who can bear it?” Prov

xviii. 19. What, therefore, ¹Timanthes did in his picture of Iphigenia, now ready to be sacrificed, when he had painted Chalcas mourning, Ulysses sad, but most sorrowful Menelaus; and showed all his art in expressing a variety of affections, he covered the maid's father Agamemnon's head with a veil, and left it to every spectator to conceive what he would himself; for that true passion and sorrow in *summo gradu*, such as his was, could not by any art be deciphered. What he did in his picture, I will do in describing the symptoms of despair; imagine what thou canst, fear, sorrow, furies, grief, pain, terror, anger, dismal, ghastly, tedious, irksome, &c., it is not sufficient, it comes far short, no tongue can tell, no heart conceive it. 'Tis an epitome of hell, an extract, a quintessence, a compound, a mixture of all feral maladies, tyrannical tortures, plagues, and perplexities. There is no sickness almost but physic provideth a remedy for it; to every sore chirurgery will provide a salve; friendship helps poverty; hope of liberty easeth imprisonment; suit and favour revoke banishment; authority and time wear away reproach; but what physic, what chirurgery, what wealth, favour, authority can relieve, bear out, assuage, or expel a troubled conscience? A quiet mind cureth all them, but all they cannot comfort a distressed soul; who can put to silence the voice of desperation? All that is single in other melancholy, *Horribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum*, concurs in this, it is more than melancholy in the highest degree; a burning fever of the soul; so mad, saith ²Jacchinus, by this misery; fear, sorrow, and despair, he puts for ordinary symptoms of melancholy. They are in great pain and horror of mind, distraction of soul, restless, full of continual fears, cares, torments, anxieties; they can neither eat, drink, nor sleep for them, take no rest,

8 " Perpetua impietas, nec mensæ tempore cessat,
Exagitat vesana quies, somnique furentes."

¹ Plinius, cap. 10, l. 35. Consumptis rorem in virginis patre cogitarent. affectibus, Agamemnonis caput velavit, ² Cap. 15, in 9 Rhasis. ³ Juv. Sat. 13. ut omnes quem possent, maximum mœ-

“ Neither at bed nor yet at board,
Will any rest despair afford.”

Fear takes away their content, and dries the blood, wasteth the marrow, alters their countenance, “ even in their greatest delights, singing, dancing, dalliance, they are still (saith ¹ Lennius) tortured in their souls.” It consumes them to nought, “ I am like a pelican in the wilderness (saith David of himself, temporally afflicted), an owl, because of thine indignation,” Psalm cii. 6, 10, and Psalm lv. 4. “ My heart trembleth within me, and the terrors of death have come upon me ; fear and trembling are come upon me, &c., at death’s door,” Psalm cvii. 18. “ Their soul abhors all manner of meats.” Their ² sleep is (if it be any) unquiet, subject to fearful dreams and terrors. Peter in his bonds slept secure, for he knew God protected him ; and Tully makes it an argument of Roscius Amerinus’s innocency, that he killed not his father, because he so securely slept. Those martyrs in the primitive church were most ³ cheerful and merry in the midst of their persecutions ; but it is far otherwise with these men, tossed in a sea, and that continually without rest or intermission, they can think of nought that is pleasant, ⁴ “ their conscience will not let them be quiet,” in perpetual fear, anxiety, if they be not yet apprehended, they are in doubt still they shall be ready to betray themselves, as Cain did, he thinks every man will kill him ; “ and roar for the grief of heart,” Psalm xxxviii. 8, as David did ; as Job did, xx. 3, 21, 22, &c., “ Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life to them that have heavy hearts ? which long for death, and if it come not, search it more than treasures, and rejoice when they can find the grave.” They are generally weary of their lives, a trembling heart they have, a

¹ Mentem eripit timor hic ; vultum, totumque corporis habitum immutat, etiam in deliciis, in tripudiis, in symposiis, in amplexu conjugis carnificinam exercet, lib. 4, cap. 21. ² Non sinit conscientia tales homines recta verba proferre, aut rectis quenquam oculis aspicere, ab omni hominum cœtu eos-

dem exterminat, et dormientes perterrefacit. Philost. lib. 1, de vitâ Apollonii. ³ Eusebius, Nicephorus, eccles. hist. lib. 4, c. 17. ⁴ Seneca, lib. 18, epist. 106. Conscientia aliud agere non patitur, perturbatam vitam agunt, nunquam vacant, &c.

sorrowful mind, and little or no rest. *Terror ubique tremor, timor undique et undique terror.* "Fears, terrors, and affrights in all places, at all times and seasons." *Cibum et potum pertinacitè aversantur multi, nodum in scirpo quæritantes, et culpam imaginantes ubi nulla est*, as Wierus writes, *de Lamis, lib. 3, c. 7*, "they refuse many of them meat and drink, cannot rest, aggravating still and supposing grievous offences where there are none." God's heavy wrath is kindled in their souls, and notwithstanding their continual prayers and supplications to Christ Jesus, they have no release or ease at all, but a most intolerable torment, and insufferable anguish of conscience, and that makes them, through impatience, to murmur against God many times, to rave, to blaspheme, turn atheists, and seek to offer violence to themselves. Deut. xxviii. 65, 66. "In the morning they wish for evening, and for morning in the evening, for the sight of their eyes which they see, and fear of hearts." ¹ Marinus Mersennus, in his comment on Genesis, makes mention of a desperate friend of his, whom, amongst others, he came to visit and exhort to patience, that broke out into most blasphemous atheistical speeches, too fearful to relate, when they wished him to trust in God, *Quis est ille Deus (inquit) ut serviam illi, quid proderit si oraverim; si præsens est, cur non succurrit? cur non me carcere, inediâ, squalore confectum liberat? quid ego feci? &c., absit a me hujusmodi Deus.* Another of his acquaintance broke out into like atheistical blasphemies, upon his wife's death raved, cursed, said and did he cared not what. And so for the most part it is with them all, many of them, in their extremity, think they hear and see visions, outcries, confer with devils, that they are tormented, possessed, and in hell-fire, already damned, quite forsaken of God, they have no sense or feeling of mercy, or grace, hope of salvation, their sentence of condemnation is already past, and not to be revoked, the devil will certainly have them.

¹ Artic. 3, ca. 1, fol. 230, quod horrendum dictu, desperabundus quidam me presente cum ad patientiam hortaretur, &c.

Never was any living creature in such torment before, in such a miserable estate, in such distress of mind, no hope, no faith, past cure, reprobate, continually tempted to make away themselves. Something talks with them, they spit fire and brimstone, they cannot but blaspheme, they cannot repent, believe or think a good thought, so far carried; *ut cogantur ad impia cogitandum etiam contra voluntatem*, said ¹ Felix Plater, *ad blasphemiam erga Deum, ad multa horrenda perpetranda, ad manus violentas sibi inferendas, &c.*, and in their distracted fits and desperate humours, to offer violence to others, their familiar and dear friends sometimes, or to mere strangers, upon very small or no occasion; for he that cares not for his own, is master of another man's life. They think evil against their wills; that which they abhor themselves, they must needs think, do, and speak. He gives instance in a patient of his, that when he would pray, had such evil thoughts still suggested to him, and wicked ² meditations. Another instance he hath of a woman that was often tempted to curse God, to blaspheme and kill herself. Sometimes the devil (as they say) stands without and talks with them, sometimes he is within them, as they think, and there speaks and talks as to such as are possessed; so Apollodorus, in Plutarch, thought his heart spake within him. There is a most memorable example of ³ Francis Spira, an advocate of Padua, Ann. 1545, that being desperate, by no counsel of learned men could be comforted; he felt (as he said) the pains of hell in his soul; in all other things he discoursed aright, but in this most mad. Frismelica, Bullovat, and some other excellent physicians, could neither make him eat, drink, or sleep, no persuasion could ease him. Never pleaded any man so well for himself, as this man did against himself, and so he desperately died. Springer, a lawyer, hath written his life. Cardinal Crescence died so likewise desperate at Verona, still he thought a black dog followed him to his death-bed, no man could drive the dog away, Sleidan. *com.* 23 *cap. lib.* 3.

¹ Lib. 1, obser. cap. 3.² Ad maledicendum Deo.³ Goulart.

Whilst I was writing this treatise, saith Montaltus, *cap. 2, de mel.* ¹“A nun came to me for help, well for all other matters, but troubled in conscience for five years last past; she is almost mad, and not able to resist, thinks she hath offended God, and is certainly damned.” Felix Plater hath store of instances of such as thought themselves damned, ² forsaken of God, &c. One amongst the rest, that durst not go to church, or come near the Rhine, for fear to make away himself, because then he was most especially tempted. These and such like symptoms are intended and remitted, as the malady itself is more or less; some will hear good counsel, some will not; some desire help, some reject all, and will not be eased.

SUBJECT. V.—*Prognostics of Despair, Atheism, Blasphemy, violent Death, &c.*

MOST part these kind of persons make ³ away themselves, some are mad, blaspheme, curse, deny God, but most offer violence to their own persons, and sometimes to others. “A wounded spirit who can bear?” Prov. xviii. 14. As Cain, Saul, Achitophel, Judas, blasphemed and died. Bede saith, Pilate died desperate eight years after Christ. ⁴ Felix Plater hath collected many examples. ⁵ “A merchant’s wife that was long troubled with such temptations,” in the night rose from her bed, and out of the window broke her neck into the street; another drowned himself desperate as he was in the Rhine; some cut their throats, many hang themselves. But this needs no illustration. It is controverted by some, whether a man so offering violence to himself, dying desperate, may be saved, ay or no? If they die so obstinately and suddenly, that they cannot so much as wish for mercy, the worst is to be suspected, because they die impenitent. ⁶ If their death

¹ Dum hæc scribo, implorat opem meam monacha, in reliquis sana, et iudicio recta, per 5 annos melancholica; damnatam se dicit, conscientiae stimulis oppressa, &c. ² Alios conquerentes audiavi se esse ex damnatorum numero, Deo non esse curæ, aliaque infinita quæ

proferre non audebant, vel abhorrebant.

³ Musculus, Patritius: ad vim sibi inferendam cogit homines. ⁴ 3, De mentis alienat. observ. lib. 1. ⁵ Uxor Mercatoris diu vexationibus tentata, &c.

⁶ Abernethy.

had been a little more lingering, wherein they might have some leisure in their hearts to cry for mercy, charity may judge the best; divers have been recovered out of the very act of hanging and drowning themselves, and so brought *ad sanam mentem*, they have been very penitent, much abhorred their former act, confessed that they have repented in an instant, and cried for mercy in their hearts. If a man put desperate hands upon himself, by occasion of madness or melancholy, if he have given testimony before of his regeneration, in regard he doth this not so much out of his will, as *ex vi morbi*, we must make the best construction of it, as ¹ Turks do, that think all fools and madmen go directly to heaven.

SUBJECT. VI.—*Cure of Despair by Physic, Good Counsel, Comforts, &c.*

EXPERIENCE teacheth us, that though many die obstinate and wilful in this malady, yet multitudes again are able to resist and overcome, seek for help and find comfort, are taken *e faucibus Erebi*, from the chops of hell, and out of the devil's paws, though they have by ² obligation given themselves to him. Some out of their own strength and God's assistance, "Though He kill me, (saith Job,) yet will I trust in Him," out of good counsel, advice, and physic. ³ Bellovacus cured a monk by altering his habit, and course of life. Plater many by physic alone. But for the most part they must concur; and they take a wrong course that think to overcome this feral passion by sole physic; and they are as much out, that think to work this effect by good advice alone, though both be forcible in themselves, yet *vis unita fortior*, "they must go hand in hand to this disease;"——*alterius sic altera poscit opem*. For physic the like course is to be taken with this as in other melancholy; diet, air, exercise, all those passions and perturbations of the mind, &c., are to

¹ Busbequius. ² John Major vitis Chirographum post restitutus. ³ Trinitariorum: quidam negavit Christum per cavellius, lib. 8.

be rectified by the same means. They must not be left solitary, or to themselves, never idle, never out of company. Counsel, good comfort is to be applied, as they shall see the parties inclined, or to the causes, whether it be loss, fear, be grief, discontent, or some such feral accident, a guilty conscience, or otherwise by frequent meditation, too grievous an apprehension, and consideration of his former life; by hearing, reading of Scriptures, good divines, good advice and conference, applying God's word to their distressed souls, it must be corrected and counterpoised. Many excellent exhortations, parenetical discourses, are extant to this purpose, for such as are any way troubled in mind: Perkins, Greenham, Hayward, Bright, Abernethy, Bolton, Culmannus, Hemmingius, Cælius Secundus, Nicholas Laurentius, are copious on this subject; Azorius, Navarrus, Sayrus, &c., and such as have written cases of conscience amongst our pontifical writers. But because these men's works are not to all parties at hand, so parable at all times, I will for the benefit and ease of such as are afflicted, at the request of some ¹friends, re-collect out of their voluminous treatises, some few such comfortable speeches, exhortations, arguments, advice, tending to this subject, and out of God's word, knowing as Culmannus saith upon the like occasion, ² "how unavailable and vain men's counsels are to comfort an afflicted conscience, except God's word concur and be annexed, from which comes life, ease, repentance," &c. Presupposing first that which Beza, Greenham, Perkins, Bolton, give in charge, the parties to whom counsel is given be sufficiently prepared, humbled for their sins, fit for comfort, confessed, tried how they are more or less afflicted, how they stand affected, or capable of good advice, before any remedies be applied; to such therefore as are so thoroughly searched and examined, I address this following discourse.

¹ My brother, George Burton, M. James Whitehall, rector of Checkley, in Staffordshire, my quondam chamber fellow, and late fellow-student in Christ Church, Oxon. ² Scio quam vana sit et inefficax

humanorum verborum penes afflictos consolatio, nisi verbum Dei audiatur, a quo vita, refrigeratio, solatium, poenitentia.

Two main antidotes, ¹ Hemmingius observes, opposite to despair, good hope out of God's word, to be embraced ; perverse security and presumption from the devil's treachery, to be rejected ; *Illa salus animæ hæc pestis* ; one saves, the other kills, *occidit animam*, saith Austin, and doth as much harm as despair itself. ² Navarrus the casuist reckons up ten special cures out of Anton. 1 *part. Tit. 3, cap. 10.* 1. God. 2. Physic. 3. ³Avoiding such objects as have caused it. 4. Submission of himself to other men's judgments. 5. Answer of all objections, &c. All which Cajetan, Gerson, *lib. de vit. spirit.* Sayrus, *lib. 1, cas. cons. cap. 14*, repeat and approve out of Emanuel Roderiques, *cap. 51 et 52*. Greenham prescribes six special rules, Culmannus seven. First, to acknowledge all help comes from God. 2. That the cause of their present misery is sin. 3. To repent and be heartily sorry for their sins. 4. To pray earnestly to God that they may be eased. 5. To expect and implore the prayers of the church, and good men's advice. 6. Physic. 7. To commend themselves to God, and rely upon his mercy ; others, otherwise, but all to this effect. But forasmuch as most men in this malady are spiritually sick, void of reason almost, overborne by their miseries, and too deep an apprehension of their sins, they cannot apply themselves to good counsel, pray, believe, repent, we must, as much as in us lies, occur and help their peculiar infirmities, according to their several causes or symptoms, as we shall find them distressed and complain.

The main matter which terrifies and torments most that are troubled in mind, is the enormity of their offences, the intolerable burden of their sins, God's heavy wrath and displeasure so deeply apprehended, that they account themselves reprobates, quite forsaken of God, already damned, past all hope of grace, incapable of mercy, *diaboli mancipia*, slaves of sin, and their offences so great they cannot be forgiven.

¹ Antid. adversus desperationem. cogitationis a re scrupulosâ, contraven-
² Tom. 2, c. 27, num. 282. ³ Aversio tio scrupulorum.

But these men must know there is no sin so heinous which is not pardonable in itself, no crime so great but by God's mercy it may be forgiven, "Where sin aboundeth, grace aboundeth much more," Rom. v. 20. And what the Lord said unto Paul in his extremity, 2 Cor. xi. 9, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my power is made perfect through weakness," concerns every man in like case. His promises are made indefinite to all believers, generally spoken to all touching remission of sins that are truly penitent, grieved for their offences, and desired to be reconciled; Matt. ix. 12, 13, "I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance," that is, such as are truly touched in conscience for their sins. Again, Matt. xi. 28, "Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, and I will ease you." Ezek. xviii. 27, "at what time soever a sinner shall repent him of his sins from the bottom of his heart, I will blot out all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord." Isaiah xliii. 25, "I, even I, am He that put away thine iniquity for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." "As a father (saith David, Psal. ciii. 13,) hath compassion on his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that fear him." And will receive them again as the prodigal son was entertained, Luke xv., if they shall so come with tears in their eyes, and a penitent heart. *Peccator agnoscat, Deus ignoscit*, "The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, slow to anger, of great kindness," Psal. ciii. 8. "He will not always chide, neither keep his anger for ever," 9. "As high as the heaven is above the earth, so great is his mercy towards them that fear him," 11. "As far as the East is from the West, so far hath he removed our sins from us," 12. Though Cain cry out in the anguish of his soul, my punishment is greater than I can bear, 'tis not so; thou liest, Cain (saith Austin), "God's mercy is greater than thy sins. His mercy is above all his works," Psal. cxlv. 9, able to satisfy for all men's sins, *antidutron*, 1 Tim. ii. 6. His mercy is a *panacea*, a balsam for an afflicted soul, a sovereign medicine, an alexipharmacum

for all sin, a charm for the devil; His mercy was great to Solomon, to Manasseh, to Peter, great to all offenders, and whosoever thou art, it may be so to thee. For why should God bid us pray (as Austin infers) "Deliver us from all evil," *nisi ipse misericors perseveraret*, if he did not intend to help us? He therefore that ¹doubts of the remission of his sins, denies God's mercy, and doth him injury, saith Austin. Yea, but thou repliest, I am a notorious sinner, mine offences are not so great as infinite. Hear Fulgentius, ²"God's invincible goodness cannot be overcome by sin, his infinite mercy cannot be terminated by any; the multitude of his mercy is equivalent to his magnitude." Hear ³Chrysostom, "Thy malice may be measured, but God's mercy cannot be defined; thy malice is circumscribed, his mercies infinite. As a drop of water is to the sea, so are thy misdeeds to his mercy; nay, there is no such proportion to be given; for the sea, though great, yet may be measured, but God's mercy cannot be circumscribed." Whatsoever thy sins be then in quantity or quality, multitude or magnitude, fear them not, distrust not. I speak not this, saith ⁴Chrysostom, "to make thee secure and negligent, but to cheer thee up." Yea, but, thou urgest again, I have little comfort of this which is said, it concerns me not; *Inanis pœnitentia quam sequens culpa coinquinat*, 'tis to no purpose for me to repent, and to do worse than ever I did before, to persevere in sin, and to return to my lusts as a dog to his vomit, or a swine to the mire; ⁵to what end is it to ask forgiveness of my sins, and yet daily to sin again and again, to do evil out of a habit? I daily and hourly offend in thought, word, and deed, in a relapse by mine own weakness and wilfulness; my *bonus genius*, my good protecting angel is gone, I am fallen from that I was or would be, worse and worse, "my latter end is

¹ Magnam injuriam Deo facit qui diffidit de ejus misericordiâ.

² Bonitas invicti non vincitur; infiniti misericordia non finitur.

³ Hom. 3. De pœnitentiâ: Tua quidem malitia mensuram habet. Dei autem misericordia mensu-

ram non habet. Tua malitia circumscrip-
ta est, &c. Pelagus etsi magnum,
mensuram habet; Dei autem, &c.

⁴ Non ut desidiore vos faciam, sed ut
alacriores reddam. ⁵ Pro peccatis ve-
niam poscere, et mala de novo iterare.

worse than my beginning ;” *Si quotidie peccas, quotidie*, saith Chrysostom, *pœnitentiam age*, if thou daily offend, daily repent ; ¹ “if twice, thrice, a hundred, a hundred thousand times, twice, thrice, a hundred thousand times repent.” As they do by an old house that is out of repair, still mend some part or other ; so do by thy soul, still reform some vice, repair it by repentance, call to Him for grace, and thou shalt have it ; “For we are freely justified by his grace, Rom. iii. 24. If thine enemy repent, as our Saviour enjoined Peter, forgive him seventy-seven times ; and why shouldst thou think God will not forgive thee ? Why should the enormity of thy sins trouble thee ? God can do it, he will do it. “My conscience (saith ² Anselm) dictates to me that I deserve damnation, my repentance will not suffice for satisfaction ; but thy mercy, O Lord, quite overcometh all my transgressions.” The gods once (as the poets feign) with a gold chain would pull Jupiter out of heaven, but all they together could not stir him, and yet he could draw and turn them as he would himself ; maugre all the force and fury of these infernal fiends, and crying sins, “His grace is sufficient.” Confer the debt and the payment ; Christ and Adam ; sin, and the cure of it ; the disease and the medicine ; confer the sick man to his physician, and thou shalt soon perceive that his power is infinitely beyond it. God is better able, as ³ Bernard informeth us, “to help, than sin to do us hurt ; Christ is better able to save, than the devil to destroy.” ⁴ If he be a skilful Physician, as Fulgentius adds, “he can cure all diseases ; if merciful, he will.” *Non est perfecta bonitas a quâ non omnis malitia vincitur*, His goodness is not absolute and perfect, if it be not able to overcome all malice. Submit thyself unto him, as St. Austin adviseth, ⁵ “He knoweth

¹ Si bis, si ter, si centies, si centies millies, toties pœnitentiam age. ² Conscientia mea meruit damnationem, pœnitentia non sufficit ad satisfactionem : sed tua misericordia superat omnem offensionem. ³ Multo efficacior Christi mors in bonum, quam peccata nostra in malum. Christus potentior ad salvandum, quam dæ-

mon ad perdendum. ⁴ Peritus medicus potest omnes infirmitates sanare ; si misericors, vult. ⁵ Omnipotenti medico nullus languor insanabilis occurrit : tu tantum doceri te sine, manum ejus ne repelle : novit quid agat ; non tantum delecteris cum fovet, sed tolere quum secat.

best what he doth ; and be not so much pleased when he sustains thee, as patient when he corrects thee ; he is omnipotent, and can cure all diseases when he sees his own time." He looks down from heaven upon earth, that he may hear the "mourning of prisoners and deliver the children of death," Psal. cii. 19, 20. "And though our sins be as red as scarlet, He can make them as white as snow," Isai. i. 18. Doubt not of this, or ask how it shall be done ; He is all-sufficient that promiseth ; *qui fecit mundum de immundo*, saith Chrysostom, he that made a fair world of nought, can do this and much more for his part ; do thou only believe, trust in him, rely on him, be penitent and heartily sorrow for thy sins. Repentance is a sovereign remedy for all sins, a spiritual wing to rear us, a charm for our miseries, a protecting amulet to expel sin's venom, an attractive loadstone to draw God's mercy and graces unto us. ¹ *Peccatum vulnus, pœnitentia medicinam* : sin made the breach, repentance must help it ; howsoever thine offence came, by error, sloth, obstinacy, ignorance, *exitur per pœnitentiam*, this is the sole means to be relieved. ² Hence comes our hope of safety, by this alone sinners are saved, God is provoked to mercy. "This unlooseth all that is bound, enlighteneth darkness, mends that is broken, puts life to that which was desperately dying ;" makes no respect of offences, or of persons. ³ "This doth not repel a fornicator, reject a drunkard, resist a proud fellow, turn away an idolater, but entertains all, communicates itself to all." Who persecuted the church more than Paul, offended more than Peter ? and yet by repentance (saith Chrysologus) they got both *Magisterium et ministerium sanctitatis*, the Magistrery of holiness. The prodigal son went far, but by repentance he came home at last. ⁴ "This alone will turn a wolf into a sheep, make a publican a preacher, turn a thorn into an olive, make a debauched fellow religious,"

¹ Chrys. hom. 3, de poenit. ² Spes salutis per quam peccatores salvantur, Deus ad misericordiam provocatur. Isidor. omnia ligata tu solvis, contrita sanas, confusa lucidas, desperata animas.

³ Chrys. hom. 5, non fornicatorem abnuat, non ebrium avertit, non superbum repellit, non aversatur Idololatram, non adulterum, sed omnes suscipit. omnibus communicat. ⁴ Chrys. hom. 5.

a blasphemer sing hallelujah, make Alexander the copper-smith truly devout, make a devil a saint. ¹“And him that polluted his mouth with calumnies, lying, swearing, and filthy tunes and tones, to purge his throat with divine psalms.” Repentance will effect prodigious cures, make a stupend metamorphosis. “A hawk came into the ark, and went out again a hawk; a lion came in, went out a lion; a bear, a bear; a wolf, a wolf; but if a hawk came into this sacred temple of repentance, he will go forth a dove (saith ² Chrysostom), a wolf go out a sheep, a lion a lamb. ³This gives sight to the blind, legs to the lame, cures all diseases, confers grace, expels vice, inserts virtue, comforts and fortifies the soul.” Shall I say, let thy sin be what it will, do but repent, it is sufficient. ⁴ *Quem pœnitet peccasse pene est innocens.* ’Tis true indeed and all-sufficient this, they do confess, if they could repent; but they are obdurate, they have cauterized consciences, they are in a reprobate sense, they cannot think a good thought, they cannot hope for grace, pray, believe, repent, or be sorry for their sins, they find no grief for sin in themselves, but rather a delight, no groaning of spirit, but are carried headlong to their own destruction, “heaping wrath to themselves against the day of wrath,” Rom. ii. 5. ’Tis a grievous case this I do yield, and yet not to be despaired; God of his bounty and mercy calls all to repentance, Rom. ii. 4, thou mayest be called at length, restored, taken to His grace, as the thief upon the cross, at the last hour, as Mary Magdalen and many other sinners have been, that were buried in sin. “God (saith ⁵ Fulgentius) is delighted in the conversion of a sinner, he sets no time; *prolixitas temporis Deo non præjudicat, aut gravitas peccati*, deferring of time or grievousness of sin, do not prejudice his grace, things past and to come are all one to him, as present;” ’tis never

¹ Qui turpibus cantilenis aliquando inquinavit os, divinis hymnis animum purgabit.

² Hom. 5. Introivit hic quis accipiter, columba exit; introivit lupus, ovis egreditur, &c.

³ Omnes languores sanat, cæcis visum, claudis gressum, gratiam confert &c.

⁴ Sen-

eca. “He who repents of his sins is wellnigh innocent.”

⁵ Delectatur Deus conversione peccatoris; omne tempus vitæ conversioni deputatur; pro præsentibus habentur tam præterita quam futura.

too late to repent. ¹“This heaven of repentance is still open for all distressed souls;” and howsoever as yet no signs appear, thou mayest repent in good time. Hear a comfortable speech of St. Austin, ²“Whatsoever thou shalt do, how great a sinner soever, thou art yet living; if God would not help thee, he would surely take thee away; but in sparing thy life, he gives thee leisure, and invites thee to repentance.” Howsoever as yet, I say, thou perceivest no fruit, no feeling, findest no likelihood of it in thyself, patiently abide the Lord’s good leisure, despair not, or think thou art a reprobate; He came to call sinners to repentance, Luke v. 32, of which number thou art one; He came to call thee, and in his time will surely call thee. And although as yet thou hast no inclination to pray, to repent, thy faith be cold and dead, and thou wholly averse from all Divine functions, yet it may revive, as trees are dead in winter, but flourish in the spring! these virtues may lie hid in thee for the present, yet hereafter show themselves, and peradventure already bud, howsoever thou dost not perceive. ’Tis Satan’s policy to plead against, suppress and aggravate, to conceal those sparks of faith in thee. Thou dost not believe, thou sayest, yet thou wouldst believe if thou couldst, ’tis thy desire to believe; then pray, ³“Lord help mine unbelief;” and hereafter thou shalt certainly believe; ⁴*Dabitur sitienti*, it shall be given to him that thirsteth. Thou canst not yet repent, hereafter thou shalt; a black cloud of sin as yet obnubilates thy soul, terrifies thy conscience, but this cloud may conceive a rainbow at the last, and be quite dissipated by repentance. Be of good cheer; a child is rational in power, not in act; and so art thou penitent in affection, though not yet in action. ’Tis thy desire to please God, to be heartily sorry; comfort thyself, no time is overpast, ’tis never too late. A desire to repent is repentance itself, though not in nature, yet in God’s accept-

¹ Austin. Semper poenitentiae portus apertus est ne desperemus. ² Quicquid feceris, quantumcunque peccaveris, adhuc in vita es, unde te omnino si sanare te nollit Deus, auferret; parcendo clamat ut redeas, &c. ³ Matt. vi. 23. ⁴ Rev. xxi. 6.

ance; a willing mind is sufficient. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness," Matt. v. 6. He that is destitute of God's grace, and wisheth for it, shall have it. "The Lord (saith David, Psal. x. 17,) will hear the desire of the poor," that is, such as are in distress of body and mind. 'Tis true thou canst not as yet grieve for thy sin, thou hast no feeling of faith, I yield; yet canst thou grieve thou dost not grieve? It troubles thee, I am sure, thine heart should be so impenitent and hard, thou wouldst have it otherwise; 'tis thy desire to grieve, to repent, and to believe. Thou lovest God's children and saints in the mean time, hatest them not, persecutest them not, but rather wishest thyself a true professor, to be as they are, as thou thyself hast been heretofore; which is an evident token thou art in no such desperate case. 'Tis a good sign of thy conversion, thy sins are pardonable, thou art, or shalt surely be reconciled, "The Lord is near them that are of a contrite heart," Luke iv. 18.

¹ A true desire of mercy in the want of mercy, is mercy itself; a desire of grace in the want of grace, is grace itself; a constant and earnest desire to believe, repent, and to be reconciled to God, if it be in a touched heart, is an acceptance of God, a reconciliation, faith and repentance itself. For it is not thy faith and repentance, as ² Chrysostom truly teacheth, that is available, but God's mercy that is annexed to it, He accepts the will for the deed; so that I conclude, to feel in ourselves the want of grace, and to be grieved for it, is grace itself. I am troubled with fear my sins are not forgiven, careless objects; but Bradford answers they are; "For God hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which desireth to repent and believe; for such an one is taken of him (He accepting the will for the deed) for a truly penitent and believing heart."

All this is true, thou repliest, but yet it concerns not thee, 'tis verified in ordinary offenders, in common sins, but thine are of a higher strain; even against the Holy Ghost himself,

¹ Abernethy, Perkins.

² Non est poenitentia, sed Dei misericordia annexa.

irremissible sins, sins of the first magnitude, written with a pen of iron, engraven with a point of a diamond. Thou art worse than a pagan, infidel, Jew, or Turk, for thou art an apostate and more, thou hast voluntarily blasphemed, renounced God and all religion, thou art worse than Judas himself, or they that crucified Christ; for they did offend out of ignorance, but thou hast thought in thine heart there is no God. Thou hast given thy soul to the devil, as witches and conjurors do, *explicitè* and *implicitè*, by compact, band and obligation (a desperate, a fearful case), to satisfy thy lust, or to be revenged of thine enemies, thou didst never pray, come to church, hear, read, or do any divine duties with any devotion, but for formality and fashion's sake, with a kind of reluctance, 'twas troublesome and painful to thee to perform any such thing, *præter voluntatem*, against thy will. Thou never mad'st any conscience of lying, swearing, bearing false-witness, murder, adultery, bribery, oppression, theft, drunkenness, idolatry, but hast ever done all duties for fear of punishment, as they were most advantageous, and to thine own ends, and committed all such notorious sins with an extraordinary delight, hating that thou shouldest love, and loving that thou shouldest hate. Instead of faith, fear and love of God, repentance, &c., blasphemous thoughts have been ever harboured in his mind, even against God himself, the blessed Trinity; the ¹Scripture false, rude, harsh, immethodical; heaven, hell, resurrection, mere toys and fables, ²incredible, impossible, absurd, vain, ill contrived; religion, policy, and human invention, to keep men in obedience, or for profit, invented by priests and lawgivers to that purpose. If there be any such supreme power he takes no notice of our doings, hears not our prayers, regardeth them not, will not, cannot help, or else he is partial, an excepter of persons, author of sin, a cruel, a destructive God, to create our souls, and desti-

¹ Cæcilius Minutio: Omnia ista figmenta male sanæ religionis, et ineptas solatia a poetis inventa, vel ab aliis ob commodum, superstitiosa mysteria, &c.

² These temptations and objections are well answered in John Downname's Christian Warfare.

nate them to eternal damnation, to make us worse than our dogs and horses, why doth he not govern things better, protect good men, root out wicked livers? why do they prosper and flourish? as she raved in the ¹tragedy—*pellices cælum tenent*, there they shine, *Suasque Perseus aureus stellas habet*, where is his providence? how appears it?

“Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pomponius nullo, quis putet esse deos?” ²

Why doth he suffer Turks to overcome Christians, the enemy to triumph over his church, paganism to domineer in all places as it doth, heresies to multiply, such enormities to be committed, and so many such bloody wars, murders, massacres, plagues, feral diseases? why doth he not make us all good, able, sound? why makes he ³venomous creatures, rocks, sands, deserts, this earth itself the muckhill of the world, a prison, a house of correction; ⁴*Mentimur regnare Jovem*, &c., with many such horrible and execrable conceits, not fit to be uttered; *Terribilia de fide, horribilia de Divinitate*. They cannot some of them but think evil, they are compelled *volentes nolentes*, to blaspheme, especially when they come to church and pray, read, &c., such foul and prodigious suggestions come into their hearts.

These are abominable, unspeakable offences, and most opposite to God, *tentationes fædæ et impiæ*, yet in this case, he or they that shall be tempted and so affected, must know, that no man living is free from such thoughts in part, or at some times, the most divine spirits have been so tempted in some sort, evil custom, omission of holy exercises, ill company, idleness, solitariness, melancholy, or depraved nature, and the devil is still ready to corrupt, trouble, and divert our souls, to suggest such blasphemous thoughts into our fantasies, ungodly, profane, monstrous and wicked conceits; If they come from Satan, they are more speedy, fearful and

¹ Seneca. ² “Licinus lies in a marble tomb, but Cato in a mean one; Pomponius has none, who can think there-fore that there are gods?” ³ Vid. Campanella, cap. 6, Atheis. triumphat.

et c. 2, ad argumentum 12, ubi plura. Si Deus bonus, unde malum, &c.

⁴ Lucan. “It can’t be true that Just Jove reigns.”

violent, the parties cannot avoid them ; they are more frequent, I say, and monstrous when they come ; for the devil he is a spirit, and hath means and opportunities to mingle himself with our spirits, and sometimes more slyly, sometimes more abruptly and openly, to suggest such devilish thoughts into our hearts ; he insults and domineers in melancholy distempered fantasies and persons especially ; melancholy is *balneum diaboli*, as Serapio holds, the devil's bath, and invites him to come to it. As a sick man frets, raves in his fits, speaks and doth he knows not what, the devil violently compels such crazed souls to think such damned thoughts against their wills, they cannot but do it ; sometimes more continueate, or by fits, he takes his advantage, as the subject is less able to resist, he aggravates, extenuates, affirms, denies, damns, confounds the spirits, troubles heart, brain, humours, organs, senses, and wholly domineers in their imaginations. If they proceed from themselves, such thoughts, they are remiss and moderate, not so violent and monstrous, not so frequent. The devil commonly suggests things opposite to nature, opposite to God and his word, impious, absurd, such as a man would never of himself, or could not conceive, they strike terror and horror into the parties' own hearts. For if he or they be asked whether they do approve of such like thoughts or no, they answer (and their own souls truly dictate as much) they abhor them as hell and the devil himself, they would fain think otherwise if, they could ; he hath thought otherwise, and with all his soul desires so to think again ; he doth resist, and hath some good motions intermixed now and then ; so that such blasphemous, impious, unclean thoughts, are not his own, but the devil's ; they proceed not from him, but from a crazed fantasy, distempered humours, black fumes which offend his brain ; ¹ they are thy crosses, the devil's sins, and he shall answer for them, he doth enforce thee to do that which thou dost abhor, and didst never give consent to ; and although he hath sometimes so

¹ Perkins.

slyly set upon thee, and so far prevailed, as to make thee in some sort to assent to such wicked thoughts, to delight in, yet they have not proceeded from a confirmed will in thee, but are of that nature which thou dost afterwards reject and abhor. Therefore be not overmuch troubled and dismayed with such kind of suggestions, at least if they please thee not, because they are not thy personal sins, for which thou shalt incur the wrath of God, or his displeasure; condemn, neglect them, let them go as they come, strive not too violently, or trouble thyself too much, but as our Saviour said to Satan in like case, say thou, avoid Satan, I detest thee and them. *Satanæ est mala ingerere* (saith Austin) *nostrum non consentire*; as Satan labours to suggest, so must we strive not to give consent, and it will be sufficient; the more anxious and solicitous thou art, the more perplexed, the more thou shalt otherwise be troubled, and entangled. Besides, they must know this, all so molested, and distempered, that although these be most execrable and grievous sins, they are pardonable yet, through God's mercy and goodness, they may be forgiven, if they be penitent and sorry for them. Paul himself confesseth, Rom. vii. 19, "He did not the good he would do, but the evil which he would not do; 'tis not I, but sin that dwelleth in me." 'Tis not thou, but Satan's suggestions, his craft and subtlety, his malice; comfort thyself then if thou be penitent and grieved, or desirous to be so, these heinous sins shall not be laid to thy charge; God's mercy is above all sins, which if thou do not finally condemn, without doubt thou shalt be saved. "¹No man sins against the Holy Ghost, but he that wilfully and finally renounceth Christ, and condemneth him and his word to the last, without which there is no salvation, from which grievous sin, God of his infinite mercy deliver us." Take hold of this to be thy comfort, and meditate withal on God's word, labour to pray, to repent, to be renewed in mind, "keep thine heart

¹ Hemmingius. Nemo peccat in Spiritum Sanctum nisi qui finaliter et voluntarie renunciat Christo, eumque et ejus

verbum extreme contemnit, sine quo nulla salus; a quo peccato liberet nos Dominus Jesus Christus. Amen.

with all diligence," Prov. iv. 23, resist the devil and he will fly from thee, pour out thy soul unto the Lord with sorrowful Hannah, "pray continually," as Paul enjoins, and as David did, Psalm i. "meditate on his law day and night."

Yea, but this meditation is that that mars all, and mistaken makes many men far worse, misconceiving all they read or hear, to their own overthrow; the more they search and read the Scriptures, or divine treatises, the more they puzzle themselves, as a bird in a net, the more they are entangled and precipitated into this preposterous gulf; "Many are called, but few are chosen," Matt. xx. 16, and xxii. 14, with such like places of Scripture misinterpreted strike them with horror, they doubt presently whether they be of this number or no; God's eternal decree of predestination, absolute reprobation, and such fatal tables, they form to their own ruin, and impinge upon this rock of despair. How shall they be assured of their salvation, by what signs? "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinners appear?" 1 Pet. iv. 18. Who knows, saith Solomon, whether he be elect? This grinds their souls, how shall they discern they are not reprobates? But I say again, how shall they discern they are? From the devil can be no certainty, for he is a liar from the beginning; if he suggests any such thing, as too frequently he doth, reject him as a deceiver, an enemy of human kind, dispute not with him, give no credit to him, obstinately refuse him, as St. Anthony did in the wilderness, whom the devil set upon in several shapes, or as the collier did, so do thou by him. For when the devil tempted him with the weakness of his faith, and told him he could not be saved, as being ignorant in the principles of religion, and urged him moreover to know what he believed, what he thought of such and such points and mysteries; the collier told him, he believed as the church did; but what (said the devil again) doth the church believe? as I do (said the collier); and what's that thou believest; as the church doth, &c., when the devil could get no other an-

swer he left him. If Satan summon thee to answer, send him to Christ; he is thy liberty, thy protector against cruel death, raging sin, that roaring lion; he is thy righteousness, thy Saviour, and thy life. Though he say, thou art not of the number of the elect, a reprobate, forsaken of God, hold thine own still, *hic murus aeneus esto*, "let this be as a bulwark, a brazen wall to defend thee," stay thyself in that certainty of faith; let that be thy comfort, Christ will protect thee, vindicate thee, thou art one of his flock, he will triumph over the law, vanquish death, overcome the devil, and destroy hell. If he say thou art none of the elect, no believer, reject him, defy him, thou hast thought otherwise, and mayest so be resolved again; comfort thyself; this persuasion cannot come from the devil, and much less can it be grounded from thyself? men are liars, and why shouldest thou distrust? A denying Peter, a persecuting Paul, an adulterous cruel David, have been received; an apostate Solomon may be converted; no sin at all but impenitency, can give testimony of final reprobation. Why shouldest thou then distrust, misdoubt thyself, upon what ground, what suspicion? This opinion alone of particularity? Against that, and for the certainty of election and salvation on the other side, see God's goodwill toward men, hear how generally his grace is proposed, to him, and him, and them, each man in particular, and to all. 1 Tim. ii. 4. "God will that all men be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." 'Tis a universal promise, "God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world, but that through him the world might be saved." John iii. 17. "He that acknowledgeth himself a man in the world, must likewise acknowledge he is of that number that is to be saved." Ezek. xxxiii. 11. "I will not the death of a sinner, but that he repent and live:" But thou art a sinner; therefore he will not thy death. "This is the will of him that sent me, that every man that believeth in the Son, should have everlasting life." John vi. 40. "He would have no man perish, but all come to repentance," 2 Pet. iii. 9. Be-

sides, remission of sins is to be preached, not to a few, but universally to all men, "Go therefore and tell all nations, baptizing them," &c. Matt. xxviii. 19. "Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," Mark xvi. 15. Now there cannot be contradictory wills in God, he will have all saved, and not all, how can this stand together? be secure then, believe, trust in him, hope well and be saved. Yea, that's the main matter, how shall I believe or discern my security from carnal presumption? my faith is weak and faint, I want those signs and fruits of sanctification,¹ sorrow for sin, thirsting for grace, groanings of the spirit, love of Christians as Christians, avoiding occasion of sin, endeavour of new obedience, charity, love of God, perseverance. Though these signs be languishing in thee, and not seated in thine heart, thou must not therefore be dejected or terrified; the effects of the faith and spirit are not yet so fully felt in thee; conclude not therefore thou art a reprobate, or doubt of thine election, because the elect themselves are without them, before their conversion. Thou mayest in the Lord's good time be converted; some are called at the eleventh hour. Use, I say, the means of thy conversion, expect the Lord's leisure, if not yet called, pray thou mayest be, or at least wish and desire thou mayest be.

Notwithstanding all this which might be said to this effect, to ease their afflicted minds, what comfort our best divines can afford in this case, Zanchius, Beza, &c. This furious curiosity, needless speculation, fruitless meditation about election, reprobation, freewill, grace, such places of Scripture preposterously conceived, torment still, and crucify the souls of too many, and set all the world together by the ears. To avoid which inconveniences, and to settle their distressed minds, to mitigate those divine aphorisms (though in another extreme some), our late Arminians have revived that plausible doctrine of universal grace, which many fathers, our late Lutheran and modern papists do still maintain, that we have

¹ Abernethy.

freewill of ourselves, and that grace is common to all that will believe. Some again, though less orthodoxal, will have a far greater part saved than shall be damned, (as ¹ Cælius Secundus stiffly maintains in his book, *De amplitudine regni cœlestis*, or some impostor under his name,) *beatorum numerus multò major quam damnatorum*. ² He calls that other tenet of special ³ "election and reprobation, a prejudicate, envious and malicious opinion, apt to draw all men to desperation. Many are called, few chosen," &c. He opposeth some opposite parts of Scripture to it, "Christ came into the world to save sinners," &c. And four especial arguments he produceth, one from God's power. If more be damned than saved, he erroneously concludes, ⁴ the devil hath the greater sovereignty! for what is power but to protect? and majesty consists in multitude. "If the devil have the greater part, where is his mercy, where is his power? how is he *Deus Optimus Maximus, misericors*? &c., where is his greatness, where his goodness?" He proceeds, ⁵ "We account him a murderer that is accessory only, or doth not help when he can; which may not be supposed of God without great offence, because he may do what he will, and is otherwise accessory and the author of sin. The nature of good is to be communicated, God is good, and will not then be contracted in his goodness; for how is he the father of mercy and comfort, if his good concern but a few? O envious and unthankful men to think otherwise!" ⁶ Why should we pray to God that are Gentiles, and thank him for his mercies and benefits, that has damned us all innocuous for Adam's offence, one man's offence, one small offence, eating of an apple? why should we acknowledge him for our governor that hath wholly neglected the salvation of our souls, condemned us,

¹ See whole books of these arguments.
² Lib. 3, fol. 122. Præjudicata opinio, invidiosa, maligna, et apta ad impellendos animos in desperationem.

³ See the Antidote in Chamier's tom. 3, lib. 7, Downname's Christian Warfare, &c.

⁴ Potentior est Deo diabolus et mundi princeps, et in multitudine hominum sita est majestas.

⁵ Homicida qui non

subvenit quum potest; hoc de Deo sine scelere cogitari non potest, utpote quum quod vult licet. Boni natura communicari. Bonus Deus, quomodo misericordiæ pater, &c. ⁶ Vide Cyrillum, lib. 4, adversus Julianum: qui poterimus illi gratias agere qui nobis non misit Moſen et prophetas, et contempsit bona animarum noſtrarum.

and sent no prophets or instructors to teach us, as he hath done to the Hebrews?" So Julian the apostate objects. Why should these Christians (*Cælius* urgeth) reject us and appropriate God unto themselves, *Deum illum suum unicum*, &c. But to return to our forged *Cælius*. At last he comes to that, he will have those saved that never heard of, or believed in Christ, *ex puris naturalibus*, with the Pelagians, and proves it out of Origen and others. "They (saith ¹Origen) that never heard God's word, are to be excused for their ignorance; we may not think God will be so hard, angry, cruel or unjust as to condemn any man *indictâ causâ*. They alone (he holds) are in the state of damnation that refuse Christ's mercy and grace, when it is offered. Many worthy Greeks and Romans, good moral honest men, that kept the law of nature, did to others as they would be done to themselves, as certainly saved, he concludes, as they were that lived uprightly before the law of Moses. They were acceptable in God's sight, as Job was, the Magi, the Queen of Sheba, Darius of Persia, Socrates, Aristides, Cato, Curius, Tully, Seneca, and many other philosophers, upright livers, no matter of what religion, as Cornelius, out of any nation, so that he live honestly, call on God, trust in him, fear him, he shall be saved. This opinion was formerly maintained by the Valentinian and Basileidian heretics, revived of late in ²Turkey, of what sect Rustan Bassa was patron, defended by ³Galeatius Martius, and some ancient fathers, and of later times favoured by ⁴Erasmus, by Zuinglius, *in exposit. fidei ad Regem Galliaë*, whose tenet Bullinger vindicates, and Gualter approves in a just apology with many arguments. There be many Jesuits that follow these Calvinists in this behalf, Francisus Buchsius Moguntinus, Andradius, *Consil. Trident.* many schoolmen that out of the Romans i. 18, 19, are verily persuaded that those good works of the Gentiles did so far please

¹ Venia danda est his qui non audiunt, qui oblatam Christi gratiam rejiciunt. ob ignorantiam. Non est tam iniquus Judex Deus, ut quenquam *indictâ causâ* damnare velit. Si solum damnantur, qui oblatam Christi gratiam rejiciunt.

² Busbequius, Lonicerus, Turc. hist. To. 1, l. 2. ³ Clem. Alex. ⁴ Paulus Jovius, Elog. vir. Illust.

God, that they might *vitam æternam promereri*, and be saved in the end. Sesellius, and Benedictus Justinianus in his comment on the first of the Romans, Mathias Ditmarsh the politician, with many others, hold a mediocrity, they may be *salute non indigni* but they will not absolutely decree it. Hoffinanus, a Lutheran professor of Helmstad, and many of his followers, with most of our church, and papists are stiff against it. Franciscus Collius hath fully censured all opinions in his Five Books, *de Paganorum animabus post mortem*, and amply dilated this question, which whoso will may peruse. But to return to my author, his conclusion is, that not only wicked livers, blasphemers, reprobates, and such as reject God's grace, "but that the devils themselves shall be saved at last," as ¹Origen himself long since delivered in his works, and our late ²Socinians defend, Ostorodias, *cap. 41, institut.* Smaltius, &c. Those terms *of all* and *for ever* in Scripture, are not eternal, but only denote a longer time, which by many examples they prove. The world shall end like a comedy, and we shall meet at last in heaven, and live in bliss altogether, or else in conclusion, *in nihil evanescere*. For how can he be merciful that shall condemn any creature to eternal, unspeakable punishment, for one small temporary fault, all posterity, so many myriads for one and another man's offence, *quid meruistis oves?* But these absurd paradoxes are exploded by our church, we teach otherwise. That this vocation, predestination, election, reprobation, *non ex corruptâ massâ, prævisâ fide*, as our Arminians, or *ex prævisis operibus*, as our Papists, *non ex præteritione*, but God's absolute decree *ante mundum creatum* (as many of our church hold), was from the beginning, before the foundation of the world was laid, or *homo conditus*, (or from Adam's fall, as others will, *homo lapsus objectum est reprobationis*) with *perseverantia sanctorum*, we must be certain of our salvation, we may fall but not finally, which our Arminians will not admit.

¹ Non homines sed et ipsi dæmones aliquando servandi.
 noniam, art. 22, p. 2.

² Vid. Pelsij Harmoniam.

According to his immutable, eternal just decree and counsel of saving men and angels, God calls all, and would have all to be saved according to the efficacy of vocation; all are invited, but only the elect apprehended; the rest that are unbelieving, impenitent, whom God in his just judgment leaves to be punished for their sins, are in a reprobate sense; yet we must not determine who are such, condemn ourselves or others, because we have a universal invitation; all are commanded to believe, and we know not how soon or how late our end may be received. I might have said more of this subject; but forasmuch as it is a forbidden question, and in the preface or declaration to the articles of the church, printed 1633, to avoid factions and altercations, we that are university divines especially, are prohibited "all curious search, to print or preach, or draw the article aside by our own sense and comments upon pain of ecclesiastical censure." I will surcease and conclude with ¹Erasmus of such controversies: *Pugnet qui volet, ego censeo leges majorum reverenter suscipiendas, et religiosè observandas, velut a Deo profectas; nec esse tutum, nec esse pium, de potestate publicâ sinistram concipere aut serere suspicionem. Et siquid est tyrannidis, quod tamen non cogat ad impietatem, satius est ferre, quam seditiosè reluctari.*

But to my former task. The last main torture and trouble of a distressed mind, is not so much this doubt of election, and that the promises of grace are smothered and extinct in them, nay quite blotted out, as they suppose, but withal God's heavy wrath, a most intolerable pain and grief of heart seizeth on them; to their thinking they are already damned, they suffer the pains of hell, and more than possibly can be expressed, they smell brimstone, talk familiarly with devils, hear and see chimeras, prodigious, uncouth shapes, bears,

¹ Epist. Erasmi de utilitate colloquior. ad lectorem.—Let whoever wishes dispute, I think the laws of our forefathers should be received with reverence, and religiously observed, as coming from God; neither is it safe or pious to conceive, or contrive,

an injurious suspicion of the public authority; and should any tyranny, not likely to drive men into the commission of wickedness, exist, it is better to endure it than to resist it by sedition.

owls, antiques, black dogs, fiends, hideous outcries, fearful noises, shrieks, lamentable complaints, they are possessed,¹ and through impatience they roar and howl, curse, blaspheme, deny God, call his power in question, abjure religion, and are still ready to offer violence unto themselves, by hanging, drowning, &c. Never any miserable wretch from the beginning of the world was in such a woful case. To such persons I oppose God's mercy and his justice; *Judicia Dei occulta, non injusta*: his secret counsel and just judgment, by which he spares some, and sore afflicts others again in this life; his judgment is to be adored, trembled at, not to be searched or inquired after by mortal men; he hath reasons reserved to himself, which our frailty cannot apprehend. He may punish all if he will, and that justly for sin; in that he doth it in some, is to make a way for his mercy that they repent and be saved, to heal them, to try them, exercise their patience, and make them call upon him, to confess their sins and pray unto him, as David did, Psalm cix. 137, "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgments." As the poor publican, Luke xviii. 13, "Lord have mercy upon me a miserable sinner." To put confidence and have an assured hope in him, as Job had, xiii. 15, "Though he kill me I will trust in him:" *Ure, seca, occide, O Domine* (saith Austin), *modo serves animam*, kill, cut in pieces, burn my body (O Lord) to save my soul. A small sickness; one lash of affliction, a little misery, many times will more humiliate a man, sooner convert, bring him home to know himself, than all those parenetical discourses, the whole theory of philosophy, law, physic, and divinity, or a world of instances and examples. So that this, which they take to be such an insupportable plague, is an evident sign of God's mercy and justice, of his love and goodness: *periissent nisi periissent*, had they not thus been undone, they had finally been undone. Many a carnal man is lulled asleep in perverse security, fool-

¹ *Vastata conscientia sequitur sensus iræ divinæ. (Hemmingius) fremitus cordis, ingens animæ cruciatus, &c.*

ish presumption, is stupefied in his sins, and hath no feeling at all of them: "I have sinned (he saith) and what evil shall come unto me," Eccles. v. 4, and "Tush, how shall God know it?" and so in a reprobate sense goes down to hell. But here, *Cynthius aurem vellit*, God pulls them by the ear, by affliction, he will bring them to heaven and happiness; "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted," Matt. v. 4, a blessed and a happy state if considered aright, it is, to be so troubled. "It is good for me that I have been afflicted," Psal. cxix. "before I was afflicted I went astray, but now I keep Thy word." "Tribulation works patience, patience hope," Rom. v. 4, and by such like crosses and calamities we are driven from the stake of security. So that affliction is a school or academy, wherein the best scholars are prepared to the commencements of the Deity. And though it be most troublesome and grievous for the time, yet know this, it comes by God's permission and providence; he is a spectator of thy groans and tears, still present with thee, the very hairs of thy head are numbered, not one of them can fall to the ground without the express will of God; he will not suffer thee to be tempted above measure, he corrects us all, ¹*numero, pondere, et mensurâ*, the Lord will not quench the smoking flax, or break the bruised reed, *Tentat* (saith Austin), *non ut obruat, sed ut coronet*, he suffers thee to be tempted for thy good. And as a mother doth handle her child sick and weak, not reject it, but with all tenderness observe and keep it, so doth God by us, not forsake us in our miseries, or relinquish us for our imperfections, but with all piety and compassion support and receive us; whom he loves, he loves to the end. Rom. viii, "Whom He hath elected, those he hath called, justified, sanctified, and glorified." Think not then thou hast lost the Spirit, that thou art forsaken of God, be not overcome with heaviness of heart, but as David said, "I will not fear though I walk in the shadows of death." We must all go, *non a deliciis ad delicias*,² but

¹ Austin.² "Not from pleasures to pleasures."

from the cross to the crown, by hell to heaven, as the old Romans put Virtue's temple in the way to that of Honour: we must endure sorrow and misery in this life. 'Tis no new thing this, God's best servants and dearest children have been so visited and tried. Christ in the garden cried out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" His Son by nature, as thou art by adoption and grace. Job, in his anguish said, "The arrows of the Almighty God were in him," Job vi. 4. "His terrors fought against him, the venom drank up his spirits," cap. xiii. 26. He saith, "God was his enemy, writ bitter things against him (xvi. 9), hated him." His heavy wrath had so seized on his soul. David complains, "his eyes were eaten up, sunk into his head." Ps. vi. 7, "his moisture became as the drought in summer, his flesh was consumed, his bones vexed;" yet neither Job nor David did finally despair. Job would not leave his hold, but still trust in him, acknowledging him to be his good God. "The Lord gives, the Lord takes, blessed be the name of the Lord," Job i. 21. "Behold I am vile, I abhor myself, repent in dust and ashes," Job xxxix. 37. David humbled himself, Psal. xxxi., and upon his confession received mercy. Faith, hope, repentance, are the sovereign cures and remedies, the sole comforts in this case; confess, humble thyself, repent, it is sufficient. *Quod purpura non potest, saccus potest*, saith Chrysostom; the king of Nineveh's sackcloth and ashes did that which his purple robes and crown could not effect; *Quod diadema non potuit, cinis perfecit*. Turn to Him, he will turn to thee; the Lord is near those that are of a contrite heart, and will save such as be afflicted in spirit, Psal. xxxiv. 18. "He came to the lost sheep of Israel," Matt. xv. 14. *Si cadentem intuetur, clementiæ manum protendit*, He is at all times ready to assist. *Nunquam spernit Deus pœnitentiam, si sincerè et simpliciter offeratur*, He never rejects a penitent sinner, though he have come to the full height of iniquity, wallowed and delighted in sin; yet if he will forsake his former ways, *libenter amplexatur*, he will re-

ceive him. *Parcam huic homini*, saith ¹ Austin (*ex personâ Dei*) *quia sibi ipsi non pepercit; ignoscam quia peccatum agnovit.* I will spare him because he hath not spared himself; I will pardon him because he doth acknowledge his offence; let it be never so enormous a sin, "His grace is sufficient," 2 Cor. xii. 9. Despair not then, faint not at all, be not dejected, but rely on God, call on him in thy trouble, and he will hear thee, he will assist, help, and deliver thee: "Draw near to Him, he will draw near to thee," James, iv. 8. Lazarus was poor and full of boils, and yet still he relied upon God, Abraham did hope beyond hope.

Thou exceptest, these were chief men, divine spirits, *Deo cari*, beloved of God, especially respected; but I am a contemptible and forlorn wretch, forsaken of God, and left to the merciless fury of evil spirits. I cannot hope, pray, repent, &c. How often shall I say it? thou mayest perform all these duties, Christian offices, and be restored in good time. A sick man loseth his appetite, strength, and ability, his disease prevaieth so far, that all his faculties are spent, hand and foot perform not their duties, his eyes are dim, hearing dull, tongue distastes things of pleasant relish, yet nature lies hid, recovereth again, and expelleth all those feculent matters by vomit, sweat, or some such like evacuations. Thou art spiritually sick, thine heart is heavy, thy mind distressed, thou mayest happily recover again, expel those dismal passions of fear and grief; God did not suffer thee to be tempted above measure; whom he loves (I say) he loves to the end; hope the best. David in his misery prayed to the Lord, remembering how he had formerly dealt with him; and with that meditation of God's mercy confirmed his faith, and pacified his own tumultuous heart in his greatest agony. "O my soul, why art thou so disquieted within me," &c. Thy soul is eclipsed for a time, I yield, as the sun is shadowed by a cloud; no doubt but those gracious beams of God's

¹ Super Psal. lii. Convertar ad liberandum eum quia conversus est ad peccatum suum puniendum.

mercy will shine upon thee again, as they have formerly done; those embers of faith, hope, and repentance, now buried in ashes, will flame out afresh, and be fully revived. Want of faith, no feeling of grace for the present, are not fit directions; we must live by faith, not by feeling; 'tis the beginning of grace to wish for grace; we must expect and tarry. David, a man after God's own heart, was so troubled himself: "Awake, why sleepest thou? O Lord, arise, cast me not off; wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest mine affliction and oppression? My soul is bowed down to the dust. Arise, redeem us," &c., Ps. xlv. 23. He prayed long before he was heard, *expectans expectavit*; endured much before he was relieved. Psal. lxix. 3, he complains, "I am weary of crying, and my throat is dry, mine eyes fail, whilst I wait on the Lord;" and yet he perseveres. Be not dismayed, thou shalt be respected at last. God often works by contrarieties, he first kills and then makes alive, he woundeth first and then healeth, he makes man sow in tears that he may reap in joy; 'tis God's method; he that is so visited, must with patience endure and rest satisfied for the present. The paschal lamb was eaten with sour herbs; we shall feel no sweetness of His blood, till we first feel the smart of our sins. Thy pains are great, intolerable for the time; thou art destitute of grace and comfort, stay the Lord's leisure, he will not (I say) suffer thee to be tempted above that thou art able to bear, 1 Cor. x. 13, but will give an issue to temptation. He works all for the best to them that love God, Rom. viii. 28. Doubt not of thine election, it is an immutable decree; a mark never to be defaced; you have been otherwise, you may and shall be. And for your present affliction, hope the best, it will shortly end. "He is present with his servants in their affliction," Ps. xci. 15. "Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all," Ps. xxxiv. 19. "Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh in us an eternal weight of glory," 2 Cor. iv. 17. "Not answerable to that glory which is to

come; though now in heaviness," saith 1 Pet. i. 6, "you shall rejoice."

Now last of all to those external impediments, terrible objects, which they hear and see many times, devils, bugbears, and morneluches, noisome smells, &c. These may come, as I have formerly declared in my precedent discourse, of the Symptoms of Melancholy, from inward causes; as a concave glass reflects solid bodies, a troubled brain for want of sleep, nutriment, and by reason of that agitation of spirits to which Hercules de Saxoniâ attributes all symptoms almost, may reflect and show prodigious shapes, as our vain fear and crazed fantasy shall suggest and feign, as many silly weak women and children in the dark, sick folks, and frantic for want of repast and sleep, suppose they see that they see not; many times such terriculaments may proceed from natural causes, and all other senses may be deluded. Besides, as I have said, this humour is *Balneum diaboli*, the devil's bath, by reason of the distemper of humours, and infirm organs in us; he may so possess us inwardly to molest us, as he did Saul and others, by God's permission; he is prince of the air, and can transform himself into several shapes, delude all our senses for a time, but his power is determined, he may terrify us, but not hurt; God hath given "his angels charge over us, he is a wall round about his people," Psal. xci. 11, 12. There be those that prescribe physic in such cases, 'tis God's instrument and not unfit. The devil works by mediation of humours, and mixed diseases must have mixed remedies. Levinus Lemnius, *cap.* 57 and 58, *exhort. ad vit. ep. instit.* is very copious on this subject, besides that chief remedy of confidence in God, prayer, hearty repentance, &c., of which for your comfort and instruction, read Lavater, *de spectris*, part. 3, *cap.* 5 and 6, Wierus, *de præstigiis dæmonum*, lib. 5, to Philip Melancthon and others, and that Christian armour which Paul prescribes; he sets down certain amulets, herbs, and precious stones, which have marvellous virtues all, *profligandis*

dæmonibus, to drive away devils and their illusions. Sapphires, chrysolites, carbuncles, &c. *Quæ mirâ virtute pollent ad lemures, stryges, incubos, genios aëreos arcendos, si veterum monumentis habenda fides.* Of herbs, he reckons us pennyroyal, rue, mint, angelica, peony; Rich. Argentine, *de præstigiis dæmonum*, cap. 20, adds, *hypericon* or St. John's-wort, *perforata herba*, which by a divine virtue drives away devils, and is therefore *fuga dæmonum*; all which rightly used by their suffitus, *Dæmonum vexationibus obsistunt, afflictas mentes a dæmonibus relevant et venenatis fumis*, expel devils themselves, and all devilish illusions. Anthony Musa, the Emperor Augustus his physician, cap. 6, *de Betoniâ*, approves of betony to this purpose; ¹ the ancients used therefore to plant it in churchyards, because it was held to be an holy herb and good against fearful visions, did secure such places as it grew in, and sanctified those persons that carried it about them. *Idem fere Matthiolus in Dioscoridem.* Others commend accurate music, so Saul was helped by David's harp. Fires to be made in such rooms where spirits' haunt, good store of lights to be set up, odours, perfumes, and suffumigations, as the angel taught Tobias, of brimstone and *bitumen*, thus, *myrrha*, bryony root, with many such simples which Wecker hath collected, lib. 15, *de secretis*, cap. 15. *℞ sulphuris drachmam unam, recoquatur in vitis albæ aquâ, ut dilutius sit sulphur; detur ægro: nam dæmones sunt morbi*, (saith Rich. Argentine, lib. *de præstigiis dæmonum*, cap. ult.) Vigetus hath a far larger receipt to this purpose, which the said Wecker cites out of Wierus. *℞ sulphuris, vini, bituminis, opoponacis, galbani, castorei, &c.* Why sweet perfumes, fires, and so many lights should be used in such places, Ernestus Burgravius, *Lucerna vitæ et mortis*, and Fortunius Lycetus assigns this cause, *quod his boni genii provocentur, mali arceantur*; "because good spirits are well pleased with, but evil abhor them!" And therefore those old Gentiles, present Mahometans, and Papists have continual lamps burn-

¹ Antiqui soliti sunt hanc herbam ponere in cœmeteriis ideo quod, &c.

ing in their churches all day and all night, lights at funerals and in their graves; *lucernæ ardentes ex auro liquefacto* for many ages to endure (saith Lazius), *ne dæmones corpus lædant*; lights ever burning as those vestal virgins, Pythonissæ, maintained heretofore, with many such, of which read Tostatatus in 2 *Reg. cap. 6, quæst. 43.* Thyreus, *cap. 57, 58, 62, &c., de locis infestis*, Pictorius, *Isagog. de dæmonibus, &c.*, see more in them. Cardan would have the party affected wink altogether in such a case, if he see aught that offends him, or cut the air with a sword in such places they walk and abide; *gladiis enim et lanceis terrentur*, shoot a pistol at them, for being aerial bodies (as Cælius Rhodiginus, *lib. 1, cap. 29.* Tertullian, Origen, Psellas, and many hold), if stroken, they feel pain. Papists commonly enjoin and apply crosses, holy water, sanctified beads, amulets, music, ringing of bells, for to that end are they consecrated, and by them baptized, characters, counterfeit relics, so many masses, peregrinations, oblations, adjurations, and what not? Alexander Albertinus à Rocha, Petrus Thyreus, and Hieronymus Mengus, with many other pontifical writers, prescribe and set down several forms of exorcisms, as well to houses possessed with devils, as to demoniacal persons; but I am of ¹ Lemnius's mind, 'tis but *damnosa adjuratio, aut potius ludificatio*, a mere mockery, a counterfeit charm, to no purpose, they are fopperies and fictions, as that absurd ² story is amongst the rest, of a penitent woman seduced by a magician in France, at St. Bawne, exorcised by Domphius, Michaelis, and a company of circumventing friars. If any man (saith Lemnius) will attempt such a thing, without all those juggling circumstances, astrological elections of time, place, prodigious habits, fustian, big, sesquipedal words, spells, crosses, characters, which exorcists ordinarily use, let him follow the example of Peter and John, that without any ambitious swelling terms, cured a lame man. Acts iii. "In the name of Christ Jesus rise and walk."

¹ Non desunt nostrâ ætate sacrificiuli, infectâ abierunt, qui tale quid attentant, sed a cacodæmone irrisi pudore suffecti, sunt, et re

² Done into English by W. B., 1613.

His name alone is the best and only charm against all such diabolical illusions, so doth Origen advise ; and so Chrysostom. *Hæc erit tibi baculus, hæc turris inexpugnabilis, hæc armatura. Nos quid ad hæc dicemus, plures fortasse expectabunt*, saith St. Austin, Many men will desire my counsel and opinion what is to be done in this behalf ; I can say no more, *quantum verâ fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur, ad Deum unum fugiamus*, let them fly to God alone for help. Athanasius in his book, *De variis quæst.* prescribes as a present charm against devils, the beginning of the lxxviii. Psalm : *Exurgat Deus, dissipentur inimici*, &c. But the best remedy is to fly to God, to call on him, hope, pray, trust, rely on him, to commit ourselves wholly to him. What the practice of the primitive church was in this behalf, *Et quis dæmonia ejiciens modus*, read Wierus at large, *lib. 5, de Cura. Lam. meles. cap. 38, et deinceps.*

Last of all : if the party affected shall certainly know this malady to have proceeded from too much fasting, meditation, precise life, contemplation of God's judgments (for the devil deceives many by such means), in that other extreme he circumvents melancholy itself, reading some books, treatises, hearing rigid preachers, &c. If he shall perceive that it hath begun first from some great loss, grievous accident, disaster, seeing others in like case, or any such terrible object, let him speedily remove the cause, which to the cure of this disease Navarrus so much commends, ¹ *avertat cogitationem a re scrupulosâ*, by all apposite means, art, and industry, let him *laxare animum*, by all honest recreations, "refresh and recreate his distressed soul ;" let him direct his thoughts, by himself and other of his friends. Let him read no more such tracts or subjects, hear no more such fearful tones, avoid such companies, and by all means open himself, submit himself to the advice of good physicians and divines, which is *contraventio scrupulorum*, as ² he calls it, hear them speak to whom

¹ Tom. 2, cap. 27, num. 282. "Let him avert his thoughts from the painful object." ² Navarrus.

the Lord hath given the tongue of the learned, to be able to
 “ minister a word to him that is weary,¹ whose words are as
 flagons of wine. Let him not be obstinate, headstrong, pee-
 vish, wilful, self-conceited (as in this malady they are), but
 give ear to good advice, be ruled and persuaded; and no
 doubt but such good counsel may prove as prosperous to his
 soul, as the angel was to Peter, that opened the iron gates,
 loosed his bands, brought him out of prison, and delivered
 him from bodily thralldom; they may ease his afflicted mind,
 relieve his wounded soul, and take him out of the jaws of hell
 itself. I can say no more, or give better advice to such as
 are any way distressed in this kind, than what I have given
 and said. Only take this for a corollary and conclusion, as
 “ thou tenderest thine own welfare in this and all other melan-
 choly, thy good health of body and mind, observe this short
 precept, give not way to solitariness and idleness. “ Be not
 solitary, be not idle.”

SPERATE, MISERI—UNHAPPY, HOPE.

CAVETE, FELICES—HAPPY, BE CAUTIOUS.

Vis a dubio liberari? vis quod incertum est evadere? Age pœnitentiam dum sanus es; sic agens, dico tibi quod securus es, quod pœnitentiam egisti eo tempore quo peccare potuisti.
 Austin. “ Do you wish to be freed from doubts? do you desire to escape uncertainty? Be penitent whilst rational; by so doing I assert that you are safe, because you have devoted that time to penitence in which you might have been guilty of sin.”

¹ Is. l. 4.

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